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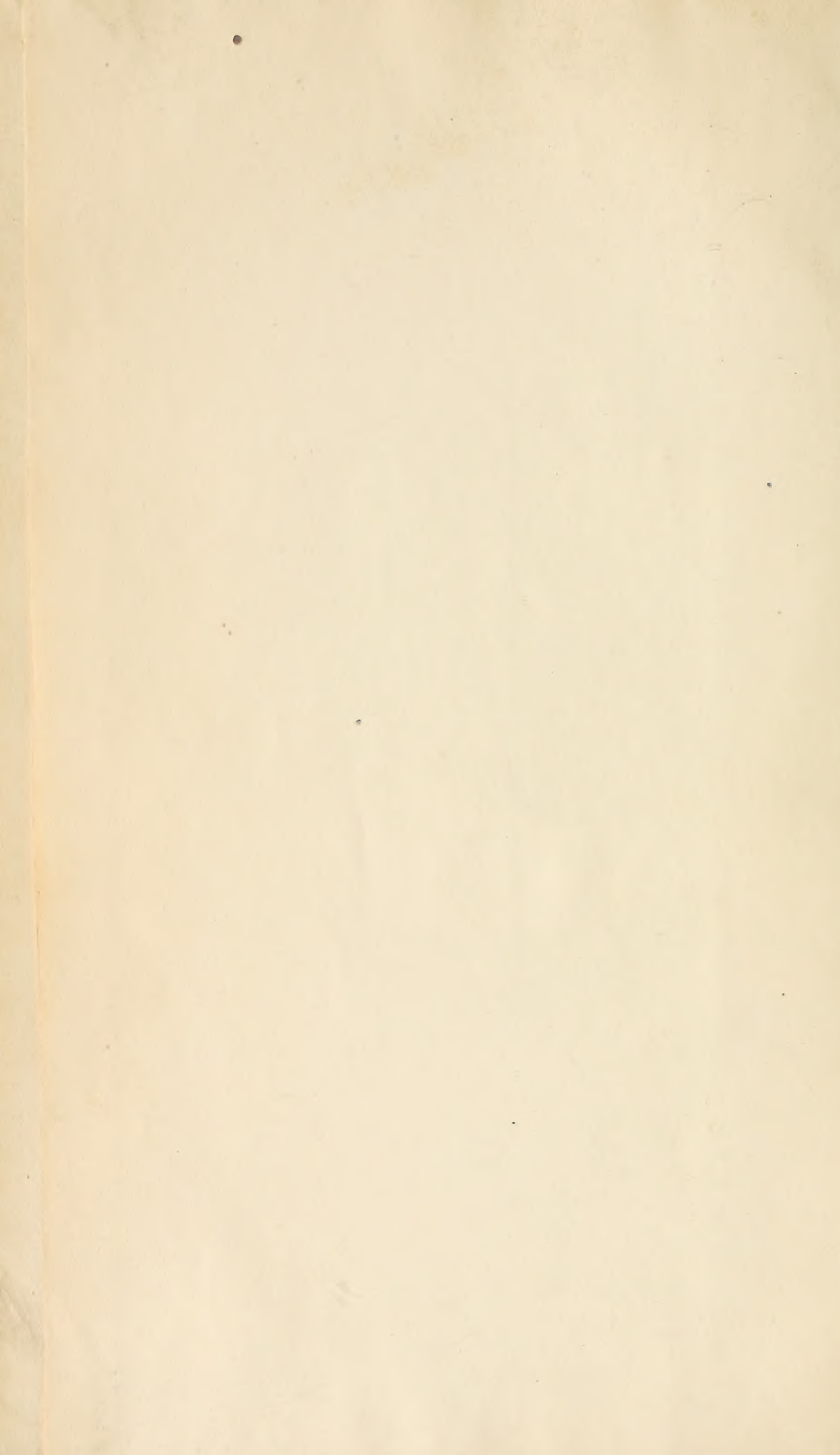












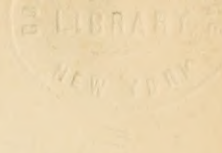


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# HISTORY

OF

## THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE REFORMATION.

FROM THE GERMAN OF  
PROFESSOR KURTZ.

WITH EMENDATIONS AND ADDITIONS,

BY THE

REV. ALFRED EDERSHEIM, PH. D.,  
AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE JEWISH NATION."

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TO THE REFORMATION

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## P R E F A C E.

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AMONG the various departments of Theology, one of the most important, yet one of the least cultivated in our Churches, is that of Ecclesiastical History. The History of the Church presents the life of the Church; its development, growth, and limitations; the watchful care of its Head, and the insidious attacks of its enemies. Many a pleasant delusion and long-cherished prejudice will indeed be swept away by an impartial examination of the facts recorded; but all the more clearly will it appear that the promised presence of the Saviour with His Church has never failed, nor His truth been allowed to perish. In many respects, the introduction of the Gospel has been a "sending of the sword upon the earth," and the History of the Church a continual struggle. No sooner had early controversies been settled and the Church attained external and internal peace, than a new and more protracted contest arose. But the Reformatory and anti-Romish movement, which may be said to have commenced with the reign of Charlemagne and the establishment of Christianity among the Germanic tribes, continued both within and without the Church—in the one case, with the admixture of much superstition, in the other, with that of much error—till, widening as it proceeded, it issued in the glorious Reformation of the sixteenth century. To make oneself acquainted with all this; to watch the fulfilment of so many promises; to trace Dogmatics, if not to its source, yet along its course; to study the internal life of the Church, and to become familiar with the outward events which affected it, is surely one of the most important and interesting pursuits. The thoughtful student will learn the History of the Church neither according to transient events, nor according to mere controversies, nor according to artificial divisions; he will observe the internal connection of events and their gradual unfolding, and trace in them the operation of causes long existent, and the gracious interposition of Him who directs the course of His Church.

Little, it is believed, requires to be said either by way of introduction to, or apology for, the appearance of the present volume, which carries the narrative to the Reformation. In another volume it is proposed to continue this history down to our days. But in order to adapt the work to the wants of British readers, it will be necessary for the Editor, while following Professor Kurtz in his accurate researches on the *German Reformation*, to detail with the same care and fulness *the History of the Calvinistic Churches*. The want of a manual like the present, at once so comprehensive as to serve for reference, and so condensed as to form a suitable textbook for students, has been long and increasingly felt. On a comparison of various works of this kind, that by Professor Kurtz has appeared to the Editor best adapted for reproduction in English. It has been sought to make the Translation faithful without being slavish. Throughout, the book has been anew and carefully compared with standard works on the subject in English and German. Where necessary, slight modifications have been made, and expressions altered or omitted, when Dr Kurtz's Lutheran predilections have led him beyond the limits of strict historical evidence. Such alterations, however, are not material; they have been requisite only in few instances, and do not in any case change the character of the book. The *Literature* of the subject has also undergone careful revision, and been to a considerable extent supplemented. The Editor alone is responsible for the following portions of the volume—viz., the Life of Wycliffe, the Theology of Wycliffe, the Lollards, the Sketch of the System of Hus, the Bohemian Brethren, and Humanism in England and Scotland.

Though involving not a little labour and research, it has proved to the Editor indeed a work of love. The volume is now presented to the Public, in the fervent hope that, by the Divine blessing, it may promote the study of Ecclesiastical History, prove useful to those for whom it is primarily designed, and acceptable to the Church generally.

ALFRED EDERSHEIM.

OLD ABERDEEN, *March 22, 1860.*



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# INTRODUCTION

TO

## THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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### § 1. OBJECT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH is that Divine institution for the salvation of man, which Jesus Christ has founded on earth. The object and end of the Church is, that the salvation wrought out by Christ should be communicated to, and appropriated by, every nation and every individual. Outwardly, the Church manifests itself in the religious fellowship of those who, having become partakers of this salvation, co-operate in their own places, and according to the measure of their gifts and calling, towards the extension and development of the kingdom of God. Christ the God-man, who is exalted to the right hand of power, is the sole *Head* of the Church; the Holy Spirit, who is sent by Christ in order to guide the Church to its goal and perfection, is its Divine *Teacher*,—the Word and the sacraments are the ordinary *means* through which the Holy Spirit works in and by it. As the Church has originated in time, and has passed through a certain development, it has also a *HISTORY*. But its course is not one of continual progress. For, side by side with the holy government of its Divine Head, and the sanctifying influences of the Paraclete, we also descry in its administration a merely human agency. From the sinfulness of our nature, this agency may prove unholy and perverse, and thus resist, instead of co-operating; obstruct, instead of advancing; disturb the progress by introducing impure elements, instead of preserving it in,



or restoring it to, pristine purity. But even amidst all this error and perverseness attaching to human agency, the guidance and care of Christ and of His Spirit have manifested themselves in this, that Divine truth has not been suffered to perish in human error, Divine power through human weakness and rebelliousness, or the Divine salvation by man's iniquity. Nay, amid all hindrances, the Divine has developed and progressed; and even these temporary obstructions have been made subservient for preparing, procuring, and manifesting in the Church the complete triumph of Divine power and truth. From these remarks, it will be gathered that it is the task of Church History not only to exhibit the proper developments in the Church, but also all obstructions and aberrations,—at least so long as they have remained in some relation to the Church.

## § 2. ARRANGEMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

The many and extensive ramifications of Church History render it necessary to arrange its subject-matter, both as to length,—*i.e.*, into definite *periods*, during each of which some tendency, hitherto influential in the general development, reached its termination, and in turn gave place to new influences which commenced to affect the development, or to give it a new direction;—and as to *breadth*,—*i.e.*, with reference to the various elements of tendency and development, which made their appearance at any one stage. In the latter respect two points claim our attention: 1. The arrangement according to *national churches*, so far as these have followed an independent and distinctive direction; or according to *particular churches*, which may partly have owed their origin to some division in the Church universal occasioned by marked differences, in doctrine, worship, or constitution.—2. The arrangement according to *the grand object* towards which every movement recorded in ecclesiastical history tends. This common manifestation of ecclesiastical life, which appears in all national and particular churches, has, however, assumed in different churches a peculiar and distinctive shape. The idea of history, and especially that of a universal history of the Church, implies that it must mainly be arranged according to periods. But the question as to which of the other two arrangements is to be prominently brought forward, depends partly on the course of history itself, and partly on the plan on which it has been constructed. In general, the arrangement according to national churches must remain subordinate, at least so long as community and interchange of activity and tendency has not been rendered

impossible, either by following entirely different directions, or through a division into particular churches.

§ 3. THE DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS APPARENT IN CHURCH HISTORY.

The Christian Church is intended to embrace all nations and tongues. Hence, it must always be its aim to enlarge its domain by the conversion of non-Christian nations and individuals. THE HISTORY OF THE EXTENSION AND LIMITATION OF CHRISTIANITY, which exhibits either the progress or the various obstructions put in its way, must therefore form an essential part of Church History. Again, though the Church is under the invisible guidance and the unseen care of the Holy Spirit, as a visible and terrestrial institution, it requires, for its continuance and prosperity, a secure outward position, and a stable and consistent internal arrangement, constitution, and order. Hence, Church History has also to chronicle the history of ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION, both in reference to the outward position of the Church towards the State, and to its internal organisation, government, discipline, and legislation. The history of those ecclesiastical divisions (schisms) which had their origin only in different views about church government, and especially about the administration of discipline, belongs to this branch of the subject. Of still greater importance for the prosperous progress of the Church, is the development and the establishment of doctrine. The Holy Scriptures are, indeed, the sole source and rule of faith, and a sufficient directory in all that concerns the knowledge of salvation. But the words of Scripture are spirit and life, living seed-corn of knowledge, which, under the superintendence of the Spirit, who had sowed it, must unfold into a glorious harvest; that so the fulness of truth which they contain may be increasingly understood, and become adapted to all stages and forms of culture—to faith, science, and life. It is, therefore, also the task of Church History to follow THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECCLESIASTICAL DOCTRINE AND SCIENCE, in all the ways and byeways (heresies) over which it has passed. The Church also requires public worship, as the necessary expression of the feelings and aspirations of the faithful towards their Lord and God, and as a means for edification, instruction, and strength to the congregation. In the Word and the sacraments, the Church had indeed received from its Lord the immoveable groundwork of all worship; still, it had to seek out and to adopt the most suitable and effective form, under which these Divine powers and gifts might be presented. · HENCE THE HISTORY

OF WORSHIP must also form an essential element in Church History. Lastly, the Church had to introduce the leaven of that new life, of which it is the depositary, into practical life, and into the manners and customs of the people. This, then, implies another element in Church History,—*THAT of Christian life* among the people. It is impossible to determine THE HISTORICAL SUCCESSION of these varied manifestations of the life of the Church, according to abstract and logical principles, or to arrange them in the same manner at all periods. It will therefore be necessary, in each case, to adopt an arrangement which at every period will prominently bring forward those elements which appeared most prominently, and hence exercised a decisive influence upon all the others.

The above branches of Church History are severally of such importance, that they have frequently been treated as independent sciences. This method renders it possible to enter into fuller details, and, what is even more important, to treat each science according to its own peculiar principles, and in the most satisfactory manner. The history of the spread of, or of the obstructions to Christianity, will in that case be viewed as *the History of Missions*. That of ecclesiastical government (*ecclesiastica politia*), of worship and of Christian manners, is called *Ecclesiastical Archæology*—a name inaptly chosen, since it confines the range of inquiries to ancient times, and groups together heterogeneous elements. Let us hope that writers on this subject will in future separate these different elements, and follow the development of each to the present time, treating of them as of the history of Ecclesiastical Constitution, of Christian Worship, and of Christian Culture. The history of the development of doctrines may be arranged into—*a) the History of Dogmas*, in which the genetic development in the teaching of the Church is traced; *b) Symbolics*, in which the established doctrinal views of the Church universal, and of individual churches, as laid down in their *confessions* (or symbols), are presented in a systematic manner (in “Comparative Symbolics,” these confessions are critically examined, and placed side by side with each other); *c) Patristics*, which treats of the subjective development of doctrine, as it appears in the teaching of the most eminent ecclesiastical authorities (the Fathers—limiting that expression chiefly to the first six or eight centuries of the Church); lastly, *d) the History of Theology* generally, or of individual branches of theological science, which details the scientific treatment of theology, or of its individual branches, in their historical course of progress. *The History of Theological Literature* exhibits and criticises the literary activity of the Church generally; *Patrology*, that of the Fathers. Lastly, the science of *Ecclesiastical Statistics* presents a general view of the results of universal Church History during a definite period, and describes the state of the



Church in all its relations, as it appeared at every period of its history, furnishing, "as it were, a cross-section of history."

LITERATURE. 1. HISTORY OF MISSIONS: *Blumhardt*, allgemeine Missionsgeschichte (Universal History of Missions). 3 vols. Basle 1828.—*W. Brown*, Hist. of the Propagation of Christ. among the Heathen since the Reform. 3d Ed. 1854.—For Protest. Missions, comp. also *J. Wiggers*, Gesch. d. Evang. Mission, 1845; for Rom. Cath. Miss. the work of *Henrion*, transl. into German by *Wittmann*. Schaffh. 1817. 3 vols.

2. HISTORY OF THE PAPACY: *Bower*, Hist. of the Popes. London, 1749; transl. into German, and contin. by *Rambach*. 10 vols. Magd. and Leipz. 1751.—*Chr. W. Fr. Walch*, Entw. einer vollst. Gesch. d. Papstth. (Sketch of a complete history of the Papacy). Gött. 1756; *Spittler*, Gesch. d. Papstth.; *C. J. Weber*, Papstth. u. Päpste. Stuttg. 1836; *Artaud de Montor*, Hist. des Papes. Augsb. 1848.

3. HISTORY OF MONASTIC ORDERS: *H. Helyot*, Gesch. aller Klöster u. Ritterorden. Aus d. Franz. (History of all Monastic and Knight Orders). Leipz. 1753. 8 vols.—(*Musson*), pragm. Gesch. d. vornehmsten Mönchsorden, im Ausz. von *Crome* (pragm. Hist. of the Principal Monastic Orders, condensed by *Crome*). Leipz. 1774. 10 vols.—*J. Fuhr*, Gesch. d. Mönchsorden. Nach d. Franz. des Baron *Henrion* (Par. 1835), (Hist. of the Monastic Orders, after the French of Baron *Henrion*). Tübing. 1845. 2 vols.

4. HISTORY OF COUNCILS: *E. Richerii*, hist. concill. gener. Ll. IV. Paris 1680. 3 Voll. 4.—*C. J. Hefele*, Conciliengesch. nach d. Quellen (Hist. of Councils, from the original sources). Vols. I. II. Freib. 1855 (meant to extend over 5 vols.).—*Chr. W. F. Walch*, Entw. einer vollst. Gesch. d. Kirchenversamml. (Sketch of a Complete History of Ecclesiastical Councils). Leipz. 1759.

5. ECCLESIASTICAL LAW: *J. W. Bickell*, Gesch. d. K. R. (Hist. of Eccles. Law, continued by *Röstell*), fortgesetzt v. *J. W. Röstell*. 2 vols. (incomplete). Giessen 1843. 49.—*Ferd. Walter* (Rom. Cath.), Lehrbuch d. K. R. aller christl. Confessionen (Manual of the Eccles. Law of all Christ. Churches). 11th ed. Bonn 1854.—*G. Philipps*, K. R. (Eccl. Law). 5 vols. Regensb. 1845.—*Eichhorn*, Grunds. d. K. R. (Principles of Eccl. Law). Göttg. 1831. 2 vols.—*A. L. Richter*, Lehrb. d. K. R. (Manual of Eccl. Law). 4th ed. Leipz. 1853.

6. ARCHÆOLOGY: by PROTESTANT writers: *Jos. Bingham*, Antiquities of the Church, 10 vols.; *Augusti*, Denkwürdigk. aus d. chr. Arch. (Memorabilia in Christ. Archæol.). 12 vols. Leipz. 1816; *Dessen Handb. d. christl. Arch.* (*Augusti's Manual of Christ. Arch.*). 3 vols. Leipz. 1836; *Rheinwald*, die kirchl. Arch. (Eccles. Arch.). Berlin 1830.; *Böhmer*, die chr. kirchl. Alterthumswissensch. (Chr. Eccles. Archæol.). 2 vols. Bresl. 1836. 39; *Guericke*, Lehrb. d. chr. kirchl. Arch. (Manual of Chr. eccl. Arch.). Leipz. 1847; *Siegel*, Handbuch d. chr. kirchl. Alterthümer in alphab. Ordnung



(Manual of Christ. and Eccles. Antiq. in their alphab. order). 4 vols. Leipz. 1836; *C. Schöne*, Geschichtsforschungen über d. kirchl. Gebräuche (Histor. Invest. on Eccles. Usages). 3 vols. Berlin, 1819; *Planck*, Gesch. d. chr. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf. (Hist. of Chr. Eccles. Constit.). 5 vols. Hann. 1803;—by ROMAN CATHOLIC writers: *Mamachi* origines et antiq. chr. 5 voll. 4. Rom. 1749; *Pellicia*, de chr. eccl. politia. 3 voll. Neap. 1777, newly edited by *Ritter*, Col. 1829; *Binterim*, Denkwürdigk. d. chr. kath. K. (Memorabilia of the Roman Cath. Ch.). 17 vols. Mayence 1825.

7. HISTORY OF DOGMAS: *Petavius* (Jesuit), de theologicis dogm. c. not. *Theoph. Alethini* (J. Clerici). 6 Voll. fol. Amst. 1700.—*Manuals*: by *Engelhardt* (2 vols. Erlang. 1839); *Baumgarten-Crusius* (Compendium 2 vols. Leipz. 1840. 46); *W. Münscher* (3d ed. by *Cölln* and *Neudecker*. Cassel 1832); *K. F. Meier* (2d ed. by *G. Baur*, Giessen 1854); *Fd. Chr. Baur* (Stuttgart 1847); *K. R. Hagenbach* (translated by Buch. Edinb. T. and T. Clark); *J. C. L. Gieseler* (Prelections. Bonn 1855); *Neander* (edited by *Jacobi*. 2 vols. 1857, transl. by J. E. Ryland).—*Chr. W. F. Walch*, vollst. Historie d. Ketzereien, bis zum Bilderstreite incl. (Complete Hist. of Heresies, to the Controversy about Images). 11 vols. Leipz. 1762.

8. SYMBOLICS: *Marheineke*, chr. Symbolik. Vol. I. Heidelb. 1810; *Köllner*, Symb. aller christ. Confess. (Symbolical Books of all Chr. Churches). 2 vols. Leipz. 1846; *Winer*, comparative Darstellung d. Lehrbegriffe d. verschied. chr. Kirchenpart. (Comparat. View of the Dogmas of the various parties in the Chr. Ch.). 2d ed. Leipz. 1837; *Guericke*, allg. chr. Symbolik (Universal Chr. Symb.). 2d ed. Leipz. 1846; *Marheineke's* Vorless. über die Symbolik (Prelections on Symb.). Berlin 1848; *K. Matthes*, compar. Symbolik. Leipz. 1854; *A. H. Baier*, Symb. Vol. I. Greifsw. 1854.—By ROMAN CATHOLIC writers: *J. A. Möhler*, Symbolik. 6th ed. Mayence 1843; *Hilgers*, symb. Theol. Bonn 1841;—against *Möhler*: *Baur*, der Gegens. d. Kath. u. Protestantismus (the opposition between Roman. and Protest.). 2d ed. Tüb. 1836; *Nitzsch*, protest. Beantw. (Reply of Protest.). Hamb. 1835. Comp. also: *Thiersch*, Vorless. über Protestantism. u. Kath. (Prelections on Protest. and Roman.). 2 vols. 2d ed. 1848.

9. PATROLOGY and HISTORY OF LITERATURE: *Ellies du Pin*, nouv. biblioth. des auteurs eccl. 47 voll. Paris 1686; *R. Ceillier*, hist. des auteurs sacrés et eccl. des six prem. siècles. Par. 1693. 16 Voll. 4; *J. A. Möhler*, Patrologie, edited by Rheimayer. Vol. I. Regensb. 1839; *J. Fessler*, Institt. patrol. Oenip. 1850. 2 T.—By Protestant writers: *W. Cave*, Scriptt. eccles. hist. literaria. 2 Voll. fol. London 1688; *C. Oudin*, Commentarii de scriptoribus ecclesiast. Lips. 1722. 3 Voll. fol.; *J. A. Fabricii* Biblioth. Græca. Hamb. 1705 ss. 14 Voll. 4., nova ed. cur. *Harless*. Hamb. 1790. 12 Voll. 4.; *Ejusd.* Bibl. mediæ et infimæ latinitatis aucta a *J. D.*

*Mansi*. Pat. 1754. 6 Voll. 4.; *Schönemann*, Biblioth. patr. latin. hist. liter. Lips. 1792. 2 vols.; *Oelrichs*, Comment. de script. eccles. lat. Lips. 1790; *J. C. F. Bähr*, Gesch. d. röm. Liter. (Hist. of Roman Liter.), Suppl. I.—III. Karlsr. 1836–40.—*Gesch. d. theol. Wissensch.* (Hist. of Theol. Science): von *Flügge* (3 vols. Halle 1796, to the time of the Reform.);—*Stäudlin* (from the 15th cent. downwards). 2 vols. Gött. 1810;—*J. G. Walch*, Biblioth. theol. sel. Jenæ 1757. 4 Voll.

10. LIVES OF THE SAINTS: *L. Surius*, Vitæ Ss. Col. 1570. 6 Voll. fol.—*Acta Sanctorum*, Ant. 1643 etc. 53 Voll. fol. (begun by the Jesuit *Bollandus*, hence known by the name of *Bollandists*).—*Mabillon*, Acta Ss. ordinis s. Benedicti. Par. 1666. 9 Voll. fol.—*Butler*, Lives of the Saints. New ed. Dublin 1838.

#### § 4. SOURCES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

The sources of Church History are partly PRIMARY (original), such as monuments and original documents,—partly SECONDARY (derived), among which we reckon traditions, and extracts from, or treatises bearing reference to, original sources which have since been lost. MONUMENTS, such as ecclesiastical buildings, pictures, and inscriptions, are commonly only of very subordinate use in Church History. But DOCUMENTS, preserved and handed down, are of the very greatest importance. To this class belong also the *acts* and *decrees of ecclesiastical councils*; the *res gestæ* and official publications of the Popes (*decretals*, *Breve's*) and of Bishops (*pastoral letters*); the *laws* and *res gestæ* issuing from imperial chancellories, so far as these refer to ecclesiastical affairs; *the rules of monastic orders*, *liturgies*, *confessions of faith*, *letters of personages influential in church or state*; *reports of eye-witnesses*; *sermons* and *doctrinal treatises* of acknowledged theologians, etc. If the documents in existence are found insufficient, we must have recourse to earlier or later *traditions*, and to the *historical investigations* of those who had access to original documents which are now no longer extant.

1. COLLECTIONS OF COUNCILS: *J. Harduin*, concill. collectio regia maxima. Par. 1715. 12 vols. folio.—*J. D. Mansi*, concill. nova. et ampliss. coll. 31 vols. fol. Flor. et Venet. 1759 ss.

2. ACTS OF THE POPES: *Ph. Jaffé*, Regesta pontiff. Rom. (to the year 1198). Berol. 1851. 4.—The decretals of the Popes are collected and treated of in the Corpus jur. canon., ed. *Böhmer* (Hal. 1747. 2 vols. 4.) and *Richter* (Lps. 1833 ss. 4).—*L. Cherubini*, bullarium Rom. Ed. IV. Rom. 1672. 5 vols. fol.—*C. Cocquelines*, bullarum, privileg. ac diplomatum ampliss. collectio Rom. 1739. 28 vols. fol.—*Barberi*, bullar. Magn. (1758–1830), cont. by *R. Segretus* (up to 1846). Rom. 1835–47. 14 vols. fol.

3. RULES OF MONASTIC ORDERS: *Luc. Holstenii* codex regularum monastic. et canonic. 4 vols. 4. Rom. 1661, auctus a *Mar. Brockie*. 6 vols. fol. Aug. Vind. 1759.

4. LITURGIES: *J. A. Assemani* Cod. liturgicus eccl. univ. 13 vols. 4. Rom. 1749.—*H. A. Daniel*, cod. lit. eccl. univ. 4 vols. Lps. 1847–53. 8.

5. CONFESSIONS OF FAITH: *C. W. Fr. Walch*, biblioth. symbolica vetus. Lemg. 1770; *A. Hahn*, Biblioth. der Symb. u. Glaubensregeln der apost. kath. K. (Library of the Confessions and Rules of Faith of the Apostolic Catholic Church). Bresl. 1842.

6. ACTA MARTYRORUM: *Th. Ruinart*, Acta primorum Martyrum. New edition by *B. Gallura*. Aug. Vind. 1802. 3 vols.—*Surius* and the *Bollandists* (§ 3, 10); *St. E. Assemani*, Acta Sanctorum Mart. Orient. et Occid. Rom. 1748. 2 vols. fol.

### § 5. AUXILIARY SCIENCES OF CHURCH HISTORY.

Those sciences are *auxiliaries* of Church History which are indispensable in order properly to understand, critically to judge of, and to sift, the sources of ecclesiastical history. Among them we reckon, 1) *Diplomatics*, which teaches us to judge of the genuineness, the completeness, and the trustworthiness of documents; 2) *Philology*, which enables us to make use of sources in different languages; 3) *Geography*, and 4) *Chronology*, which respectively inform us about the scene, and the succession in time, of the different facts narrated. In a wider sense, we may also reckon among auxiliary sciences, general history, as well as that of jurisprudence, of civilisation, of art, of literature, of philosophy, and of religion, all which are indispensable on account of their manifold bearing on the development of the Church.

1. DIPLOMATICS: *J. Mabillon*, de re diplomatica. Ed. II. Par. 1709. fol.

2. PHILOLOGY: *C. du Frèsne* (*Dominus du Cange*), glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ latinitatis. 6 vols. Par. 1733; edid. *Henschel*. Par. 1840 ss. 7 vols. 4.—*Du Frèsne*, gloss. ad scriptores med. et infim. græcitat. 2 vols. fol. Lugd. 1688; *J. C. Suiceri* thesaurus ecclesiast., e patribus græcis. Ed. 2. 2 vols. fol. Amst. 1728.

3. GEOGRAPHY: *Car. a S. Paulo*, Geogr. s., cur. *J. Clerici*, Amst. 1703. fol.;—*Nic. Sansonis*, Atlas ant. sacer, emend. *J. Clericus*. Amst. 1705. fol.;—*J. E. Th. Wiltsh*, Handb. d. kirchl. Geogr. u. Statistik (Manual of Ecclesiastical Geography and Statistics). 2 vols. Berlin 1846; the same author's, Atlas sacer s. ecclesiast. Goth. 1843; *C. F. Stäudlin*, kirchl. Geogr. u. Statist. (Ecclesiastical Geography and Statistics), 2 vols. Tüb. 1804.—*Mich. le Quien*,

Oriens christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus. Par. 1740. 3 vols. fol.

4. CHRONOLOGY: *Piper*, Kirchenrechnung (Ecclesiastical Chronology). Berlin 1841. 4.

#### § 6. HISTORY OF CHURCH HISTORY (UP TO THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION).

Comp. *C. F. Stäudlin*, Gesch. u. Lit. d. K. G. (History and Literature of Church History). Hamburg 1827. *F. Chr. Baur*, die Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschreibg. (the Periods of the Literature of Church History). Tüb. 1852.

The Gospels and the book of Acts furnish us with an account of the commencement of ecclesiastical history. Next in order of time comes the work of *Hegesippus*, a native of Asia Minor, who, about the middle of the second century, collected the various traditions of apostolical times. Only fragments of this work have been preserved. *Eusebius*, Bishop of Cæsarea, claims to be the Father of Church History in the proper sense of the term. His work extends to the year 324. It was continued in the fifth century by *Philostorgius*, an Arian, and by *Socrates*, *Sozomenus*, and *Theodoret*, Catholic writers. The latter were followed in the sixth century by *Evagrius*. At first the Eastern had, in this branch of study, the advantage of the Western Church, which only furnished translations, or at most re-cast the material furnished by the Greeks, instead of carrying on independent investigations. *Rufinus*, a presbyter at Aquileja, translated into Latin the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and brought it down to his own days (to 395). About the same time, *Sulpicius Severus*, a presbyter from Gaul, wrote his "Historia Sacra," in two books, extending from the creation of the world to the year 400. In the sixth century, *Cassiodorus*, a Roman official under Theodoric, condensed a translation of the Catholic continuators of Eusebius, which was designed to supplement the work of Rufinus. This compilation, well known as the *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, along with Rufinus, continued the common text-book in use up to the time of the Reformation. *Gregorius*, Bishop of Tours, furnished a most valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the Franks up to the year 591, and the *Venerable Bede*, to that of England up to the year 731. During the middle ages the Western Church had only chroniclers, whose writings, however, are of the greatest importance as secondary sources for the history of their own times. The *Liber Pontificalis*,



by the Roman librarian Anastasius (*ob.* 891), furnishes biographies of the Popes. The work of Bishop *Adam of Bremen* (extending to the year 1076) is of great value for the history of the northern churches. Considering the close connection between church and state in the Byzantine empire, we must not omit to notice the so-called *Scriptores historiæ Byzantinæ*, as important for the student of Church History.

#### § 7. CONTINUATION (16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES).

The Reformation first called forth really critical investigation, and opened the way for a scientific treatment of Church History. In carrying on their great work, the Reformers felt the need of reverting to those times when the Church appeared in its purer form. To investigate and to determine such questions, it was necessary to study ecclesiastical history; while the very attacks of their enemies obliged the Roman Catholic Church to follow them into these investigations. So early as the middle of the sixteenth century, the *Magdeburg Centuriæ* (1559-74), a splendid work on ecclesiastical history, were compiled by an association of *Lutheran* divines, headed by *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, a clergyman at Magdeburg. It consisted of 13 folio vols., of which each described a century. The work may be described as the result of unwearied labour, and as bringing forward a great many documents till then unknown. The peculiar position of the writers, as *Lutheran* divines, induced them to pay particular attention to the history of the development of dogmas. The *Centuriæ* evoked (in 1588) the *Ecclesiastical Annals* of *Cæsar Baronius* (12 vols. folio, extending to 1198); a production specially important from the circumstance that it brings to light many documents, which have since then remained unknown. The author was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and had almost been elevated to the Chair of St Peter. Since that period the study of ecclesiastical history has been continued, in the *ROMAN CATHOLIC* Church, especially by the order of the *Maurines* and by the *Oratorians* in *France*, where the more liberal spirit of the *Gallican* Church tended to encourage such inquiries. Among these writers we may specially mention *Natalis Alexander*—who wrote on general Church History—a learned, but scholastic and stiff *Dominican*; *Seb. le Nain de Tillemont*, a conscientious *Jansenist* author; *Claude Fleury*, the mild, able, but somewhat diffuse confessor of *Louis XV.*; and the eloquent *Bishop Bossuet*. To the older *REFORMED* Church we are indebted for many excellent works on ecclesiastical history.

*J. H. Hottinger* combined a history of the Jews, of Heathenism, and of Mohammedanism with that of Christianity. Of still greater importance were the productions of *Fr. Spanheim*, in Leyden. In his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, *J. Basnage* has replied to Bossuet, while the *Annales* of *Sam. Basnage* were directed against *Baronius*.

#### § 8. CONTINUATION (18TH CENTURY).

After the great work of the "Magdeburg Centuriones," the study of ecclesiastical history was for a time neglected by the Lutheran Church. A century elapsed before *G. Calixt* (ob. 1656) revived the study of this science. Strange to say, it was again controversy which induced theologians to return to the subject. In 1699, *Gottfr. Arnold*, a learned Pietist and Mystic, composed his "Impartial History of the Church and of Heretics,"—a work which throughout breathes a party spirit, and which describes genuine Christianity only among heretics and fanatics. Still, it gave a fresh impulse to historical investigation. Since that period, men like *Weismann* of Tübingen, the two *Walch's* (*George Walch*, the father, at Jena, and *Francis Walch*, the son, in Göttingen), *J. Lor. v. Mosheim*, Chancellor in Göttingen (ob. 1755), and *Sigism. J. Baumgarten* of Halle, have furnished able and valuable works on Church History. Among these *Mosheim* deserves the first place, both on account of his acuteness, of his practical sense, of his style, and of his pure Latinity. *J. Sal. Semler* of Halle (ob. 1791), the pupil of *Baumgarten*, attempted to throw doubt upon almost every conclusion in historical theology at which the Church had arrived. He was answered by *J. Matthew Schröckh*, whose work, in 45 vols., bears evidence of almost incredible labour and perseverance, although it is necessarily diffuse. *Chevalier Spittler*, a Wurtemberg Minister of State, next furnished a clever caricature of Church History. He was followed in the same spirit by *Henke* of Helmstädt, who, in vigorous language, attempted to sketch the history of the Christian Church in the light of a continuous succession of religious aberrations. *G. J. Planck* of Göttingen, a representative of the unhealthy supranaturalism of his time, wrote a number of ecclesiastical and other monographs, which display considerable research, but are tainted with the spirit of his school. Theologians of the Reformed Church also compiled valuable treatises on ecclesiastical history. Among them we mention those of *J. Clericus*, an Arminian; of *Alph. Turretin*, of Geneva; of *Herm. Venema*, of Franeker; and of *Jablonsky*, at Frankfort-on-the-Oder. The reforms introduced by the Em-

peror Joseph II. were not without effect on the study of ecclesiastical history among the members of the GERMAN branch of the *Roman Catholic Church*. Accordingly, *Casp. Royko* of Prague, and *Matthew Dannenmayer* of Vienna, wrote in a liberal spirit,—the former in language almost cynical, the latter in a more scientific and calm tone.

### § 9. CONTINUATION (19TH CENTURY).

A new era in the treatment of Church History opened with *Chr. Schmidt* of Giessen, in the commencement of the nineteenth century. Instead of the superficial or diffuse enumeration of facts, formerly current, he insisted on a thorough study of the sources and an enlarged estimate of events. But, unfortunately, in his case, the independent and enlarged treatment merely consisted in want of sympathy on the part of the historian with the subject of his investigations. His writings were, in consequence, cold, unattractive, and almost mechanical. But the fundamental principle to which he called attention was safe, and, if rightly applied, calculated to accomplish the object in view. He was followed by *Gieseler* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1854), who elevated and improved this principle; and, in his *History of the Church*, has left a perfect storehouse of the most varied and comprehensive research. The text itself is terse; but the notes by which it is accompanied contain an exquisite selection from the sources from which he had drawn. The *Manual of Engelhardt* of Erlangen is an unpretending but valuable arrangement of the subject, as derived from the sources; that of *K. Hase* of Jena is distinguished by its vivid sketches, its fresh and tasteful style, and its frequent and most telling allusions to the sources whence his material had been drawn. In the prelections of *Schleiermacher*, we find, indeed, no more than the information ordinarily conveyed, but the leading outlines in the development of the Church are well traced. The work of *Niedner* claims special merit from the industry of the author, who furnishes much more than the common staple of text-books. The book affords evidence of most laborious study of the sources, and of discriminating tact; but its style is heavy, and somewhat scholastic. The *Manual of Fricke* (unhappily left incomplete), learned but stiff, is a production of the same school. In *Gfrörer's* work on Ecclesiastical History, Christianity is treated as the natural product of the time in which it originated. Clerical selfishness, political calculations and intrigues, appear the sole principles of ecclesiastical movements which this

author can appreciate or discover. Still, the work is of importance; and those volumes especially which detail the history of the Middle Ages give evidence of original study, and contain much fresh information. Occasionally the writer is carried away by his ingenuity, which suggests combinations where, in reality, none had existed. In 1853, Gfrörer joined the Roman Catholic Church.

Almost at the same time with *Gieseler*, *A. Neander* commenced his great work on Church History, which formed a new phase in that branch of study. Sharing in the religious awakening which took place in Germany at the time of the French Wars, and deeply imbued with Schleiermacher's theology of feeling, he assigned to personal piety an important place in his treatment of Church History. In his view, ecclesiastical history furnished a grand commentary on the parable of the leaven which was destined to leaven the whole lump. The developments of the inner life are his favourite theme: he delights in tracing the Christian element even in persons and parties which had formerly been overlooked or disowned; while, on the other hand, the Church and churchliness appear to him generally as a mere ossification of Christian life, and a crystallisation of Christian dogma. Similarly, he overlooks the influence exerted by political causes, nor does he pay attention to the æsthetic and artistic bearings of history. If his treatment of the subject is too minute and monotonous, the reader is compensated by fervour and the continuous evidence of familiarity with the sources. Among the pupils whom this great man has left, *Jacobi* of Halle, and *Hagenbach* of Basle, have generally followed his direction, but avoided his errors. The Manual of *Jacobi* (which is not yet completed) breathes the same spirit as that of his teacher. Its tone is elevated; nor is the author content merely to imitate Neander. The prelections of *Hagenbach*, originally delivered to an educated audience, are somewhat diffuse, but clear and attractive. They breathe throughout a warm Christian spirit, nor is the judgment of the lecturer warped by narrow sectarian prejudices. What in the work of Neander had been wanting, from the subjectiveness of his "pectoral" piety, *Guericke* of Halle has attempted to supply, at least so far as the Lutheran Church, to which he is attached, is concerned. But in more respects than one the work is somewhat one-sided. Along with this production we rank the excellent Manual of *Bruno Lindner* of Leipsic. The author belongs to the same ecclesiastical party as *Guericke*; he traces more particularly the development of dogmas; and also takes notice of the operation of political influences,



as from time to time they were brought to bear on the history of the Church. [*Professor Kurtz* (whose manual we now present) belongs to the same ecclesiastical party as the above authors. His History furnishes, however, fuller details, and more copious extracts from the sources, than the works of *Guericke* or *Lindner*. Along with these historians we may mention the late lamented *Dr Welsh* of Edinburgh, whose untimely death has left to the theological world only the first volume of a Church History, which promised to exhibit the fruits of careful study, couched in the chaste style which characterised that author.] Students of Ecclesiastical History are also under manifold obligations to the conductors of the "*Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*" (*Journal of Historical Theology*), edited since 1851 by *Illgen*, and latterly by *Niedner*.

The Roman Catholic Church has latterly displayed fresh activity in prosecuting the study of Church History. A succession of able writers have followed the noble convert (to Popery), *Leopold*, Count of *Stolberg*. The work of *Katercamp* breathes a conciliatory spirit, and is at the same time distinguished by elegance of composition. A new era in the historical investigations of the Roman Catholic Church commenced with *Ad. Möhler*, whose labours were prematurely arrested by death (in 1838). The school which he inaugurated is decidedly ultramontane, but combines with this tendency the exhaustive diligence which characterises Protestant investigations. *Döllinger* of Munich, *Alzog* of Hildesheim, and *Ritter* of Breslau, have written valuable manuals, composed in the spirit of that party.

I. *J. E. Chr. Schmidt*, Handb. d. chr. K. G. (Manual of Eccl. Hist.) fortgesetzt v. *F. W. Rettberg*. 7 vols. Giess. 1800-34.—*J. C. L. Gieseler*, Lehrb. d. K. G. (Manual of Ch. Hist.). Section I.-III. in 6 vols. (the first 2 sections, forming 5 volumes in "Clark's Series," have been translated into English). Bonn 1824-40. Vol. IV. Kirchen Geschichte d. 18ten Jahrhunderts (Eccl. Hist. of the 18th cent.), Vol. V. Kirchen G. d. neuesten Zeit (Eccl. Hist. from 1814), and Vol. VI. Dogmen-Gesch. (History of Dogmas), have, after the author's death, been edited by *Dr Redepenning* (Bonn 1855-57).—*J. G. V. Engelhardt*, Handb. d. K. G. 4 vols. Erlangen 1832.—*K. Hase*, K. G. 8th Ed. Leipz. 1858.—*Fr. Schleiermacher*, Vorles. ü. d. K. G. (Lectures on Ch. H.) herausg. von *Bonell*. Berlin 1840.—*Chr. W. Niedner*, Gesch. d. chr. K. Leipz. 1846.—*G. A. Fricke*, Lehrb. d. K. G. Vol. I. (to the 8th cent.) Leipz. 1850.—*A. F. Gfrörer*, Gesch. d. chr. K. Stuttg. 1840 etc. 7 vols. (to the year 1000).

II. *A. Neander*, allg. Gesch. d. chr. K. (General Hist. of the Chr. Ch.). 6 Sections in 11 vols. Hamb. 1854-58 (to the year

1416); 3d Ed. in 2 large vols. 8vo. Hamb. 1857. (translated and published by Clark, Edinb.—*Ph. Schaff*, History of the Christian Church (A.D. 1 to 311). Edinb. 1859. vol. I.—*J. L. Jacobi*, Lehrb. d. K. G. Vol. I. to the year 590. Berlin 1850.—*K. R. Hagenbach*, die chr. K. d. 3 ersten Jahrh. (the Chr. Ch. of the first 3 cent.) Leipz. 1853; die chr. K. vom 4–6. Jahrh. (the Chr. Ch. from the 4th–6th cent.) Leipz. 1856; Gesch. d. Reform. (Hist. of the Reform.) 2d Ed. Leipz. 1851; d. evang. Protestantism. in s. gesch. Entwickl. (Hist. Develop. of Evang. Protest.) 2 vols. 2d Ed. Leipz. 1854; K. G. d. 18 u. 19 Jahrh. (Eccl. Hist. of the 18th and 19th cent.) 3d Ed. 2 vols. Leipz. 1856; Leben u. ausg. Schriften d. Väter d. reform. K. (Lives and Select Writings of the Founders of the Reform. Ch.), written by various Theol. and ed. by *Hagenbach*, of which 3 vols. have appeared (Elberfeld 1857 etc.).—*H. E. F. Guericke*, Handb. d. K. G. 8 Ed. Leipz. 1854. 3 vols.—*Br. Lindner*, Lehrb. d. chr. K. G. 3 vols. Leipz. 1848 etc.—*J. H. Kurtz*, Handb. d. allgem. K. G. I. 1. 2. 3. II. 1. (to the time of the Carolingians). Mitau 1853 etc.—*G. v. Polenz*, Gesch. d. franz. Calvin (Hist. of Fr. Calvin). Vol. I. (to 1560). Gotha 1857.—*Dr D. Welsh*, Hist. of the Ch. Vol. I. Edinb.—*Dean Milman*, History of Christianity (3 vols.), and History of Latin Christianity, 6 vols.—*Robertson* (J. C.), History of the Christian Church to 1122. 2 vols. London. 1858.

III. *Leop. v. Stolberg*, Gesch. d. Rel. Jesu Chr. (Hist. of the Rel. of Jesus Christ). Vols. 1–15 (to the year 430), fortges. von (continued by) *F. v. Kerz*, Vols. 16–32 (to the year 1300). Mayence 1824–51, and by *Brischar*. Vol. 33 etc. 1851 etc.—*Th. Katerecamp*, Gesch. d. Rel. bis zur Stiftung d. allg. K. (Hist. of Rel. to the found. of a univers. Ch.) Münster 1819,—Kirchengesch. 5 vols. (to the year 1153), Münster 1823–34.—*J. Jos. Ign. Ritter*, Handb. d. K. G. 5th Ed. Bonn 1854. 2 vols.—*J. Alzog*, Universalgesch. d. chr. K. (Universal Hist. of the Chr. Ch.) 6th Ed. Mayence 1854.

#### § 10. THE PRINCIPAL PERIODS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

In the history of the world we distinguish three great leading periods, in which successively the Oriental, the Greco-Roman, and the Germanic element have cast civilisation in their own peculiar mould. In order to attain the fullest and most perfect development, the kingdom of God had to adopt each of these forms and to unfold in them. The Jewish theocracy represents the development of the kingdom of God under the Oriental form of culture; the Old Church, its development under the Greco-Roman; the New Church, that under the Saxon form of culture. The Middle Ages exhibit the contest between the Old, which had sprung up under the classica

form of culture, and the New, which, under the Germanic form of culture, was about to appear. Lastly, the development of Church History since the Reformation, exhibits that movement which, proceeding from Germanic Christian culture, had attained maturity and independence by the Reformation. This survey of the kingdom of God upon earth, according to the various forms of culture, appears of such importance to us, that we propose to arrange the various periods of ecclesiastical history on this principle.

We shall, therefore, present our history under the following periods:—

**I. PREPARATORY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY:** Preparation for the coming salvation, under the Hebrew-Oriental form of culture; contemporaneously with this: preparation of classical (Greek and Roman) culture, as the outward form under which the coming salvation was to become universally applicable.

**II. HISTORY OF THE PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY:** Perfect manifestation of the plan of salvation by Christ and His apostles. Conflict between the Jewish and the Grecian forms of culture. Victory of the latter. First century of the Church (Apostolic Age).

**III. HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY,** on the basis of the original exhibition of salvation.

**A. UNDER THE ANTIQUE AND CLASSIC FORM.**

*First Period*, from the year 100–323, or to the final victory of Christianity over Greco-Roman Heathenism.

*Second Period*, from the year 323–692, or to the close of the doctrinal development of the Old Church (680), and the commencement of the estrangement between the Eastern and the Western Church (692).

*Third Period*, from the year 692–1453, or to the taking of Constantinople. Decline and decay of the ecclesiastical movement under the antique and classic form.

**B. UNDER THE GERMANIC FORM; and 1. under the MÆDLÆVAL Germanic form of culture.**

*First Period*, comprising the 4th–9th cent., i.e. from the foundation of the Germanic Church to the close of the Carolingian Age.

*Second Period*, comprising the 10th–13th cent., to Boniface VIII. Prevalence of those elements which gave to Mediæval culture its distinguishing character; Papacy, Monasticism, Scholasticism.

*Third Period*, comprising the 14th and 15th cent., to the Reformation. Decline of Mediæval elements. Increase of Reformatory tendencies.

2. Under the MODERN GERMANIC *form of culture* :

*First Period*, from 1517–1648, or to the peace of Westphalia, as closing the struggle of Protestantism for legal recognition.

*Second Period*, from 1648–1750, *i.e.*, to the appearance of Naturalism and Rationalism.

*Third Period*, from 1750–1814, to the end of the French wars. Prevalence of Naturalism and of Rationalism. Age of Enlightenment.

*Fourth Period*, from 1814 to the present time. Re-awakening of a Christian and ecclesiastical spirit. Hostile movements of Communism and Pantheism.



# THE PREPARATORY HISTORY

OF THE

## CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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RELIGIOUS, MORAL, AND INTELLECTUAL STATE OF THE WORLD  
BEFORE THE COMING OF CHRIST.

1. COMP. *J. Jac. Hess*, *Gesch. d. Israel. vor d. Zeiten Jesu* (Hist. of the Jews before the Time of Christ). 12 vols. Zurich 1776-88.—*J. H. Kurtz*, *Geschichte d. alten Bundes* (Hist. of the Old Covenant—transl. into Engl. by Edersheim, Edinb. T. and T. Clark). Vols. I. II. 2d Ed. Berlin 1853-56;—the *same author's* *Lehrb. d. heil. Gesch.* (Manual of Sacred Hist.) 7th Ed. Königsb. 1856.—(*H. Ewald*, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel bis Christus* [Hist. of the Jewish Nation to the Time of Christ]. Gött. 1843 etc. 4 vols.).—*Edersheim's* History of the Jewish Nation. 2d Ed. Edinb. 1857.

2. *Herder*, *Ideen zur Philos. d. Gesch. d. Menschh.* (Thoughts on the Philos. of the Hist. of Man).—*H. Ritter*, *Gesch. d. Philosophie*. 2d Ed. Hamb. 1836 etc.—*Meiners*, *allgem. Gesch. d. Religg.* (Universal Hist. of Religions). 1806.—*Creuzer*, *Symbolik u. Mythologie*. 3d Ed. 1837 etc.—*Otfr. Müller*, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaft. Mythol.* (Proleg. to a scientif. Myth.).—*Stuhr*, *allg. Gesch. d. Religionsformen der heidn. Völker* (Universal Hist. of the Forms of Relig. among Heathen Nations). Berlin 1836.—*A. Wuttke*, *Gesch. d. Heidenthums* (Hist. of Heathen.). Vols. I. II. Breslau 1852 etc.—*J. Sepp*, *das Heidenth. u. dess. Bedeutung für d. Christenth.* (Heathen. and its import. for Christian.). 3 vols. Regensb. 1853.—*Tholuck*, *das Wesen u. die sittl. Einflüsse des Heidenth.* (the Character and Moral Infl. of Heathen.); in *Neander's* *Memorials*. Vol. I.—*Grüneisen*, *d. Sittliche in d. bildenden Kunst bei d. Griechen* (the Moral Element in the Fine Arts among the Greeks). Leipz. 1833.

*J. G. A. Lutterbeck*, *die neutest. Lehrbegriffe* (Dogmat. of the N. T.). Vol. I. Development previous to the age of Christ. Mayence 1853.

## §. 11. SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

The incarnation of God in Christ for the salvation of the human race, which had become subject to sin, death, and eternal misery, forms the central point in the history and development of man. With this event commences, and on it rests "the fulness of time" (Gal. iv. 4). All former history served only as preparation for this great fact. But this process of preparation dates from earliest times, and appeared under the twofold form of *Heathenism* and of *Judaism*. In the former, the development was left to the unaided powers and capacities of man; in the latter, it was influenced and directed by a continuous course of Divine co-operation. These two series, which differ not only in the means employed, but also in the aim and goal of their respective developments, continued side by side with each other, until in the fulness of time they merged in Christianity, in which the lasting and legitimate results of these developments were to serve a great purpose; on the other hand, what in these systems and their consequences was godless, issued in opposition to Christianity, and led to a contest for life or death. If, therefore, a way was prepared by which Christianity was to become the religion of the world, the struggle to which we have referred served to show its Divine reality and power, while these contests and victories also prepared it for further achievements.

## §. 12. PRIMEVAL PREPARATION OF SALVATION.

When man came from the creative hand of God, he was upright and holy. He bore the Divine image, and was destined for, and capable of, a free development by which to attain perfect blessedness, glory, and communion with God. But instead of attaining that destiny by an act of free choice, he fell by an abuse of his freedom, and became subject to sin, death, and condemnation. However, man was still capable of salvation; and immediately after his fall the eternal purpose of grace was announced, and henceforth became the great element in his history. This deliverance was to appear in the midst of the human race itself (by the seed of the woman, Gen. iii. 15), and thus to form the culminating point of a development carried on under the operation of God. But soon this development again took a direction so perverse and godless, that unless it had been broken off by a general judgment (that of the flood), it would have terminated, not in salvation, but in absolute destruction. Only *one* man (Noah) was preserved amidst the

general ruin, and now formed the commencement of a *new* development by which the great goal was again to be sought. Sin a second time marred this work,—not, indeed, so far as to render a second general judgment necessary in order to preserve the Divine purpose of salvation, yet so as to make it impossible that this development should become the medium for exhibiting the counsel of sovereign love. Salvation might indeed still be prepared in and by it, if not positively, at least negatively. But, in order positively to prepare the way of salvation, for the third time a new commencement required to be made.

§. 13. DIFFERENT PURPOSES WHICH JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM WERE INTENDED TO SERVE.

In Abraham and in his seed God chose and created, called and trained a people, in and by which salvation—in its positive aspect—was to be prepared, until, when fully matured, its benefits might be shared by all the nations of the earth. This new development commenced on the principle of strictest exclusion, although from the first it offered the prospect of finally embracing all nations. Everything connected with the history of this people bears reference to the coming salvation. Each revelation and dispensation, all discipline and punishment, every promise and threatening; their constitution, laws, and worship; every political, civil, and religious institution (so far as they were legitimate and proper),—all tended towards this goal.—Meantime the Lord allowed the other nations to walk in their own ways (Acts xiv. 16). But, while leaving them to themselves, He did not wholly forsake them, but had a great purpose of His own in view, to which their development also was to be subservient. Their history also was preparatory for salvation, and that not only *negatively*, in so far as they learned to long for, and to become susceptible of, the salvation which was destined to be “of the Jews” (John iv. 22), but *positively* also, in so far as they were rendered capable of finally offering a contribution which should prove of greatest importance for the spread of that salvation. In this respect pre-Christian heathenism is not without its Divine sanction.

In its fundamental principles, heathenism denies the existence of a living and personal God, despises the salvation which He has prepared, and embodies the idea that man is both able and obliged to deliver himself by his own strength and wisdom. Hence *the endeavour, with the means at man's command, to attain a salvation devised*

*by man.* From the sinfulness and impotence of human nature, such endeavours could only lead to entire and felt ruin. Despite increasing worldly culture and political power, heathenism increasingly sank from its height of moral and religious strength and dignity, into a state of spiritual decay and moral laxity and helplessness. It became more and more evident that neither nature nor art, neither worldly culture nor wisdom, neither oracles nor mysteries, neither philosophy nor theosophy, neither political institutions nor industry, neither sensual indulgence nor luxury, could satisfy the cravings of the soul, created for the enjoyment of God, or restore to man that inward peace which he had lost. Experience such as this was calculated to humble the pride of heathenism, and to awaken in nobler spirits a sense of need—a longing and a susceptibility for the salvation to be manifested in Christ. *Thus Judaism was to prepare salvation for mankind, and heathenism mankind for salvation.* But the latter has also yielded not merely negative, but positive results. In its struggles after light, heathenism called every natural power and capacity of man into requisition, in order to attain the highest possible development of worldly culture and power. In this respect great results were attained, which in turn became the property of Christianity, and, in its hands, the form and the means by which its world-wide mission was to be realised and executed. In one sentence, *Judaism has supplied to the Church the substance, the Divine reality; heathenism, the human form, and the outward means for developing and carrying out the great work.*

It must not be imagined, however, that these results of the development of Judaism and of heathenism were either entirely or generally understood and applied, since human liberty might resist, and shut itself up against these methods which the Lord, in His grace, took for training mankind. A comparatively small portion only of the Jewish and heathen world, elevated above the generality and feeling their need of salvation, from the first accepted the offer of the Gospel. All the rest shut their minds and hearts to its claims, *opposed it with more or less pertinacity*, and commenced a determined contest against the Church, as soon as it appeared formally constituted. *Judaism* opposed Christianity, because it attached exclusive value to the husk in which the fruit had ripened to maturity, while it rejected the fruit itself—and, because Jewish pride and exclusiveness could not brook the idea that the Gospel should place the Gentile on the same level with the Jew. *Heathenism* opposed the Church, because it regarded Divine Wisdom as folly, Divine Power as deceit, and built itself up in the pride of its human wisdom, in the fanaticism of its unbelief or misbelief, and in the self-reliance of its power and wealth. This decisive contest, in which the Church was to display, and on which it brought to bear, the strength and the resources with which the Lord had endowed it, became the more bloody and desperate, as the Church spread and



increased despite all persecutions and oppressions, and as both Judaism and heathenism could not but see the certain approach of their final doom.

#### §. 14. RELIGIOUS LIFE AMONG THE HEATHEN.

Full of native vigour, and surrounded by a nature so lavish in her gifts, mankind soon denied the existence of a living, a personal, and a supra-mundane God. Nature, with her inexhaustible fulness of life and of enjoyments, seemed so near, and so much more worthy of devotion and worship than this Personal God, in His supra-mundane elevation. Thus originated heathenism—in its general character, a state of absorption in the great life of Nature, a deification, or, in one word, **THE WORSHIP AND SERVICE OF NATURE** (Rom. i. 21, ff.). Those hidden powers in the life of Nature, and of the soul, were not viewed abstractly, but regarded as revelations of the eternal spirit of Nature. Such ideas were further developed by speculation and mysticism, by natural magic, and by divination, and applied to all the relations of human life. Under the influence of certain prominent individuals, or of geographical and ethnographical peculiarities, the various systems of the worship of Nature arose in this manner. The common characteristic of all these systems, which, indeed, is connected with the very essence of heathenism, consists in a line of demarcation between the esoteric religion of the priests and the exoteric worship of the multitude. The former may be characterised as a speculative and ideal Pantheism; the latter, as a Polytheism full of myths and ceremonies.

Let it not be supposed that heathenism was entirely devoid of every element of truth. Not to mention those remains of original revelation in heathenism which, with various aberrations from pristine purity, lay at the foundation of, or were incorporated in, its systems, these religions of nature have, in their unnaturally early development, anticipated some of those religious truths which, in the arrangement of Divine revelation, only unfolded gradually, and at a comparatively late period. At the same time, however, they have perverted and distorted these truths into falsehoods and caricatures. Among them we reckon, for example, the pantheistic theories concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, the dualistic perversion of the real existence of evil, traced back to an uncreated principle, etc. To the same class also belongs, more especially, the practice of offering human sacrifices, which prevailed under every form of the worship of nature—a dreadful, in some sense a prophetic, cry for help on the part of man, consciously forsaken by God, and which could only on Golgotha be resolved into hymns of praise and of thanksgiving.

The almost incredible deeds of self-devotion and renunciation, such as hecatombs, sacrifices of children, emasculation, prostitution, etc., attest the power and energy with which, in its high-day, the worship of nature had kept hold on the hearts of its adherents, and show the enthusiasm which it had called forth. Another evidence in the same direction is the almost irresistible charm which, during the whole course of the earlier history of Israel, heathenism seems to have had for the chosen race. Even this circumstance proves that heathenism was not merely a lie and a piece of imposition. The worship of nature could not have wielded such power if this lie had not concealed some elements of truth; the charm which it exercised lay in its anticipations of a future salvation, however Satan might have distorted them; while the mysterious manifestations of natural magic, and of the power of divination, appeared to confirm its Divine claim. But the fate reserved for every unnatural and premature development also befell the worship of nature. The remains of truth were swallowed up in the gigantic lie; the powers of life and the capacity of development, which had been forced on beyond their real strength, were soon used and consumed; the blossoms fell off without giving place to fruit. Mysteries and oracles, magic and divination, became either empty forms, or the means of gross imposition and low trickery. Ultimately, a haruspex could not meet his fellow without laughing. Among some, unbelief ridiculed everything; among others, misbelief assumed the most dissolute or extravagant shapes; while an unthinking religious eclecticism vainly endeavoured to infuse fresh life into decrepit and dying heathenism. Most miserable impotence and emptiness—such was the final issue of a worship of nature, once so vigorous and lively.

## §. 15. MORAL CONDITION OF THE HEATHEN.

The morals of a people always keep pace with their religion. It was so with the heathen nations also, whose moral life was earnest, vigorous, and genuine, or weak, defective, and perverse in measure, as religious earnestness increased or decreased. The moral defects of heathenism sprang from its religious deficiencies. It was a religion adapted for *time*, not for eternity; and the gods shared all those failings which are connected with our present state of existence. Thus religion lost all that power by which it elevates man above the defilements connected with our present state. Myths, which in part were exceedingly immoral in their tendency, sanctified or excused—by the example of the gods—even gross immorality. Voluptuousness, which symbolised the generating power in the divine life of nature, was not unfrequently made the centre and the climax of worship. Heathenism wholly ignored the great truths connected with the general idea of HUMANITY; it was only conversant with those con-

nected with NATIONALITY, and the excellencies it cultivated were merely CIVIC VIRTUES. Eastern despotism, as well as Western conceit and pride of nationality, slighted the common rights and the dignity of *man*. A FOREIGNER or a SLAVE had neither position nor claims. As the value of an individual entirely depended on his political position, the place belonging to WOMAN was wholly ignored or misunderstood. Generally speaking, she was regarded only as the handmaid of man; while, in the East, polygamy degraded her to the lowest level. Still, notwithstanding these fundamental and great defects, in the high-day of its vigour, heathenism often displayed considerable moral earnestness and energy, at least in those departments of moral life (such as in the state and in civic relations) which the breath of Pantheism or of Polytheism had not laid desolate. But when the ancestral faith had become empty and powerless, when it ceased to animate and to pervade these departments of life, they also lost the moral dignity formerly attaching to them. The general decadence reached its climax during the degenerate times of the Roman Emperors. When the Church entered on its career of spiritual conquest, it found heathenism in a state of incredible moral degradation.

#### §. 16. THE INTELLECTUAL CULTURE OF THE HEATHEN.

The intellectual culture of heathendom exercised a twofold and an opposite influence upon the Church. Partly heathen science and art prepared the way for, and formed a link of connection with, Christianity; partly, it obstructed its progress, and facilitated a relapse into heathenism. To the mental activity of the Greeks and Romans, mankind and the Church are indebted for general culture and for that *preparation* of the way to which we have already adverted. In this respect we would specially point to the philosophy, the poetry, and the historical productions of these nations. The philosophical investigations carried on in the East were chiefly of a theosophic character, and for the purpose of developing the esoteric worship of nature into the various speculative religious systems. Oriental poetry served the same purpose with reference to the exoteric religion of the people. Historical works—in the proper sense of that term—were not produced in the East. The mental culture of the Greeks and Romans, as expressed in their philosophical, poetic, and historical writings, prepared, in respect both of FORM and of SUBSTANCE, the way for the Christian Church. It furnished forms, which, from their depth, distinctness and correct-

ness, their ready adaptation and general suitableness, proved most fit for presenting and developing the new truths which were to issue from the Holy Land. It also produced certain ideas and views, derived from a profound contemplation and study both of nature and of mind, of history and of life, which, in many respects, even opened the way and prepared a soil for the great realities of salvation. On the other hand, the East, not less than classical antiquity, contributed elements of culture which were to prove a hindrance to, and a corruption in, the Church. The hostile and antichristian, the distinctively heathenish SUBSTANCE of their philosophy and theosophy, as well as their study of mysteries, were by and by introduced into Christianity, along with the FORMS of culture under which these hostile elements had formerly appeared. Had such attempts against the purity of the Church proved successful, it would have become essentially Pagan. The mysterious depths of Christianity attracted, indeed, heathenism; but then, to those highly cultivated Gentiles who boasted in the conceit of their sublime wisdom, the Gospel appeared too simple, too void of philosophy and speculation, to meet the demands of the age. They deemed it necessary to enrich it with the accumulated stores of eastern and western wisdom, that so it might indeed lay claim to be an absolute and perfect religion.

Only *classical, i. e.*, Greek and Roman culture, *directly* prepared the way for the Church. The influences of *Eastern* forms of culture on the history of the kingdom of God were entirely confined to *Judaism*. The *symbols* of the East became the form in which the Divine substance, communicated by Old Testament prophets, appeared and developed. On the other hand, the *dialectics* of classical antiquity furnished an appropriate medium by which to present the truths of *Christianity* when the symbolic covering of Judaism had been laid aside, and the truths of salvation were to appear in their pure and spiritual character.

### § 17. GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

Our remarks about the form and the substance of heathen culture, and their preparatory or disturbing influences on Christianity when it entered on its world-mission, apply more particularly to Greek *Philosophy*. However, even where these speculations *prepared* the way for the truth, we must distinguish between their merely *negative* tendency, which served to destroy heathenism, and the *positive*, in so far as both in substance and in form (§ 16) they led the way towards Christianity.



From the first this *negative tendency* appeared in Grecian philosophy. It undermined the popular creed, prepared the downfall of idolatry, and led to the self-despair of heathenism, which pointed to Christianity for deliverance. With SOCRATES (*ob.* 399 B. C.) commenced the *positive preparation* for the truth, accomplished by Greek philosophy. If, in deep humility, he confessed his ignorance, if he based all wisdom on "Know Thyself," if he traced his deepest thoughts and motives to Divine suggestions (his *Δαιμόνιον*), if he willingly surrendered the enjoyments of this world, and expressed a confident hope in that which was spiritual and eternal,—we may be allowed to regard all such expressions as, in a certain sense, the faint echoes, or rather, as the prophetic anticipations, of Christian doctrine and life. The speculations of PLATO even more closely and fully approximated Christian views. That philosopher (*ob.* 348) collected the scattered germs of his great predecessor's teaching. In his profound, speculative, and poetic mind, they sprung up and unfolded to a new mode of contemplating the world, which came nearer that of Christianity than any other system outside revelation. The philosophy of Plato spake of man as claiming kindred to the Deity, and led him beyond what is seen and sensuous to the eternal prototypes of the beautiful, the true, and the good, from which man had fallen; thus awakening in him a deep longing for the blessings he had lost. If the system of ARISTOTLE (*ob.* 322) was farther distant from Christianity than that of Plato, he rendered even greater service by presenting his views in a form of which Christian science afterwards made so large use in its inquiries and dogmatic statements. These two thinkers represent the climax of philosophic speculation among the Greeks, and the farthest limits within which inquiries like theirs could prepare the way for the Gospel. As, consciously or unconsciously, philosophy had formerly contributed to the decay of popular religion, it now entered on a process of self-destruction, and with increasing clearness disclosed the utter helplessness of heathenism. This phase appears most distinctly in the three forms of philosophy which, at the time when the Church appeared on the stage of the world, claimed the most numerous adherents: we mean, *Epicureanism*, *Stoicism*, and *Scepticism*. In the philosophy of EPICURUS (*ob.* 271), pleasure was considered the highest good. The world was left at the mercy of chance, the soul was represented as mortal, and the gods as enjoying their pleasures, entirely careless of this world. In opposition to Epicurean Deism, STOICISM (of which *Zeno*, *ob.* 260, was the founder) propounded a peculiar kind of Pantheism, in which the affairs of the world were made to depend on the unavoidable necessities of fate. Meantime the world was hastening towards a great catastrophe, from the flames of which a new world was to issue, which, in turn, was destined to describe a similar cycle. To despise pleasure and pain, and, in case of necessity, to put an end to an existence which had

missed its aim—such was the climax of wisdom. The sage, who had reached this elevation, from which he could command himself and the world, had become his own god, and found all satisfaction in himself. Lastly, SCEPTICISM (of which *Arcesilaus*, *ob.* 240, and *Carneades*, *ob.* 128, were the founders) appeared to controvert the principles of Stoicism. Since it was manifestly impossible to arrive at truth, this system placed the sum and substance of theoretical wisdom in refraining (ἐπιουχῆ) from every conclusion; and that of practical wisdom in abstaining from all passion, and from every strong emotion.

### § 18. SOCIAL CONDITION OF HEATHEN COUNTRIES.

The leading tendency in heathenism—to procure salvation by the unaided power of man—implied an endeavour to combine every force and capacity into a colossal unity (Gen. xi. 4, 6). When heathenism had renounced allegiance to the personal and living God, and rejected His method of salvation and of union, it was impelled, by a kind of inward necessity, to concentrate the mental and physical powers of mankind, and through them all powers of nature, and the products of the various zones and countries, and to subject them to *one* person, that so this person might be acknowledged as the personal and visible representative of the Deity. This felt necessity *gave rise* to, even as its perverseness *led to the ruin* of, one empire after the other, until, in the Roman Empire, the goal was reached; while, at the same time, this tendency was finally arrested and destroyed by the spiritual power of the kingdom of God (Dan. ii. 44; vii. 13, 14).

1. This aim after a **UNIVERSAL EMPIRE** has, as all the tendencies of heathenism, its twofold aspect; and we must distinguish between the ways of man and those of God, between the ungodly purposes of man and the happy results to which, in the Divine government, they were made subservient. Although we only refer to the Roman Empire, it should be borne in mind that all the great monarchies were only a repetition and a more vigorous continuation of one and the same tendency and endeavour. Hence our remarks about Rome equally apply to other empires. The universal domination of one power prepared the way for the Church, in so far as, by the union of nations into one empire, the various stages and elements of civilisation, which otherwise might have remained isolated, were combined into a more universal civilisation, which rendered it comparatively easy to circulate the fresh blood poured by the Church into the veins of nations. This union, which was first brought about by the conquests of Alexander the Great, was completed when Rome became the mistress of the world. Gradually the Greek language,

which, when the Gospel was first preached, was understood and spoken throughout the Roman Empire, obtained universal domination,—as it were a temporary suspension of the judgment by which languages were confounded, and which indicated the rise of heathenism (Gen. xi.),—that thus the return to God, and the reception of His Gospel, might be facilitated.

2. Impelled by a principle similar to that which, in the state, led to attempts after concentration of power, INDUSTRY and COMMERCE sought to grasp all wealth. But while, for very different purposes from those of the Gospel, commerce opened ways through deserts and over seas, and joined the most distant countries and zones, without knowing or willing it, in the arrangement of God it served an important purpose for the diffusion of the glad tidings.

### § 19. JUDAISM UNDER ITS SPECIAL DIVINE GUIDANCE.

Abraham was chosen and called alone (Isa. li. 2). As Creator, God called the seed of promise from the dead body of Sarah; as Saviour, He delivered the chosen race from the oppressive bondage of Egypt. The patriarchal family was constituted in the Holy Land; while, in order that the family might, unimpeded, develop into a great nation, it had to go down into Egypt. From this strange land *Moses* brought up the people, and gave them a theocratic *constitution, laws, and worship*, to serve as the means by which they were to fulfil their mission, and to be types of, and a schoolmaster unto, future perfectness (Gal. iii. 24; Heb. x. 1). The Exodus from Egypt constituted the birth of the nation; by the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, Israel was set apart to be a *holy* nation. When, under the leadership of Joshua, the Israelites took possession of the home of their ancestors—a *country* adapted for the purposes which the people were to serve—the last condition of their independent existence was fulfilled. Under the fostering care of a devout *priesthood*, the purely popular institutions of the theocracy should now have borne rich fruit; but, during the administration of the judges, it soon appeared that even these appliances were insufficient, and two other agencies were called into operation. The *prophetical* office was a special but continuous institution, intended to serve as the mouthpiece of God, and to act as the conscience of the commonwealth; while the *royal office* was designed to afford external security and to bestow internal peace upon the theocracy. Then followed the conquests of David, which gave the Jewish commonwealth a becoming political importance, while the temple of Solomon fully developed its typical worship. But, despite prophetism and royalty, the people became increasingly estranged from their peculiar destiny, and hence unable

to maintain their high position. The division of the kingdom, continued internal feuds, improper alliances, growing apostasy, and conformity to idolatry, brought after them Divine judgments, in consequence of which the nation became subject to the heathen. These chastisements remained not altogether unimproved. *Cyrus* allowed the return of the captives, and their reorganisation into a state; and prophets were again commissioned to direct the formation and the development of the community. Amid these occurrences, prophecy served not only for present instruction, reproof, and admonition, but kept before the public mind the promise of a coming salvation, thus supplying comfort and hope even in the most troublous times. The happy periods, when David had conquered and Solomon exercised his glorious sway of peace, served as basis for depicting the future transcendent glory of Messiah's kingdom; while the aberrations, the sufferings, and the humiliation of the people, during the period of their decadence, led those who cherished such hopes to look for a Messiah who should suffer for the sins of the people, and take upon Himself all their misery. And, when prophetism had done the work allotted, it ceased—to resume and complete its message when the fulness of time had come.

#### § 20. JUDAISM AFTER THE CESSATION OF DIVINE TRAINING BY MEANS OF REVELATION.

The period had now arrived when the immediate guidance of Divine revelation was to be withdrawn. Furnished with the results and experiences of former teaching, followed by the law as schoolmaster, and by prophetic prediction as by a lamp, the chosen race was now to give evidence of its calling. The annihilation with which the fanaticism of *Antiochus Epiphanes* threatened the Jewish commonwealth was happily averted, and under the *Maccabees* the nation once more obtained political independence. But, amid the increasing corruption of the Maccabean rulers, the intrigues of Rome again deprived the country of this boon. The religious persecutions of the Syrians, and, after them, the oppression of the Romans, transformed the national feeling of attachment to their ancestral religion into extreme exclusiveness, fanatical hatred and proud contempt of everything foreign, and changed the former longing for the Messiah to merely political, extravagant, and carnal expectations. True piety decayed into petty legalism and ceremonialism, into work- and self-righteousness. The priests and scribes were zealous in fostering this tendency, by increasing external ordinances and per-



verting the sense of Scripture; thus rendering the mass of the people only more insusceptible to the spirituality of that salvation, which was now so near at hand.

1. The institution of **SYNAGOGUES** proved of great importance for the development of Judaism during the period succeeding the return from Babylon. They owed their origin to the consciousness that, after the cessation of prophecy, it was both desirable and duty, not only to continue the symbolical services of the temple, but also to seek edification by a careful study of the truths which God had revealed in the law and by the prophets. But in these synagogues the tendency to enlarge the Mosaic law, and to hedge it about by rabbinical enactments, the aim after an external legalism and work-righteousness, national pride and carnal anticipations of Messianic times were nursed, and from them they spread among the body of the people. On the other hand, the synagogues, especially those out of Palestine (among the *Diaspora*), proved, from their missionary influence, of great use to the Church. These meetings, in which the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament were, every Sabbath, read in the Greek version of the **LXX.** and explained, offered to the heathen, who felt their need of salvation, precious opportunities of becoming acquainted with the revelation and the promises of God under the Old Covenant; while to the first messengers of the Gospel they afforded an opportunity of announcing the Gospel to numerous assemblages, composed of Jews and Gentiles. The strict, traditional, exclusive, and carnal direction of Judaism was more particularly represented and developed by the sect of the **PHARISEES**. To them the **SADDUCEES** were opposed, who, estranged from the peculiar genius of the people and hostile to traditionalism, sympathised with the Romans and the Herodians—in theory Rationalists, in practice Epicureans. A third sect, that of the **ESSENES**, consisted of a close association of men, who retired from the world in order to carry out the original idea of Moses concerning the priesthood (Ex. xix. 5, 6), and whose direction was that of mysticism and asceticism. As each of these three parties (the orthodox, the rationalistic, and the mystical) represented more or less unhealthy aberrations from genuine Judaism, they could not prepare the way for the Church, but either occupied a position of antagonism, or else sought to introduce dangerous corruptions (§ 48). But with all these perverse and growing tendencies, a holy seed of genuine spirituality remained in obscurity and retirement (John i. 47; Luke i. 6; ii. 25, 38)—a soil this, prepared by the Lord for receiving the salvation offered by Christ.

#### § 21. THE SAMARITANS.

The *Samaritans* originated at the time of the Captivity, from a mixture of Jewish and heathen elements. After the return from

the Babylonian exile, they wished to amalgamate with the Jews; but their overtures were rejected on account of the heathen defilements which the Samaritans had contracted. The reformatory labours carried on among them by *Manasse*, a Jewish refugee, who sought to purify their religion, and to base it on the Pentateuch (of which the text, however, was in some particulars purposely altered), and who gave them a temple and worship on Mount Gerizim, only served to increase the hatred of the Jews. The Samaritans kept by the Judaism which Manasse had brought among them, and remained equally strangers to the developments and the perversions of Rabbinism. Their Messianic hopes were consequently more pure and their exclusiveness less violent. These circumstances enabled them more impartially to examine the claims of Christianity; while the hatred and contempt with which pharisaical Judaism treated them, disposed them more favourably towards the Gospel, which was likewise disowned and persecuted by the synagogue (John iv. 41; Acts viii. 5 etc.). On the other hand, Christianity also suffered from the attempts at change and reaction made by that party, in the spirit of the heathen principle of eclecticism, which was inherent to Samaritanism from its commencement (§ 42).

#### § 22. COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM.

The conquests of Alexander the Great brought the various elements of civilisation in the ancient world into contact and connection. The Jews (of the Diaspora) who lived beyond the limits of Palestine, especially those who resided in Egypt, which was really the focus of this movement, were necessarily affected by the influences brought to bear upon them. Thus the sect of the Essenes, which had found its way into Egypt, underwent various modifications, and, under the name of *Therapeutæ*, occupied an influential position. The Jewish *Hellenism* of Alexandria embodied the main principles of this party; enlarged, however, by elements of Grecian culture, and reared on a broader basis, chiefly of Platonic philosophy. Of this school *Aristobulus* (ἐξηγήσεις τῆς Μωσέως γραφῆς, about the year 175), the author of "the Book of Wisdom," and the Alexandrian Jew *Philo*, were the principal representatives. While the philosophical direction of this party increasingly alienated it from genuine (Palestinian) Judaism, a method in some respects peculiarly suitable for the dogmatic development of Christian doctrine was initiated by it, of which the Church-Fathers afterwards largely

availed themselves. The Jews of Eastern Asia maintained a more close connection with the Rabbinism of Palestine; and the heathen (Chaldee and Persian) elements which in the course of time found their way into their teaching and practice, were afterwards adopted by the synagogue, and in great part embodied in the Talmud.

PHILO, *ob.* 39 A.D. His Platonism is peculiarly modified by Old Testament elements, and by Essene and therapeutic views. Hence his speculations have served as the groundwork of heathen Neo-Platonism, of the Jewish Cabbala, of Gnosticism, and even of the philosophy of some of the Fathers. He taught that originally all nations had obtained some knowledge of Divine truth, but that Moses alone had been the founder of true philosophy; that the legislation and teaching of Mosaism was the source whence Grecian philosophy and Grecian mysteries had drawn their inspiration. The deep things of Scripture could only be understood by means of allegorical interpretation. God was τὸ ὄν, and matter τὸ μὴ ὄν; the κόσμος νοητός was an intermediate world (corresponding to Plato's world of ideas), and consisted of innumerable spirits and potencies (angels and souls of men), which, viewed in their unity, and as proceeding from the Word of God—the λόγος ἐνδιαθετός which from all eternity had been in God—had in creation come forth from God—the λόγος προφορικός (thought and word). The visible world was an imitation of the κόσμος νοητός,—imperfect, however, on account of the physical incapability of the *Hyle*, etc.

### § 23. RELATION OF HEATHENISM TOWARDS JUDAISM.

Generally speaking, heathen nations extended toleration to Judaism. Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies, and in part the Selucidæ also, accorded them the free exercise of their religion, and even certain privileges. Rome recognised Judaism as a "*religio licita*." Still the Jews were, for the most part, despised and hated by the heathen (Tac. calls them: "*despectissima pars servientium*,"—*teterrima gens*"); and even able writers, such as Manetho, Justin, Tacitus, etc., recited the most absurd fables and odious calumnies against them. *Flavius Josephus*, the Jewish historian, endeavoured to dispel the prejudices of the Greeks and Romans against his people, by presenting their history and institutions in the most favourable light. On the other hand, the Greek translation of the Old Testament (the *Septuagint*), and the great number of synagogues which, during the time of Roman domination, had sprung up all over the world, offered the heathen, who cared for it, an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the peculiar character and spirit of Judaism. Considering the decay of heathenism at the time, it could scarcely happen otherwise than that the high antiquity

of Judaism, the sublime simplicity of its creed, the solemn import of its rites, and its Messianic anticipations, should—despite the common contempt for the synagogue—have attracted many of the better and expectant heathen, whose cravings their degraded religion no longer could satisfy. Although comparatively few joined the Jewish nation by undergoing circumcision and becoming *proselytes of righteousness*, the number of those who, without observing the whole ceremonial law, became *proselytes of the gate*, abstained from idolatry and served Jehovah, was proportionally great. These adherents consisted of high and low, chiefly of females; and among them Christianity made its earliest converts.

#### § 24. THE FULNESS OF TIME.

When the fulness of time had come, the dawn of a new era appeared on the mountains of Judæa. According to the Divine purpose, Judaism and heathenism had completed that cycle of positive and negative preparation for the coming salvation of which they were capable. The latter had now become perfectly conscious of its entire impotence and incompetency for satisfying the religious cravings of the soul. Unless, where sunk into dreary unbelief or wild misbelief, it earnestly longed and sought for something better. Thus, negatively, the way was prepared for the Church. Heathenism had produced great and imperishable results in the domains of science, art, and of human culture generally. However impotent it proved to restore to man the peace he had lost, and for which he sought, it could furnish important aid, if brought to own the power of that truth which the Lord had revealed. In this respect, heathenism served also as positive preparation for the Church. Among Jews and Gentiles there was a general presentiment that a great era in history was at hand. A deep-felt sense of want had become almost a prophecy of the approaching provision. All who were Israelites indeed, waited for the promised consolation,—some even in the hope or expectation that they might live to see its advent. Among the heathen also the long-cherished hope of a return of the Golden Age was again prominently brought forward, and derived fresh support and a new object from what had been gathered from the Holy Scriptures, or learned in the synagogues of the Jews. Heathen *Polity* had also contributed its *quotum* of preparation for the Church. *One* empire and *one* language combined the whole world—universal peace prevailed, and most extensive commerce and intercourse facilitated the rapid spread of the new truths brought to light by the Gospel.



# HISTORY

OF

## THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

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FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH BY CHRIST; ITS  
CONSTITUTION IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

TO ABOUT THE YEAR 100 A.D.

§ 25. CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS PRIMITIVE HISTORY, AND ITS  
RELATION TO THE OTHER PERIODS OF ECCLESIASTICAL HIS-  
TORY.

THE distinctive peculiarities of the *Apostolic* Age (the first century) are our warrant for presenting it as an independent and separate branch of General Church History. The difference between the history of the primitive and that of the ancient Church, is based on the difference between *Apostolicity* and *Catholicity*. The former is the root, the latter the stem of the Church. The position and the qualifications of the apostles were, in consequence of their immediate Divine enlightenment and assistance, so unique, that the results of their activity became the basis of all future development. What they taught, and what they instituted, *required* not any Divine law or warrant other than itself. Itself was the Divine law and warrant for every succeeding development or institution. Every later appearance in the Church must be judged by the model of apostolic teaching or practice, not, indeed, as if it had been quite complete and perfected, exhausting every future development; but as being the sole authentic germs and commencement of the Church. Hence, in all later developments of the Church, every organic development and continuation of the Apostolic Church—not merely what, in the

same form, had existed in the primitive Church—must be regarded as of genuine Christian origin. But this remark does not apply to the Catholic Church. Its organs neither required nor enjoyed immediate Divine enlightenment and assistance. It was their mission to superintend the natural development of the germs which the Lord had already planted, and to remove all spurious plants (sects and heretics). Both the parent stem and the wild branches laid, indeed, equal claim to genuineness on account of real or supposed connection with the root. But even where prejudice, arbitrariness, or error, disabled or prevented from distinguishing between the genuine and the spurious, the Spirit of Christ made a separation in the development of a history which God has *never* wholly left to its own course. The parent stem remained, while, sooner or later, the wild branches or the spurious plants withered and perished.

### *I. The Life of Jesus.*

*Comp. J. F. Kleuker*, menschl. Versuch üb. den Sohn Gottes und d. Menschen (Essay on the Son of God and of Man). Brem. 1776; — *The same author's* bibl. Sympathien, od. erläuternde Bemerk. üb. d. Berichte d. Ev. von Jesu Lehren u. Thaten (Bibl. Sympathies, or Explanatory Remarks on the Account of the Evang. about the Life and Deeds of Christ). Schlesw. 1820; — *J. J. Hess*, Lebensgesch. Jesu (Biography of Christ). 8th Ed. Zürich 1822. 3 vols.; — *F. V. Reinhard*, Vers. über den Plan, den d. Stifter d. christl. Rel. zum Besten d. Menschen entwarf (Essay on the Plan which the Founder of Christianity devised for the Welfare of Man). 5th Ed. by *Heubner*. Wittenb. 1830.

*K. Hase*, Leben Jesu (Life of Jesus). Leipz. 1829. 4th Ed. 1854; — *D. Fr. Strauss*, d. Leben Jesu krit. bearb. Tüb. 1835. 2 vols. 4th Ed. 1840; — *C. H. Weisse*, die ev. Gesch. krit. u. philos. bearb. (Evang. Hist. treated critically and philosophically). Leipz. 1838. 2 vols.; — *A. F. Gfrörer*, Gesch. d. Urchristenthums (Hist. of Origin. Christ.). Stuttg. 1838. 3 vols. in 5 parts; — *C. F. v. Ammon*, die Gesch. d. Lebens Jesu. Leipz. 1842–47. 3 vols.; — *Br. Bauer*, Kritik d. evang. Gesch. d. Synopt. (Crit. of the Evang. Hist. of the Synopt.). Leipz. 1841. 3 vols.

*A. Neander*, das Leben Jesu (transl. in Bohn's Series. London 1852); — *O. Krabbe*, Vorlesungen ü. d. Leben Jesu. Hamb. 1849; — *J. P. Lange*, das Leben Jesu. 3 vols. Heidelberg 1847; — *A. Tholuck*, d. Glaubwürdigkeit d. ev. Gesch. (the Credibility of Gospel Hist.). 2d Ed. Hamb. 1838; — *J. H. A. Ebrard*, wissensch. Kritik d. ev. Gesch. (Scientific Crit. of Ev. Hist.) 2d Ed. Erlang. 1850; — *K. Wieseler*, chronol. Synopse d. 4 Ev. (Chronol. Synopsis of the Four Gospels). Hamb. 1843.

## § 26. JESUS CHRIST THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

“When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons” (Gal. iv. 4, 5). According to promise, the Son of David was born at Bethlehem. After *John the Baptist*, the greatest and last of the Old Testament prophets, had, by the preaching and the baptism of repentance, prepared His way, Jesus commenced, when about thirty years old, that glorious work in which He fulfilled the law and the prophets. Accompanied by twelve chosen disciples, He passed through Palestine, everywhere proclaiming the kingdom of God, helping, healing, and confirming by signs and miracles both His Divine mission, and the doctrine about His person, office, and kingdom. The Pharisees gainsayed and persecuted Him; the Sadducees took no notice of Him; while the people alternated between hailing and rejecting Him. After continuing in this work for three years, He made solemn entrance into the city of His royal ancestors amidst the acclamations of the people. But many days had not elapsed, when the same multitude, disappointed in their hopes of a political and temporal Messiah, cried out, “Crucify Him, crucify Him!” Thus, according to the good pleasure of the Father, He died on the cross, a sacrifice for the sins of the world. By His suffering, the God-man procured a righteousness of infinite and eternal value, in virtue of which, whosoever in faith appropriates it, has all his sins forgiven, and is justified before God. But death could not hold the Prince of life. He burst the gates of Hades and the bonds of the grave, and on the third day rose with glorified body. Thus has He brought life and immortality to light, that we also might in Him share the same. For forty days He still continued on earth, subject to the limitations of humanity. He promised to His disciples the gift of the Holy Ghost, and set them apart to preach the Gospel to all nations. Then He again took unto Himself His Divine form, which He had put off in His incarnation, ascended into heaven, where, as God-man, He now sitteth at the right hand of power—the Almighty and ever-present Head of the Church, the Lord of all, whether in heaven or on earth, and who, at the completion of all things, shall return to this earth, visibly, and in His own and His Father’s glory.

1. Despite many learned and ingenious inquiries into the subject, it has as yet been impossible exactly to fix either *the year of Christ’s*

*birth, or that of HIS DEATH.* In the Christian era, which was proposed by *Dionysius Exiguus* in the 6th cent., adopted by Beda Venerabilis, and introduced into common use by Pepin and Charlemagne, the year 754 after the building of Rome is assumed as the starting-point. But this is manifestly erroneous, as Herod the Great died (750 or) 751 *p. U. c.* *Sanclementius* (de vulg. æræ emendatione. Romæ 1793) on historical grounds, and *Fr. Münter* (der Stern der Weisen—the Star of the Wise Men—Copenh. 1827) on astronomical grounds, fix on the year 7 before our era as that of Christ's birth; *Wieseler* (*ut supra*) on the year 4, *Seuffarth* (Chronol. s. Leipz. 1846) on the year 2, *Weigl* (theol. chronol. Abhandl. über d. wahre Geburts- u. Sterbejahr J. Chr. Sulzb. 1849) on the year 5, before the present era. Many of the Fathers, appealing to Isa. lxi. 1, 2 and Luke iv. 19, supposed that Christ had only taught during *one* year, and hence that (Luke iii. 23) He was crucified in the 30th year of His life. But although the synoptic Gospels speak of only one (the last) passover during the ministry of Christ, John (ii. 13; vi. 4; ~~xxii. 23~~) refers to *three* such feasts, and besides (v. 1) to a *ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*.

2. Among genuine NON-BIBLICAL TESTIMONIES ABOUT CHRIST, probably the most ancient is a Syriac letter of MARA, addressed to his son *Serapion* (see *Cureton*, Spicil. Syriacum. Lond. 1855), written about the year 73. Mara, a man thoroughly versed in Greek philosophy, but not satisfied with the consolations it offered, writes from his place of exile a letter of comfort and instruction to his son, in which he ranks Christ along with Socrates and Pythagoras; he honours Him as a wise king; he charges the Jews with His murder, declares that thereby they had brought upon themselves the destruction of their commonwealth, but that Christ continued to live in the new law which He had given. From the same period dates the testimony of *Josephus*, the Jewish historian. In that portion of the passage of *Josephus* which is undoubtedly genuine, Christ is extolled as having wrought miracles, and been a wise teacher of truth; His death on the cross under the administration of Pilate, and the foundation of the Church, are also mentioned. *F. H. Schoedel* (Vindiciæ Flavianæ. Lps. 1840) has contended for the genuineness of the *whole* passage in *Josephus*. The following, however, are spurious records: 1) the Syriac correspondence between Christ and *Abgarus*, King of Edessa, in which the latter entreats the Lord to come and heal him, while Christ replies by promising, after His ascension, to send one of His disciples (the genuineness of these documents has, however, of late been again maintained by *Rinck* in *Illgen's Journal* for 1843, and by *Welte* in the *Tüb. Quarterly* for 1842); 2) two letters addressed by Pilate to Tiberius; 3) the letter of *Lentulus* (a friend of Pilate) to the Roman Senate, giving a description of the appearance of Christ. Since the fourth century, legends also circulated about a statue of Christ, which the woman



who had been cured of the issue of blood had erected in *Paneas*, and about certain miraculous portraits of Jesus (such as that in the napkin of *Veronica*, perhaps originally = *vera icon*, εἰκών). For other legends and fables, see the apocryphal gospels.

## II. The Apostolic Age.

*Comp. A. Neander*, History of the Planting of the Christian Church (translated by J. E. Ryland, Bohn's Series). 2 vols. 1851;—*J. B. Trautmann*, die ap. K. (the Ap. Ch.) Leipz. 1848;—*M. Baumgarten*, transl. by Morrison and Meyer, in Clark's For. Theol. Library. 3 vols.;—*J. P. Lange*, Gesch. d. K. d. ap. Zeit. (Hist. of the Ch. in Ap. Times). 2 vols. Braunsch. 1852;—*Ph. Schaff*, Hist. of the Apostolic Church. 2 vols. Edinb. T. and T. Clark, 1854;—*H. W. J. Thiersch*, d. K. im ap. Zeit. Frkf. 1852;—*G. W. Lechler*, d. ap. u. nachap. Zeitalter (the Apost. and Post-Apost. Age). Haarl. 1852. 4.;—*C. Reuss*, Hist. de la théologie au siècle ap. Strassb. 1852;—*K. Wieseler*, Chronol. d. apost. Zeitalt. Götting. 1848.

### § 27. THE FEAST OF PENTECOST—ACTIVITY OF THE APOSTLES BEFORE THE CALLING OF PAUL (30-48 A.D.).

After the number of apostles had by lot been again made up to twelve, the Holy Ghost was poured out upon the assembled disciples who had waited for His coming. This event, which was accompanied by miraculous signs, took place on the feast of Pentecost (of the year 30), ten days after the ascension of the Lord. It became the birth-day of the Church, whose first members were now gathered in large numbers, in consequence of a sermon by Peter. Through the exertions of the apostles (chiefly of Peter and of John), which, however, at first were confined to Jerusalem, the Church grew daily. But when a violent persecution, which commenced with the stoning of *Stephen*, scattered the faithful, the Gospel was carried all over Palestine to Phœnicia and Syria, although the apostles remained in the Jewish capital. The preaching of *Philip*, a deacon, was specially owned in Samaria (about the year 39 or 40). Soon afterwards Peter visited the churches in Judea; and in consequence of a Divine command, by baptism received the first Gentiles (the family of *Cornelius*) into the Church. At the same time, and independently of this event, the earnest inquiries of many Gentiles in *Antioch* led to the formation of a church composed of Jews and Gentiles. *Barnabas*, a Levite, and a man strong in the faith, was despatched from Jerusalem to Antioch, and undertook the care of

this community, conjoining in this work with his own the labours of *Paul*, a converted Pharisee, whom some years before (about 40 A.D.) a revelation of Christ, on the way to Damascus, had transformed from a fanatical persecutor into a most devoted Christian and preacher. In consequence of these events, the missionary efforts of the apostles were henceforth divided into purely Jewish, which centred in and issued from Jerusalem, and into mixed, which had chiefly the Gentiles for their object, and issued from Antioch. A conference of the apostles, held at Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1–9), formally sanctioned this arrangement.

§ 28. ACTIVITY OF THE APOSTLE PAUL (45–64 A.D.).

*Comp. J. T. Hensen*, der Ap. Paul. Göttg. 1830.—*C. Schrader*, der Ap. P. Leipz. 1830;—*Paley*, Horæ Paulinæ, in his collected works, and since often printed separately;—*Conybeare and Howson*, The Life and Epistles of St Paul. 2 vols. 2d Ed. 1856;—(*F. Chr. Baur*, Paul. d. Ap. J. Chr. Ein Beitrag zu einer krit. Gesch. d. Urchristth.—Paul the ap. of J. Chr. A Contrib. to a crit. Hist. of orig. Chr. Tüb. 1845.)

Having been specially separated by the Holy Ghost for the work, and set apart by the Church by the laying on of hands, *Paul* and *Barnabas* left Antioch in the year 45, to make their *first missionary tour* to Asia Minor. The Lord, by signs and wonders, gave testimony to their preaching; and, notwithstanding the contradiction and persecution of hostile Jews, they founded at Antioch (in Pisidia), at Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, mixed churches, consisting chiefly of Gentile Christians; preaching also in many other places. Not long afterwards, Paul undertook a *SECOND missionary journey* (50–54). On this occasion *Barnabas* had separated from Paul, because he would take with him John Mark, his nephew, who on the first missionary tour had left the work. In company with his nephew, *Barnabas* now went to Cyprus, his own country; but no record of the success of this mission has been left. Accompanied by *Silas*, by *Luke*, and afterwards also by *Timothy*, *Paul* meantime passed again through Asia Minor, and was about to return to Antioch, when a call from the Lord, in a night-vision, induced him to land on the shores of Europe. Here he founded Christian communities at Philippi, at Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, and Corinth; and then returned to Syria through Asia Minor, touching at Ephesus by the way. During his stay at Jerusalem the conference with Peter, James, and John, to which Gal. ii. refers, took place (fourteen years

after Paul's conversion), and soon afterwards, in Antioch, the conflict with Peter, alluded to in the same passage. In the year 54, he undertook, in company with Luke, Titus, and Timothy, his *THIRD missionary expedition* (54-58). This time, Ephesus, where a numerous congregation was gathered, became the centre of his operations. An extraordinary success attended his labours, and the very existence of heathenism in Asia Minor seemed threatened. Driven from Ephesus in consequence of a tumult, Paul travelled through Macedonia, penetrated as far as Illyricum, then visited the churches in Greece, and returned to Jerusalem to fulfil a vow. In the Jewish capital his life was only preserved through the interference of the Roman tribune, who took him prisoner, and sent him to Cæsarea. An appeal to the Emperor, to which as Roman citizen he was entitled, led to his departure to Rome (in the year 60), where for some years he continued a prisoner in his own house, being still allowed to preach. The further course of his life and activity is involved in some uncertainty. Probably his imprisonment became more severe, either in consequence of increasing enmity on the part of the Emperor or of his favourites towards Christianity, or on account of the importunities of hostile Jews. In the year 64 he was beheaded, under the reign of Nero.

1. The very common opinion, first mooted by Eusebius, that about the year 64 Paul had been set at liberty, and undertaken a fourth missionary tour, in which he had penetrated as far as Spain, that thence he had *a second time been sent prisoner to Rome*, and been beheaded in that city about the year 67, owes its origin to manifest chronological mistakes. It has of late been again advocated (by Neander, Guericke, Credner, Gieseler, Huther, Wiesinger etc.), from the erroneous supposition that some events noticed in the letters of Paul could not have occurred during the period preceding the (supposed first) imprisonment of Paul at Rome. What is regarded as a testimony of Clement to the journey of the apostle into Spain (*ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἑλθὼν*) is by no means conclusive, even irrespective of the dubious particle *ἐπὶ*. The Muratori Canon refers indeed to a journey into Spain, but only as an unsupported legend (Rom. xv. 24), on which the book of Acts is silent. Comp. especially Wieseler, *ut supra*, p. 521 etc.

#### § 29. ACTIVITY OF THE OTHER APOSTLES (AFTER THE YEAR 48).

We only possess authentic data about the activity of the most prominent among the apostles. At an early period (about the

year 44), *James the Elder*, the brother of John, suffered martyrdom at Jerusalem. During that persecution *Peter* was obliged for a time to leave Jerusalem. By inclination and calling he acted as apostle to the circumcision (Gal. ii. 7-9). In the course of his labours, which were shared by *Mark*, he penetrated, according to 1 Pet. v. 13, as far as *Babylon*, if indeed that designation does not symbolically apply to *Rome*, as the centre of antichristian heathenism. The report that he had also laboured in Asia Minor and in Greece is doubtful; and the legend, that for twenty-five years before his death he had been Bishop of Rome, is manifestly erroneous, although no valid ground can be urged against the statement that he was crucified at Rome, under the reign of Nero, in the year 64.—*Philip* spent the last years of his life at Hierapolis in Phrygia. *John* betook himself to Ephesus. Ancient legends declare that *Bartholomew* had preached in India, and that *John Mark* had founded the church at Alexandria. All later legends about the labours of the apostles, and of their immediate successors, are entirely fabulous.

1. The legend about *Peter's bishoprick at Rome* (according to Eusebius, from the year 42-67), is derived from the heretical, pseudo-epigraphic Clementines and Recognitions,—an authority entirely untrustworthy (v. § 48, 4). On the other hand, it can be proved that Peter had come to Rome only in the year 63. The silence of the Epistle to the Romans is alone sufficient to prove the worthlessness of the above legend. Comp. *Wieseler ut supra*, p. 552 etc.

### § 30. JAMES THE JUST (50-64).

Since the time of the apostolic conference, *James the Just*, the brother of the Lord, seems to have presided over the church at Jerusalem, having been specially commissioned to labour amongst the Jews. In Gal. ii. 9 Paul speaks of him, of Peter and of John, as being regarded “pillars” of the Church. He does not appear ever to have left Jerusalem. Soon after the imprisonment of Paul he was killed by fanatical Jews. According to *Hegesippus*, they asked him at the feast of Passover, from the pinnacle of the temple, to bear testimony against Christ. But when James bore solemn witness for the Redeemer, he was thrown down, stoned, and killed by a blow from the club of a tanner, while still praying for his enemies. *Clement Alex.* corroborates this account. *Josephus* only reports that after the removal of Festus, and before the arrival of Albinus (in the year 64), the cruel high-priest *Ananus* had procured a hasty



condemnation of James, and of others to whom he bore enmity, and had caused the apostle—τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ—to be stoned.

1. The question, whether the New Testament refers to TWO OR TO THREE JAMES'—*i. e.*, whether the apostle *James the Less*, the son of Alpheus and cousin of Jesus, was the same as *James the Just*, the brother of the Lord and president of the church of Jerusalem, or not—is one of the most difficult problems in New Test. History. The strongest argument in favour of their identity is derived from Gal. i. 19, where James the brother of the Lord is called an apostle (comp., however, Acts xiv. 14; Heb. iii. 1). But, on the whole, the balance of evidence is against this supposition. In John vii. the brethren of Jesus are represented as still unbelieving at a time when James the son of Alpheus was already one of the apostles; according to Matt. xxviii. 19, none of the twelve could be permanent Bishop of Jerusalem; Hegesippus represents James the Just as μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων the president of the church at Jerusalem, and he speaks of πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι (which, at any rate, implies more than two). The older Fathers regarded the "brothers and sisters" of the Lord as the children of Joseph by a former marriage (a view which leaves untouched the delicate question as to the interpretation of Matt. i. 25). Jerome and Chrysostom are the first of the Fathers to identify James the son of Alpheus with James the Just.

### § 31. ACTIVITY OF THE APOSTLE JOHN IN ASIA MINOR.

After the martyrdom of Paul, *John*, who among the twelve disciples approximated most closely the mental direction of Paul, occupied the former field of labour of that apostle in Asia Minor. He took up his abode at Ephesus, a city which, at that period, was the focus and centre of ecclesiastical movements. Even during the time of Paul, the antagonisms peculiar to the apostolic age—that of Literalism, Phariseism, and Legal Righteousness, on the one hand, and on the other, that of Antinomianism, Idealism, and Gnosticism—had appeared, and rapidly developed almost into antichristian tendencies. Circumstances like these rendered the presence of an apostle, who was a pillar of the Church, all the more requisite in a city which otherwise also was so important. Of all the apostles none was so eminently adapted and qualified for such a post as John, who combined the most ready charity and mildness with the most strict and unbending earnestness, and whose spiritual tendency embodied in their purest and highest aspects the truths lying at the foundation of these antagonisms. Banished by *Domitian* to Patmos, an island in the *Ægean* Sea, he returned

again to Ephesus, where he laboured for other thirty years (to his death under Trajan), his ministrations being greatly blessed to the church of Asia Minor.

1. Irenæus, Eusebius, and Jerome speak of the *banishment of John* as having taken place under the reign of *Domitian*; only obscure or later evidence (the superscription in the Syr. Book of Revel. and Theophylact) is in favour of placing it in the time of *Nero*. Tertullian records a legend, according to which he had, at the time of Nero, been put into a cask of boiling oil; and Augustin relates that he had emptied a poisoned cup without deriving harm from it. These are manifestly apocryphal stories; but the narrative of Clement Alex. about the tender care with which the aged apostle had watched over a youth who had fearfully gone astray, appears to be authentic. The same remark applies to the account of Jerome, according to whom, when too old to walk, John had caused himself to be carried to the meetings of the Christians, and ever repeated to them only this admonition, "Little children, love one another;" and to the statement of Irenæus, that when, on one occasion, he happened to meet with Cerinthus, the heretic, in a bath, the apostle immediately left the place so as to avoid even outward communion with him.

### § 32. UNIVERSAL PRIESTHOOD, GIFTS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT AND THE PASTORAL OFFICE.

The institution of a special human priesthood, characteristic of Old Testament times, had now merged in the One only and Eternal Mediatorship of the God-man; at the same time, the Gospel distinctly laid down the principle, that all Christians formed part of the Universal Priesthood (Heb. iv. 16; 1 Pet. ii. 9; Rev. i. 6). Connected together into an organism under Christ, as its only Head, the Church was to edify itself and to grow by the co-operation of all its members, according to their respective calling, gifts, and position (Eph. i. 22 etc.; 1 Cor. xii. 12 etc.). The natural talents and the inward calling of Christians were, in apostolic times, specially quickened and enlarged by the *extraordinary gifts* of the Holy Spirit (the Charismata). With the natural exception of females (1 Cor. xiv. 34; 1 Tim. ii. 12), every Christian was allowed to teach and to exhort in the Church. But from the commencement regularly appointed officials were set apart, in order that this process of contributing to the edification of the Church, on the part of all its members, might not degenerate into arbitrariness, presumption, and anarchy, and that, amidst the changes of time, the government and edification of the Church might continue uninterrupted. On them

the preservation of order, the prevention of abuses, the direction of public worship, the preaching of the word, the dispensation of the sacraments, the cure of souls, the exercise of discipline, and the outward representation of the Church, devolved as their peculiar and fixed calling. The need of such an order of men must have been all the more felt, when the extraordinary qualifications of charismata gradually ceased. It became now more than ever necessary, by means of a regular outward call, to assign proper limits, and to give a settled character to the inward call. So long as the apostles laboured in the churches which they had founded, the duty of teaching and of governing devolved upon them. To assist them in their work, or to supply their places during their absence (Acts xiv. 23), they ordained rulers in every church, who bore the name of *Elders* (πρεσβύτεροι) from their *dignity*, and of *Bishops* (ἐπίσκοποι) from their *office*.

According to 1 Cor. xii. 8 etc., 28 etc., the *special and extraordinary gifts* of the Holy Spirit in the Apostolic Church were of twofold character, as they manifested themselves either in word or in deed. The former were momentary, such as the gifts of speaking in tongues and of prophecy; and again, supplementary to these, the gift of interpreting tongues and trying the spirits. Some charismata were lasting, such as the gift of teaching,—*i.e.*, either the speculative gift of wisdom and of knowledge (Gnosis), or the practical and didactic gift of faith (Pistis). Among the practical charismata we reckon the supernatural gift of directing and administering the affairs of a church, and the gifts of performing miracles and of healing the sick.

### § 33. THE VARIOUS ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICES IN APOSTOLIC TIMES.

*Comp. R. Rothe, die Anfänge d. christl. Kirche und ihrer Verfass. (Commenc. of the Chr. Ch. and of its Constitut.). Wittenb. 1837. Vol. I.;—J. W. Bickell, Gesch. d. Kirchenrechtes (Hist. of Eccl. Law). Frankf. 1849. I. 2, p. 62 etc.*

Conjoined with, but subordinate to, the office of presbyter or bishop, of which the apostles themselves for so considerable time discharged the duties at Jerusalem, was the office of *Deacon*. It was first instituted by the apostles, with consent of the people, for the purpose of caring for the poor and the sick at Jerusalem (Acts vi.). Thence it spread to most other Christian communities; the number of deacons being always seven, until the original functions of the office were enlarged, and the deacons called to assist

in the cure of souls and in preaching the word. Functions corresponding to those of the deacons—but only so far as the original design of the diaconate was concerned (according to 1 Cor. xiv. 34, and 1 Tim. ii. 12)—devolved on the *Deaconesses* (Rom. xvi. 1), who took charge of Christian females. From 1 Tim. v. 9 we gather that, commonly, only widows above the age of sixty were admitted to this office. The presbyters and deacons were set apart by the laying on of the hands of the apostles, or of their delegates (Acts vi. 6; 1 Tim. iv. 14 etc.). Individual churches were also in the habit of employing special *evangelists*, whose duty it was to travel about in order to preach to the heathen (Eph. iv. 11; Acts xxi. 8). When, one after another, the apostles, who even when absent, were regarded as concentrating in themselves the supreme guidance of the churches, were called to their rest, gradually and almost necessarily one of the elders obtained prominence over the rest, though at first only as the *primus inter pares*, and with it the distinctive title of Bishop, in contradistinction to the other presbyters. The relation of James to the church at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 13; xxi. 18), and the full powers which Paul claimed for his assistants (Timothy, Titus, and others) in individual churches, may have served as a commencement and a type of the later Episcopate.

That originally the *πρεσβύτεροι* were the same as the *ἐπίσκοποι*, we gather with absolute certainty from the statements of the New Testament and of *Clement of Rome*, a disciple of the apostles (see his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chaps. xlii. xliv. lvii.). 1) The presbyters are expressly called *ἐπίσκοποι*—comp. Acts xx. 17 with ver. 28, and Tit. i. 5 with ver. 7.—2) The office of presbyter is described as next to and highest after that of apostle (Acts xv. 6, 22). Similarly, the elders are represented as those to whom alone the rule, the teaching, and the care of the Church is entrusted (1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Pet. v. 1 etc.); on account of which the apostles designate themselves also as *συμπρεσβύτεροι* (1 Pet. v. 1, 2, and 3 John 1).—3) The various offices of the Church are summed up under the expression *ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι* (Phil. i. 1; Clem. Rom. l. c. ch. xlii. comp. 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8).—4. In the above quoted passages of the N. T. and of Clement we read of *many* bishops in one and the same church. In the face of such indubitable evidence, it is difficult to account for the pertinacity with which Romish and Anglican theologians insist that these two offices had from the first been different in name and functions; while the allegation of some, that although, originally, the two designations had been identical, the offices themselves were dis-



tinct, seems little better than arbitrary and absurd. Even *Jerome*, *Augustin*, *Urban II.* (a. 1091), and *Petrus Lombardus* admit that originally the two had been identical. It was reserved for the Council of Trent to convert this truth into a heresy.

#### § 34. CHRISTIAN LIFE AND ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

*Comp. G. Arnold*, erste Liebe, d. i. wahre Abbildung d. ersten Christen. (True Love, i. e., Faithful Portraiture of the first Christians) Frkft. 1696.

In accordance with the command of the Lord (*John* xiii. 34, 35), brotherly love, in opposition to the selfishness of the natural heart, became the principle of the new Christian life. In the church at Jerusalem, the power of first love, stimulated by the expectation of a speedy return of the Lord, manifested itself in a voluntary community of goods,—an experiment this, which, without denying its internal value, was soon found to be impossible, and hence neither repeated nor even prolonged. But the more wealthy Gentile Christian churches continued to show their brotherly affection by making collections for the poor saints at Jerusalem, whom providential dispensations (such as famine) rendered still more dependent.—According to the direction of the apostle in *Gal.* iii. 38, the threefold evil under which the old world laboured—contempt of foreign nationalities, degradation of woman, and slavery—was removed by a gradual and internal renovation of the world, carried on without any violent infringement of existing rights. At the same time, a deep consciousness of the fellowship subsisting between the members of the Church in their subordination to the *One Head* in heaven, pervaded and sanctified all the relationships of life. However, even in apostolic times pristine Christian purity and simplicity occasionally gave place to other feelings. In the Mother Church, hypocrisy (*Acts* v.) and dissension (*Acts* vi.) appeared at a very early period. But the former was visited by a dreadful judgment; the latter removed by charity and mutual forbearance. Among the more wealthy Gentile Christian churches (such as in *Corinth* and *Thessalonica*) the spirit of the world manifested its presence by luxuriousness, selfishness, pride, etc.; but it was broken or removed, partly in consequence of the admonitions and the discipline of the apostles, and partly in consequence of the early persecutions which sifted and purified the churches. Any member who had caused public scandal by a gross violation of pure doctrine or of Christian duty, and who persisted in his sin despite the admonitions of pastor and elders, was

expelled from the Church. But if sufficient proof of genuine repentance had been given, the offending brother was gladly welcomed back. The account about the incestuous person at Corinth affords an example of the apostolic arrangements in this respect (1 Cor. v. 1 etc.; 2 Cor. ii. 5 etc.; comp. also 1 Tim. i. 19, 20; Gal. i. 8, 9; 1 John ii. 19 etc.).

### § 35. CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

*Comp. Th. Harnack*, der chr. Gemeindegottesd. im apost. u. altkath. Zeitalter (Chr. Congregat. Worship in the Apost. and Anc. Cath. Ch.). Erl. 1854.

Even in Jerusalem, where Christians continued their attendance on the temple, the religious wants of the Church rendered distinctively Christian and common worship necessary. But as Jewish worship was twofold in its character, consisting of instruction and edification by the word in the synagogues, and of the typical and sacramental service of symbols in the temple, so, in the Church also, Christian worship was, from the first, either *homiletic and didactic*, or else *eucharistic and sacramental*. The former, like the service of the synagogue, was not only intended for the edification of the congregation, but for missionary purposes, on which ground non-Christians also were allowed and invited to attend. At first the church at Jerusalem held these (*morning*) services in the halls of the temple, where the people were wont to assemble for prayer (Acts iii. 11); afterwards, in private houses. They consisted of reading certain passages and sections from the Old Testament—at a later period, also apostolic letters and portions from the Gospels—of addresses for the purposes of instruction and exhortation, of prayer and of singing of psalms. The *sacramental* portion of public worship took place within the circle of the Church alone. The main part and object of these (*evening*) services was to *celebrate the Lord's Supper*, which, after the model of the institution, was accompanied by prayer and the singing of hymns, and taken along with a common meal, called the *ἀγάπη*, to denote that its purpose was the expression of brotherly love. The elements were set apart for sacramental purposes by prayer, in which thanks and praise were offered up (*εὐχαριστία*, 1 Cor. xi. 24; or *εὐλογία*, 1 Cor. x. 16). This prayer was probably followed by the "*holy kiss*" (*φίλημα ἁγίου* (Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20)). In public worship, besides the psalms, distinctly Christian *hymns* and doxologies were probably in use even in apostolic times (Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16), of which

Eph. ii. 14, 1 Tim. iii. 16, 2 Tim. ii. 11-13, possibly contain specimens and fragments. See also 1 Tim. iii. 1, 16; James i. 17; Rev. i. 4 etc.; iv. 11; v. 9 etc.; xi. 15 etc.; xv. 3 etc.; xxi. 1 etc.; xxii. 10 etc. At first, both the homiletic and eucharistic services took place daily (Acts ii. 4, 6). But even in apostolic times, *besides* the Sabbath—among Gentile Christians *instead* of it—the *Lord's Day* was observed as a day of special solemnity, being that of Christ's resurrection (John xx. 26; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Rev. i. 10). But we cannot discover that any other feast days had been observed at that period. Equally impossible is it strictly to demonstrate that *infant baptism* had been practised by the apostles, although this is probable (Acts ii. 39; xvi. 33; 1 Cor. vii. 14). Baptism was administered by complete immersion, in the name of Christ, or else of the Triune God (Matt. xxviii. 19). The charisma of healing the sick was applied along with prayer and anointing with oil (James v. 14, 15). The practice of confessing sins one to another, and praying for each other, was recommended without having, however, any necessary connection with public worship (James v. 16). The Holy Ghost (as a charisma), and ordination (Acts vi. 6; xiii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 14), were imparted by prayer and laying on of hands.

### § 36. ANTAGONISM AND RECONCILIATION OF JEWISH AND GENTILE CHRISTIANITY.

The Lord had commanded His disciples to preach the Gospel to all nations (Matt. xxviii. 19). They could not, therefore, doubt that the whole Gentile world was destined to become the inheritance of the Church. But, apparently following the Old Testament statements about the eternal obligation of the law of Moses, and as yet unable fully to understand the utterance of the Lord (Matt. v. 17 etc.), they deemed it necessary by circumcision to make the Gentiles Jews before admitting them into the kingdom of Christ. The views of *Stephen*, who was a Grecian, seem, however, to have been more liberal (Acts vi. 14). *Philip*, also a Grecian, preached among the Samaritans, and the apostles owned and completed his labours through Peter and John (Acts viii. 14 etc.). Still, a direct revelation was necessary before *Peter* could feel convinced that, without any further preparation, a Gentile who felt his need of salvation was fit for the kingdom of God (Acts x.). Even this revelation, however, exercised no decisive influence on the common mode of carrying on missionary operations. Grecian

Jews in Antioch were again the first to take the bold step of addressing themselves directly to the work among the Gentiles (Acts xi. 19). To watch the movement in that city, the apostles commissioned *Barnabas*, who at once entered into it with all his soul, and conjoined with himself *Paul*, who was destined to prove so eminent a labourer. After the success of their first missionary tour had proved their calling as apostles of the Gentiles, and the Divine sanction to their work, Jewish-Christian zealots raised discussions at Antioch, which issued in a journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, for the purpose of having the disputed questions settled (about the year 50). At a *meeting of the apostles* in that city, Peter and James the Just carried the resolution, that converted Gentiles should, from a regard to relations then existing (Acts xv. 20), submit to certain legal restrictions, analogous to those to which proselytes of the gate had hitherto been subject. A private conference between the two apostles of Antioch, and Peter, James, and John, led to their mutual recognition of one another as respectively the apostles of the Gentiles and of the Jews (Gal. ii. 1-10). Still, during his stay at Antioch, Peter was guilty of a practical inconsistency in weakly yielding to the fanaticism of some Jewish Christians, for which he was sharply reprov'd by Paul (Gal. ii. 11-14).

But the conclusions at which the meeting of apostles had arrived did not put a stop to this controversy, and the understanding that mutual toleration should be extended was sadly traversed, at least by one of the parties. During the whole course of his labours, *Paul* had continually to contend with sectarian Jewish converts, who tried their utmost to undermine his apostolic authority, and to introduce elements of discord into the churches which he planted. *James the Just* remained till his death the representative of the sound Judæo-Christian direction, whose adherents, from habit and personal liking, continued to observe the ceremonial law, but in no wise made salvation dependent on such conformity. The destruction of the temple, and with it the cessation of Jewish worship, prepared the way for a gradual termination of the Jewish Christian, which henceforth merged in the Gentile Christian Church. To this result contributed also the labours of the Apostle *John* in Asia Minor,—a man whose every action seemed influenced by the love of Christ, and breathed the spirit of conciliation. The remainder of the party, who, despite the change to which we have adverted, continued their former principles and practices, assumed more



and more the character of a sect, and in part became decidedly heretical.

### § 37. APOSTOLIC OPPOSITION TO SECTARIANS AND HERETICS.

From the first, when, by the preaching of the apostles, Christianity entered on its mission of conquering the world, the intellectual powers of the old world occupied one of three relations with reference to the Gospel. Either their representatives entirely gave themselves up to the truth, or they prepared as enemies to resist it, or they admitted certain of the elements of Christianity, retaining, however, along with these, their old and unchristian views. This combination and commingling of heterogeneous elements gave rise to many heresies. The first enemy which appeared, even in the midst of the Christian camp itself, was the well-known *pharisaical Judaism*, with its traditionary ossification of doctrine, its righteousness of dead works, its narrow-minded pride of nationality, and its carnal and perverted views about the Messiah. It was the shibboleth of that party, that the Gentiles should be constrained to observe the ceremonial law (of the Jewish Sabbath, of meats, of circumcision), as being the necessary condition of salvation. This tendency had first appeared in the Church at Jerusalem, where, however, the resolutions agreed to at the conference of the apostles condemned the peculiarities of the party. Still it continued to follow Paul in his missionary labours, attacking him with the weapons of malice, enmity, and calumny. To his contest with these sectaries we owe the most precious of his Epistles (especially those addressed to the Romans, the Galatians, and the Corinthians). Traces of *Sadducean* and *sceptical* opposition may perhaps be discovered in the objections to the doctrine of the resurrection to which Paul replies in 1 Cor. xv. On the other hand, *Grecian Philosophy* also, at an early period, made havoc in the Church. *Apollos*, a Jew from Alexandria, who had received a philosophical training, viewed Christianity mainly in its speculative aspect, and in this manner eloquently and successfully expounded its doctrines at Corinth. *Paul* did not oppose this method of presenting the Gospel. He rather left it to the judgment of history (1 Cor. iii. 11-14); but he warned against laying excessive value on human wisdom (1 Cor. ii. 1-10). Still, among some of the lovers of philosophy at Corinth, the simple and positive preaching of *Paul* in consequence declined in authority, although this result had not been intended by *Apollos*. This circumstance was perhaps the first occasion of the split in the

church at Corinth, where four parties appeared under different names (1 Cor. i.). The Judaizing Christians appealed to the authority of the Apostle Peter (*οἱ τοῦ Κηφᾶ*), while the Gentile Christians called themselves either the followers of *Apollos* or of *Paul*, or refusing to own the authority of any apostle assumed the boastful designation of *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. This split was effectually opposed by *Paul* in his two Epistles to the Corinthians.

## § 38. CONTINUATION.

*Comp. Thiersch, Versuch zur Herstell. d. histor. Standp. für d. Krit. d. Ntl. Schriften* (Attempt to restore the Histor. Point of View in the crit. of N. T. Writ.). Erlang. 1845.

Much more dangerous than the heretical tendencies to which we have above adverted was a kind of Jewish-Gentile *Gnosis*, which began to intrude into Christianity during the latter years of Paul's labours, being probably imported by the Essenes and Therapeutæ, who had formed a connecting medium between the synagogue and the heathen. Asia Minor was the principal focus of this *ψευδᾶνυμὸς γνῶσις*. To it Paul first directed attention in his farewell address at Miletus (Acts xx. 29, 30). Afterwards he expressly opposed it in the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, and especially in his pastoral letters, even as Peter combated it in his First Epistle. Still it assumed many and varied forms. It appeared in the shape of Oriental Theosophy, Magic and Theurgy, in voluntary asceticism with reference to meats and marriage, in fancied mysteries about the nature and subordination of heavenly powers and spirits, and in the transformation of certain doctrines of Christianity (such as that of the resurrection, 2 Tim. ii. 18) into a mere idealism. These seeds of evil had already borne abundant fruit, when John came to take up his residence in Asia Minor. Accordingly, in his First Epistle the apostle opposed the growing heresy, and more especially that form of *Gnosis* in which, under the garb of *docetic* views, the incarnation of God in Christ was denied. The Second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of Jude are more particularly directed against the *antinomian* excesses of Gnosticism—its unbounded immorality, and its infamous licentiousness under guise of magical and theurgic services.

According to the statement of the Fathers, the *Nicolaitans* of the Book of Revelation (Rev. ii. 6, 15) were a distinct sect, which originated with *Nicolaus* the deacon (Acts vi. 5), who taught that it

was lawful to yield to the lusts of the flesh, since this could not affect the spirit. Traces of an antinomian and Gnostic sect of Nicolaitans are found so late as the second century.

### § 39. THE BASIS OF APOSTOLIC TEACHING.

*Comp. Lutterbeck, Lechler, Reuss* ut supra, and the Sketches of the Teaching of Paul by *Usteri* (5th ed. Zurich 1834) and by *Dähne* (Halle 1835),—of that of John, by *Frommann* (Leipz. 1839), *Köstlin* (Berl. 1843), and *Hilgenfeld* (Halle 1849),—and of that of Peter, by *B. Weiss* (Berl. 1855). See also *H. Messner*, *die Lehre d. Apostel.* (the Teaching of the Ap.) Leipz. 1856.

It was soon felt necessary to write down the apostolic and authentic accounts of the life of the Saviour, in order to give them a stable form. If in this manner the Gospels were compiled, the continuous intercourse between the missionary apostles and the churches which they had founded, or else the exercise of their general authority, led to the composition of the Apostolic Epistles. At an early period the mutual exchange of apostolic communications (Col. iv. 16) prepared the way for a collection and diffusion of the New Testament writings; and, accordingly, Peter could assume (2 Pet. iii. 15, 16) that the contents of the epistles of Paul were commonly known. There was not at the time any creed to serve as a generally authentic test of orthodoxy, although a commencement had already been made in the profession of faith exacted from converts at their baptism (on the basis of Matt. xxviii. 19). In the age succeeding that of the apostles, this profession was enlarged into what is known as the *Apostolic Creed*. Already Paul had intimated that justification by faith alone (Gal. i. 8, 9) was one of the indispensable tests of a genuine Christian profession, while John had asserted the same with reference to the incarnation of God in Christ (1 John iv. 3).

In the three principal apostles appeared the threefold fundamental tendency of Christian doctrine in apostolic times. *Paul* represented the pneumatico-theological direction; *John*, the religious and idealistic; and *Peter* (as also, in the main, *James the Just*), the practical and ethical. The views of *John* brought out prominently and most emphatically the Divine aspect of the appearance of Christ (John i. 14); those of *Peter*, its human aspect, as the ideal of holy walk and conversation (1 Pet. ii. 21); and those of *Paul*, being more comprehensive than the others, the fulness in the God-Man (Col. ii. 9; 2 Cor. v. 19). Faith was the central and moving point

in the teaching of Paul, love in that of John, and hope in that of Peter. But while we admit this diversity, springing from the natural bias of different minds, and sanctified by the Spirit of God, it were quite erroneous to regard it either as implying an exclusive and one-sided peculiarity, or as a difference. On the contrary, each of these directions admits of and presupposes the others as complementary to it. More especially do the teaching of John and of Peter fit into that of Paul, which was the most fully developed and comprehensive of all.





FIRST SECTION.

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HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT

OF THE

CHURCH IN ITS ANTIQUE AND CLASSICAL FORM.



SOURCES: 1. CHURCH FATHERS: *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum* et ant. Scriptt. ecclest. Lugd. 1677. 27 voll. fol.—*A. Gallandi*, Biblioth. vett. Patr. et ant. Scriptt. ecclest. Venet. 1765. 14 voll. fol.—*J. P. Migne*, Patrologiæ cursus completus, s. Biblioth. universalis ss. Pp. et Scr. ecclest. Series II.: Eccl. Lat. Par. 1844, etc. 220 vols. (the Greek series has not yet appeared).—*J. E. Grabe*, Spicilegium ss. P. et Hærett. Sec. I. II. Oxon. 1698. 2 voll.; *M. J. Routh*, Reliquiæ ss. 1814. 4 voll.

2. BYZANTINE WRITERS (from 500–1500): Hist. Byzantinæ Scr. Par. 1645. 42 voll. fol. (Ven. 1729. 22 voll. fol.); *Niebuhr*, corpus Scr. hist. Byz. Bonn. 1828, till now, 47 vols.

3. ON EASTERN ANTIQUITY: *Jos. Sim. Assemanus*, Bibl. Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana. Rom. 1719. 3 voll. fol.

4. TREATISES ON THESE SUBJECTS: *Tillemont*, mémoires pour servir à l'hist. ecclest. des six prem. siècles. Par. 1693. 16 voll. 4.—*J. F. Damberger*, synchron. Gesch. d. K. u. d. W. im Mittelalt. (Synchron. Hist. of the Ch. and the World in the Middle Ages). Regensb. 1850.

#### §. 40. CHARACTER AND BOUNDARIES OF THIS PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT.

The universalistic spirit of Christianity had, even at the commencement of the Apostolic Age, broken through the narrow boundaries of Judaism; while towards the close of that period, what at first had been a natural antagonism between Jewish and Gentile Christianity had been wholly removed. The Divine truths of salvation had been stript of the Jewish envelope in which the *kerneî* had attained its full maturity. These truths were now committed to the Roman and Grecian world for their reception, that by means of those elements of culture which had there sprung up, they might be fully unfolded and applied. Hence the leading characteristics of this period in Church History are both *negative*: in so far as the spirit of Christianity was to overcome the godless heathenism of the old world—and *positive*: in so far as Christianity was now to develop under the form of *Græco-Roman*



*culture*. This development issued in a transition from apostolicity to that genuine and pure *catholicity*, which was to serve as the common basis for all later Christian churches. Such, then, was the task assigned to the old Church of the Byzantine and Roman world. After it had been completed, the ecclesiastical movement was to centre in the Saxon and Slavonic races. The Romish Church preserved and increased her authority by making common cause with those races whose training she had undertaken, while the Byzantine Church, left to internal decay, and exposed to Mohammedan oppression, rapidly declined.

The history of this first phase in the development of the Church may be arranged under three periods. The *first* of these reaches to the time of Constantine the Great, under whom Christianity and the Church obtained final victory over heathenism (323); the *second* extends to the close of the grand development of doctrine which the Church was to attain under the antique and classical form of culture, *i.e.*, to the close of the Monothelitic controversy by the 6th œcumenical Council of Constantinople (680). But as the *concilium quinisextum* (692) was in reality only a completion of the former two œcumenical Councils—so far as the constitution and worship of the Church was concerned—and as there the great split between the East and the West may be said to have commenced, we prefer closing our second period with the year 692. The difference obtaining between these two periods appears most distinctly in the outward position of the Church. Before the time of Constantine, the Church lived and grew in strength, despite the oppression of a heathen government. If its outward existence was continually threatened by an almost unbroken succession of bloody persecutions, the Divine power which sustained and gave it the prospect of ultimate victory, only appeared the more gloriously under these difficulties. Under the reign of Constantine the state became Christian, and the Church enjoyed all those advantages and that fostering care which earthly protection can afford. But with worldly glory came a worldly spirit; the state also speedily transformed its protection of, into autocratic domination over, the Church. In respect of the internal, and especially of the dogmatic development of the Church, also, these two periods materially differ. So long as the Church was engaged in the process of appropriating the *forms* of ancient heathenism, while setting aside its atheism and falsehoods, the latter too frequently made themselves felt by the introduction of dangerous admixtures of error with Christian truth. Judaism also, whose narrow bonds had so lately been cast off, threatened similar dangers. Hence, during the first period, the Church was chiefly engaged in eliminating antichristian elements, whether Jewish or heathen. But during the second period, when

the power of heathenism was broken, the Church was free to devote its entire energies to the development of distinctively Christian dogmas, and to the establishment of catholic doctrine in its fullest and most comprehensive aspects, in opposition to the limitations and mistakes of heretics.—This great work exhausted the capabilities of the antique Greek and Roman world. The measure of development which it was capable of giving to the Church was full: henceforth the future of the Church lay with the Saxon and Slavonic races. While the Byzantine empire, and with it the glory of the ancient Eastern Church, was exposed to *Mohammedanism*, a new empire, gifted with the full vigour of youth, sprang up in the West, and became the medium of a new phase of development in the history of the Church. While thus in the West the Church reached another height of development, in the East it sunk under outward pressure and internal decay. The split between the East and the West, which had commenced in a former period, became complete, and effectually prevented an accession of fresh political or ecclesiastical influences which might, perhaps, have been derived from the West. The fall of the Eastern empire removed the last prop of its splendour and activity. With this event closed the outward history of the Church under the antique and classical form of culture (1453). What of the Eastern Church still remained, was, under the pressure of Turkish domination, incapable of real history.

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## FIRST PERIOD

### OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

UNDER THE ANTIQUE AND CLASSICAL FORM OF CULTURE.

TO THE YEAR 323.

COMP. *L. Moshemius*, *Commentarii de reb. Christianorum ante Constant. M. Helmst.* 1753. 4.—*A. Schweigler*, *d. nachapost. Zeitalt.* (the Post-Apost. Age). 2 vols. Tüb. 1846.—*F. Chr. Baur*, *d. Christth. u. d. chr. K. d. 3 erst. Jahrh.* (Christ. and the Chr. Ch. of the first 3 Cent.) Tüb. 1832.—*A. Ritschl*, *die Entsteh. d. altkath. K.* (the Rise of the Anc. Cath. Ch.) Bonn 1850. *Cave*, *Primit. Christ. and Lives of the Fathers*; *Burton's Lect. upon the Eccl. Hist. of the First Three Cent.*; *Kaye*, *Eccl. Hist. of the Second and Third Cent.*; *Jeremie*, *Hist. of the Chr. Ch.*; *Maurice*, *Lect. on Eccl. Hist.*; *Ph. Schaff*, *Hist. of the Chr. Ch.*

# I. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH, THE SYNAGOGUE, AND HEATHENISM.

## ( § 41. HOSTILITY AND PERSECUTIONS OF THE JEWS.

Even in apostolic times the Synagogue was violently opposed to Christianity. To the Pharisees and to the mass of the people, who cherished expectations of a political Messiah, a Saviour who had been crucified by the Gentiles could only prove a rock of offence (1 Cor. i. 23). The position of equality assigned to the Samaritans, and ultimately even to the heathen, most deeply wounded their national pride, while at the same time the Gospel tried and rejected their work-righteousness and hypocrisy. On the other hand, the emphasis which Christianity laid on the doctrine of the resurrection excited the bitterest opposition of the Sadducees (Acts iv. 2; xxiii. 6). The same spirit prevailed generally among the Jews “of the dispersion.”) The men of Berea are expressly mentioned as forming an exception to this state of feeling (Acts xvii. 11).—At last, the fearful judgment of God burst over the covenant-people and the Holy City (70 A.D.). In obedience to the prophetic warning of the Lord (Matt. xxiv. 16), the Christians withdrew, and found a secure retreat in the little town of Pella, on the other side Jordan. But when *Bar Cochba* (the Son of a Star, called so in allusion to Num. xxiv. 17), the false Messiah, incited the Jews of Palestine to a general rebellion against the Romans (132), the Christians, who refused to take part in this rising, or to acknowledge the claims of the impostor, underwent a bloody persecution. In 135 *Bar Cochba* fell; and *Hadrian* founded, on the ruins of Jerusalem, *Ælia Capitolina*, a Roman colony, to which the *Jews* were forbidden all access on pain of death. From that time they were deprived of the power and opportunities of directly persecuting Christians. However, they shared in, and even excited the heathen to, persecutions of the Church.—In their schools—of which that of Tiberias was the principal—abominable calumnies about Christ and Christians circulated, and thence spread among the heathen (Celsus, see § 45, 2).

## § 42. ATTEMPTS AT RESTORATION AND REACTION ON THE PART OF THE SYNAGOGUE AND OF THE SAMARITANS.

In proportion as the fall of their commonwealth had rendered the Jews impotent, their opposition to the Gospel increased. They now

sought safety against the advances of Christianity in fettering all inquiry by traditionary interpretations and human ordinances. This mental direction was fostered by the schools of Tiberias and Babylon. The *Talmud*, of which the first portion was compiled at that period, represents the antichristian tendency of Judaism, after it had fallen from its highest stage of development and become ossified as Traditionalism.—Some of the *followers of John* (Acts xviii. 25, etc.) also opposed Christianity, and, under the name of *Hemerobaptists*, formed a separate sect. The Christians who presently in Persia bear that name, and are also called *Sabvans* or *Mandeans*, are probably the successors of that sect, which in course of time had admitted Gnostic elements.—While the first labours of the apostles were crowned with such eminent success, the Samaritans endeavoured to outstrip Christianity by introducing new forms of religion. *Dositheus*, *Simon Magus*, and *Menander*, whom the Fathers designate as Heresiarchs, disguised their Samaritan Judaism under heathen and theosophic Gnosticism and Goetic impostures, while each of them claimed to be the Messiah.

1. *DOSITHEUS* pretended to be the Messiah promised in Deut. xviii. 18. He insisted on most rigorous Sabbath-observance, and is said to have at last miserably perished in a cave, in consequence of boasted achievements in fasting.

2. *SIMON MAGUS* came from Gitton, in Samaria. He gave himself out to be the *δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη*,—was baptized by Philip, and solemnly warned and reproved by Peter, from whom he wished to purchase the power of giving the Holy Ghost. Afterwards he purchased, in a brothel at Tyre, *Helena*, a slave, to whom he assigned the part of the *Ἐννοία* who had created the world. In order to deliver *her* (who was held captive by the lower angels), and *with her* the world, held in bondage by these angels, he, the Supreme God, had come into the world in the form of a man, but without being really a man. He had, in appearance, suffered in Judea, and manifested himself to the Jews as the Son, to the Samaritans as the Father, and to the Gentiles as the Holy Ghost. According to his teaching, salvation only depended on acknowledging him and his *Helena* as supreme gods: only *his* mercy, not good works, could save a man. The law had originated with the fallen angels, and was introduced for the sole purpose of reducing men to bondage. *The followers of Simon* developed the Gnostic system of their master, and gave themselves up to the utmost licentiousness. *Irenæus* speaks of Simon as the “magister ac progenitor omnium hæreticorum,”—and, in point of fact, his views embody the fundamental ideas of every later form of Gnosticism. *Justin Martyr* even imagined that he had seen at Rome a statue, bearing the inscrip-



tion: “*Simoni sancto deo*”—a mistake this, removed by the excavation of a statue dedicated to the Sabinian god *Semo Sancus*. Of his discussion with Peter at Rome, we read only in the Clementines; of his projected ascension to heaven, in which he perished in the sea, in the Apostolic Constitutions.

3. MENANDER was at first a disciple of Simon, but afterwards preferred himself also to play the part of a Messiah. However, he remained sufficiently modest not to claim the honours of supreme deity, and only pretended that he was the Saviour whom God had sent. He taught that whosoever received his baptism should neither grow old nor die.

#### § 43. PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

*Comp.* AD. SCHMIDT, *Geschichte d. Denk- und Glaubensfreih. in den ersten Jahrh. der Kaiserherrschaft* (Hist. of Intell. and Relig. Liberty during the First Cent. of the Emp.). Berl. 1847;—*Fr. Münter*, *die Christin im heidnischen Hause vor den Zeiten Konst.* (The Chr. Female in the Heath. Family before the time of Const.) Copenh. 1828;—H. G. TZSCHIRNER, *der Fall des Heidenthums* (The Fall of Heathenism), edit. by *Niedner*. Vol. I. Leipz. 1829. *H. Kritzler*, *die Heldenzeiten des Christenth. I. Der Kampf mit d. Heidenth.* (The Heroic Ages of Christ. I. The Struggle with Heathen.) Leipz. 1856.

One of the “twelve tables” laws had already interdicted, throughout the Roman empire, the exercise of foreign rites of worship (*religiones peregrinæ, collegia illicita*). As religion was entirely an institution of the state, and most intimately pervaded all public and civic relations, to endanger the religion of the state was to endanger the state itself. But from political considerations, vanquished nations were allowed to retain their ancient peculiar rites. This concession extended not to the Church, as distinct from the Synagogue. Christianity had openly avowed its mission to set aside all other religions, and its rapid march of progress sufficiently showed that this was not an empty boast. The intimate connection subsisting between Christians, their closed meetings, which during times of persecution were held in secret, awakened and strengthened the suspicion that they were dangerous to the state. Their aversion to public and military service, mixed up as it was with heathen ceremonies; their refusal to offer incense to the statues of the emperors; the constancy of their faith, which equally resisted violence and persuasions; their retirement from the world, etc., were regarded by the state as indifference or hostility to the common weal, as hopeless stubbornness,

as disobedience, rebellion, and high treason. The common people saw in the Christians daring enemies and despisers of their gods; and a religion which wanted temples, altars, and sacrifices, seemed to them no better than sheer atheism. The most shameful calumnies—such as that, in their assemblies, they practised abominable vices (*concubitus Oedipodei*), slaughtered infants and ate human flesh (*epulæ Thyestæ*)—were industriously spread and readily believed. Besides, the most absurd stories, such as that they worshipped the head of an ass (*Deus Onochoëtes*), circulated about them. Every public calamity was imputed to the Christians, as being a manifestation of the displeasure of the gods whom they despised: “*Non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos!*” The heathen priests, the *Goëtai*, and the traffickers in idols, were also ever ready, for the sake of their own sordid interests, to excite the passions of the populace. Even *Tacitus* speaks of the Christians as “*odium generis humani*,” and “*per flagitia invisos*,” and *Pliny the Younger*, who knew so much that reflected credit on them, decries their religion as a “*pertinacia et inflexibilis obstinatio*,” and as a “*superstitio prava et immodica*.” Under such circumstances, we can scarcely wonder that for three centuries popular fury spent itself in a series of almost continual persecutions.

1. There may have been some historical foundation for the legend (however absurd at first sight it may appear), that *TIBERIUS* (14–37 A.D.), moved by the report of Pilate, had made a proposal to the senate to elevate Christ among the Roman deities, and when baffled in this, had threatened with punishment those who accused the Christians. At least, there is nothing in the character of *Tiberius* to render such a circumstance incredible. At first the Christians were simply regarded as Jews; and therefore a number of them (*Acts xviii. 2*) were expelled from Rome when, in consequence of a tumult, the Emperor *CLAUDIUS* (41–54) banished the Jews from the capital. Much more trying were the persecutions of Christians (A.D. 64) which took place under *NERO* (54–68), on the occasion of a great fire which lasted for nine days, and which was commonly imputed to incendiarism on the part of the Emperor himself. Nero threw the whole blame on the hated Christians, and visited them with exquisite tortures. They were sewn into skins of wild beasts, and thrown to the dogs to be torn in pieces; they were covered with wax and pitch, nailed to sharp poles, and set on fire to illuminate the imperial gardens at night. The persecution was not confined to Rome, and lasted to the end of Nero’s reign. Peter and Paul obtained at that time the martyr’s crown. Among the Christians the legend spread that Nero had retired to the banks of the *Euphrates*, whence he would return as Antichrist.

In consequence of the suspiciousness and avarice of DOMITIAN (81–96), individual Christians had their property confiscated or were exiled. That monarch had put a political interpretation on the kingdom of Christ, and accordingly summoned before him two relatives of Jesus from Palestine; but the marks of hard labour on their hands soon convinced him that there was no cause for his apprehensions. The humane Emperor NERVA (96–98) recalled the exiles, and refused to listen to accusations against Christians as such. Still Christianity remained a “*religio illicita*.”

2. Under the reign of TRAJAN (98–117) commenced a new stage in the persecution of Christians. He renewed the former interdict against private and closed meetings (the “*Hetaria*”), which was soon applied to those of Christians. In accordance with this law, *Pliny* the Younger, when Governor of Bithynia, punished with death those who were accused as Christians and persisted in their profession. But, partly staggered by the great number of persons accused, who belonged to every rank and age, and to both sexes—partly convinced by strict judicial investigation that the tendency of Christianity was morally pure and politically harmless, and that, as it appeared to him, Christians could only be charged with unyielding superstitiousness, the Governor applied for fresh instructions to the Emperor. Trajan approved both of his conduct and his proposals; and accordingly commanded that Christians should not be sought out, that no notice should be taken of anonymous accusations, but that if parties were formally accused and found guilty, they should be put to death if they obstinately refused to sacrifice to the gods. This persecution extended as far as Syria and Palestine. There *Symeon*, Bishop of Jerusalem, the successor of James and a relative of the Lord, after cruel scourging, died a martyr’s death on the cross, at the advanced age of 120 years (107). *Ignatius* also, the excellent Bishop of Antioch, after an audience with the Emperor, was by his command sent in chains to Rome, and there torn by wild beasts (115).—Under the reign of HADRIAN (117–138), the people were wont, on occasions of heathen festivals, loudly to call for the execution of Christians. On the representation of *Serenius Granianus*, Hadrian addressed a rescript to *Minucius Fundanus* (the successor in office of Serenius), forbidding such irregular proceedings. But the legal prosecution for the profession of the Gospel continued as before. The legend—dating from the fourth century—that Hadrian had intended to build a temple to Christ, is destitute of all historical foundation. His dislike to Christianity and Christians appears even from the circumstance that he erected a temple to Venus on the spot where Christ had been crucified, and a statue of Jupiter over the rock where He had been buried, for the purpose of desecrating these localities.—Under the reign of ANTONINUS PIUS (138–161), the populace, excited in consequence of a number of public calamities,

renewed its tumults against the Christians, from which, however, that mild Emperor sought to protect them. But the *rescript* "*ad commune Asiæ*," which bears the name of Antoninus, is in all probability spurious and of Christian authorship.

3. Under the reign of MARCUS AURELIUS (161–180) the persecutions took a fresh turn. That Emperor, who otherwise was one of the noblest among the heathen, in the pride of his Stoic philosophy, looked with contempt on the enthusiasm of Christians. On this ground he gave full scope to the outbursts of popular fury, and introduced a system of espionage and of tortures in order to oblige Christians to recant. The result proved a great triumph to Christian heroism. We possess detailed accounts about the persecution at *Smyrna* (167), and those at *Lugdunum* and *Vienna* in Gaul (177). At *Smyrna*, the aged bishop Polycarp died on the stake, because he would not consent to curse that Lord whom for eighty-six years he had served. With his latest breath he offered thanks for having been deemed worthy of the martyr's crown. More general and bloody than that of *Smyrna* were the persecutions at *Lugdunum* and at *Vienna*. Bishop *Pothinus*, a man ninety years of age, died in a loathsome prison in consequence of the sufferings to which he had been subjected. *Blandina*, a delicate female slave, was scourged in the most dreadful manner, roasted on a red-hot iron chair, thrown to the wild beasts, and then executed. But under all sufferings she continued her confession: "I am a Christian, and there are no evil practices among us." *Ponticus*, a lad fifteen years of age, showed similar constancy under like tortures. The dead bodies of the martyrs lay in heaps on the streets, till they were cast into the flames, and their ashes thrown into the Rhone.

The legend about the *legio fulminatrix*—to the effect that, in the war with the Marcomanni (174), rain and lightning had been sent in answer to the prayers of the Christian soldiers of that legion, whereby *Marcus Aurelius* had been delivered from imminent danger, and that in consequence the Emperor had issued an edict to punish all who accused the Christians—rests on some historical foundation, at least so far as the first part of it is concerned. However, the heathen traced this miracle to their prayers, addressed to Jupiter Pluvius.—Several of the succeeding emperors were favourable to the Christians; more especially did COMMODUS, the son of Marcus Aurelius, show considerable favour for them, being influenced by the representations of *Marcia*, his concubine.

4. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193–211), whom *Proculus*, a Christian slave, had healed from dangerous illness by anointing him with oil (James v. 14), was at first friendly to Christians. But political suspicions or the extravagances of Montanism changed this disposition. He forbade conversion to Christianity (203); and in *Egypt* and *North Africa* persecution again raged. In *Alexandria*, *Leontidas*, the father of Origen, was beheaded. *Potamiana*, a virgin



equally distinguished for moral purity and for beauty, suffered the most exquisite tortures, and was then to be given up to the gladiators for the vilest purposes. The latter indignity she knew to avert; but she and her mother *Marcella* were slowly immersed into boiling pitch. *Basilides*, the soldier who had been commissioned to lead her to martyrdom, himself became a Christian, and was beheaded on the day following. Not less searching and cruel was the persecution at *Carthage*. *Perpetua*, a lady of noble descent, and only twenty-two years old, with a babe in her arms, remained steadfast, despite the entreaties of her father, imprisonment, and tortures. She was gored by a wild cow, and finally despatched by the dagger of a gladiator. *Felicitas*, a slave, who in prison had become mother, displayed equal constancy in suffering. In his mad attempts at combining all creeds, *HELOGABALUS* (218–222) desired to amalgamate Christianity also with the others—a piece of folly which, however, secured a season of quietness and toleration. The eclecticism of *ALEXANDER SEVERUS* (222–235) was of a much more elevated character. He placed in his *lararium* a bust of Christ, by the side of those of Abraham, of Orpheus, and of Apollonius of Tyana, and displayed kindly feelings towards the Christians. His noble mother, *Julia Mamaea*, at the same time, protected and encouraged the investigations of Origen. Severus caused the saying of Christ recorded in Luke vi. 31 to be engraven on the walls of his palace. *MAXIMINUS THRAX* (235–238), the murderer of that Emperor, showed himself hostile to Christians, if only to oppose the conduct of his predecessor, and accordingly gave full scope to popular fury, which had again been excited by earthquakes. Under the reign of *GORDIANUS* the Christians enjoyed peace; and *PHILIP THE ARABIAN* (244–249) favoured them in so open and prominent a manner, that he has even been regarded as a Christian.

5. But with the accession of *DECIUS* (249–251) commenced a fresh, and indeed the first *general* persecution, surpassing in extent, combination, continuance, and severity, all that had preceded it. In other respects Decius was an able monarch, who combined the ancient Roman earnestness with firmness and energy of purpose. But this very circumstance induced him to resolve on wholly exterminating Christianity, as a religion equally hostile to the commonwealth and to the gods. Every conceivable means—confiscation, banishment, exquisite tortures, and death—were employed to induce Christians to apostatise. In too many cases these measures proved successful, the more so as the long period of peace had led to a false security. On the other hand, a longing after the martyr's crown led many of their own accord to rush into prison or to the scaffold. Those who recanted (*lapsi*) were either, 1. *thurificati* or *sacrificati*, who, in order to preserve their lives, had sacrificed to the gods; or, 2. *libellatici*, who, without having actually sacrificed, had bribed the magistrates to give them a certificate of having done so;

or, 3. *acta facientes*, who made false depositions in reference to their Christianity. Again, those who openly confessed Christ, even amidst tortures, but escaped with their lives, were called *confessors* (*confessores*); while the name of *martyrs* was given to those who for their profession had suffered death.—The persecution continued under the reign of GALLUS (251–253), being stimulated by famine and pestilences, although often arrested by political troubles. VALE-RIANUS (253–260) had originally been friendly to the Christians, but the influence of *Marcianus*, his favourite, changed him into a persecutor (from the year 257). At first the clergy were banished, and meetings interdicted. When these measures failed, Christianity was made a capital crime. At that time *Cyprianus* of Carthage, and *Sixtus II.*, Bishop of Rome, obtained the martyr's crown. The latter was soon followed by *Laurentius*, a deacon, who proved a hero even among Christian martyrs. When the Governor demanded from him the treasures of the church, he brought forward the sick, the poor, and the orphans of the congregation. He was roasted alive on a red-hot brander. But GALLIENUS (260–268), the son of Valerian, on his accession, put an end to the persecution, and at last accorded to the Church a legal standing and free exercise of religion. Still, shortly before his assassination, AURELIAN (270–275) issued a fresh edict of persecution, which, however, was not carried into execution. After that the Christians enjoyed forty years of repose.

6. In 284 DIOCLETIAN and Maximianus Herculus became joint Emperors. In 292 the two Cæsars, *Galerius* and *Constantius Chlorus* (in the West), were associated with them. Diocletian was an excellent monarch; but being zealously attached to the old faith, he hated Christianity as introducing an element of disturbance. Still the edict of toleration issued by Gallienus, political considerations in regard to the large number of Christians throughout the empire, and a certain amount of natural kindness, for some time retarded decisive measures. At last the continued urgency of his son-in-law and colleague, *Galerius*, led to the most terrible of all persecutions. So early as the year 298, Galerius commanded that all soldiers in his army should take part in the sacrifices,—a measure by which he obliged all Christians to leave the ranks. At a meeting between the two monarchs, at Nicomedia in Bithynia (303), he prevailed on the Emperor to disregard what had formerly been the causes of his toleration. An imperial ordinance to pull down the splendid church at Nicomedia was the signal for the persecution. Soon afterwards an edict was affixed which forbade all Christian meetings, and ordered that the churches should be pulled down, the sacred writings destroyed, and all Christians deprived of their offices and civil rights. A Christian who had torn down this edict was executed. A fire broke out in the imperial palace, when Galerius immediately accused the Christians of incendiarism. The

persecution which now commenced extended over the whole empire, with the exception of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, where the protection of *Constantius Chlorus* shielded the Church. Whatever tortures or modes of death ingenuity could devise were put in requisition. When, in 305, *Diocletian* and *Maximianus* abdicated, *Maximinus*, the colleague of *Galerius*, proved quite as bitter an enemy as his predecessors, and raised anew the storm of persecution. In the year 308 *Galerius* even caused all articles of food or drink, sold in the market, to be moistened or mixed with sacrificial water or wine. At last, when a fearful disease brought *Galerius* to a different state of mind, he ordered in 311 a cessation of this persecution, and in return demanded the prayers of the Church for the Emperor and the empire. During those eight years of unceasing and unprecedented persecution, Christians had given the brightest proofs of moral heroism, and of enthusiastic readiness to suffer as martyrs. In proportion, the number of *lapsi* was much smaller than it had been during the Decian persecution. But the command to give up the sacred writings had originated a new kind of recantation. Those who had complied with this demand were called *traditores*. Some, instead of delivering the sacred, handed in heretical writings, on pretence that they were the sacred books. But the spiritual earnestness of that period was such, that these parties were ranked with the ordinary *traditores*, and, like them, were excommunicated.

7. The fanaticism of *Maximinus*, who ruled in Asia, was not checked by the edict of toleration which *Galerius* had granted. He gladly acceded to the request of certain cities to be allowed to expel the Christians, and on memorial tablets of brass recorded his praise of those measures. He interdicted the building of churches, and punished confessors by the loss of property and by defamation—occasionally also with chastisement or death; and officially circulated the most abominable calumnies about Christians. In innumerable copies, he diffused the “*acta Pilati*,” a malicious libel, of spurious heathen authorship, introducing it even in schools as an exercise in reading. But fear of his colleague obliged him to adopt more moderate measures. In Britain, Gaul, and Spain ruled, since 306, *CONSTANTINE*, the son and successor of *Constantius Chlorus*, who, with the Neo-Platonic eclecticism of his father, had also inherited his mild disposition towards Christians. In Italy, *Maxentius*, a savage and bigoted heathen, of obscure origin, had in 306 seized the reins of government. He also, from political motives, for some time extended toleration to the Christians; but antagonism to *Constantine*, who was friendly to them, ultimately induced him to make common cause with the heathen party. The usurper was utterly defeated in a campaign in 312, during which *Constantine*, as he maintained, was vouchsafed a heavenly vision. In the same year, this monarch, and his brother-in-law *Licinius*, who ruled over the east of Europe (Illyricum), issued an edict which gave liberty



to all forms of worship. In a *second* edict, dated from Milan in 313, Constantine expressly allowed conversion to Christianity. *Maximinus* was under the necessity of giving his assent to these measures, and died in the same year. But gradually the friendly relations between Licinius and Constantine gave place, first to coolness, and then to hostility. The former threw himself into the arms of the heathen party; the latter adopted the cause of Christianity. Thus the war between these two monarchs, which broke out in 323, became also a struggle for life or death between heathenism and Christianity. Licinius was vanquished, and Constantine became master of the whole empire.—The incident in the campaign against Maxentius, to which we have above referred, is differently related even by cotemporary writers. According to Eusebius, whose account is derived from deposition on oath by the Emperor, Constantine having sought the aid of a higher power, had at mid-day seen in the heavens a luminous cross, with the superscription: *Τούτω νίκα*. Afterwards, in a dream, Christ had commanded him to make the cross his banner. In remembrance of this miraculous vision, he caused the splendid banner of the cross—the *Labārum*—to be made.

#### § 44. POSITIVE REACTION ON THE PART OF HEATHENISM.

COMP. *K. Voigt*, *Neoplatonismus und Christenthum* (Neo-Plat. and Christ.). I. Berlin 1836. *Tzschirner*, ut supra (§ 43), I. p. 404, etc.

For a long time the more intelligent adherents of heathenism had felt that if their system was to continue, it required to undergo thorough reform and reconstruction. This was attempted during the Augustan age by introducing a *Neo-Pythagoreanism*, propped up by Theurgy and Magic. The principal representative of this direction was *Apollonius of Tyana* (ob. 96). In the second century an attempt was made to revive the secret rites of the ancient mysteries of the *Dea Syra*, and of *Mythras*. But all this proved insufficient. It was felt necessary to produce a form of heathenism which should meet the great religious wants as fully as Christianity had done, by its supranaturalism, its monotheism, and its universalism, and which, at the same time, should be free from the absurdities and incongruities that hitherto had attached to the popular creeds. This task was, in the commencement of the third century, undertaken by the NEO-PLATONISTS. It was their purpose, by combining what was most elevated and best in exoteric and esoteric religion, in the philosophy and theosophy of ancient and modern times, of the East and of the West, to exhibit a universal religion, in which faith and knowledge, philosophy and theology, theory and practice should be perfectly reconciled and combined,



and in which all religious wants should be met with so much fullness, that, in comparison, Christianity itself should appear but one-sided, poor, and defective. The noblest spirits in the heathen world, which was fast sinking into decay, took part in this movement. The devout and thoughtful *Plutarch* of Chæronea (*ob.* 120) may be regarded as the precursor of this party. But, properly speaking, *Ammonius Saccas* (*ob.* 243) was the founder of the Neo-Platonic school, which was further developed especially by *Plotinus* (*ob.* 270), by *Porphyrius* (*ob.* 304), and by *Jamblichus* (*ob.* 333).

1. Even Lucian and Apulejus speak of APOLLONIUS OF TYANA as only a renowned Goëta and Magician. But, at the commencement of the third century, *Philostratus*, senior, excogitated a biography of Apollonius, in which he appears as a religious reformer and worker of miracles,—in short, as a heathen imitation of Christ. Comp. *F. Chr. Baur*, Apoll. von Tyana und Christus. Tüb. 1832.

#### § 45. HEATHEN POLEMICS AND CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS.

Comp. *Tzschirner*, ut supra. *G. H. van Senden*, Gesch. d. Apologetik (Hist. of Apolog.). 2 vols. Stuttgart. 1846.

When heathen authors (Tacitus, Pliny, Marcus Aurelius, comp. § 42) make passing mention of Christians or of Christianity, they employ the most opprobrious or contemptuous terms; *Lucian* of *Samosata* simply ridicules it as a piece of absurdity (*de vita Peregrini*). The first heathen who expressly wrote against Christianity was *Celsus*, in the second century. With considerable ingenuity, and still greater hostility, he attempted to show that the religion of Christians was the climax of absurdity. The controversial writings of *Porphyry*, the Neo-Platonist (*ob.* 304), are more elevated and becoming in their tone. A much inferior position than that of either of these writers must be assigned to *Hierocles*, Governor of Bithynia, who, in his official capacity, took part in the persecution of Galerius. —These attacks were either expressly or by the way met in the writings of the most prominent Christian teachers. They rebutted the calumnies and charges of the heathen; demanded that Christians should be treated in accordance with the spirit of the laws; they defended Christianity by proving its internal truth, by showing how it was confirmed by the walk and conversation of Christians, authenticated by miracles and prophecies, and in accordance with the statements and anticipations of the greatest philosophers, the sources of whose wisdom they in part even traced, directly or indirectly, to the Old Testament; and they endeavoured to demon-

strate that the heathen deities had no claim upon worship, and that heathenism was a moral and religious perversion. Comp. § 63, 1.

1. According to *Lucian*, *Peregrinus*, a Cynic, who had first been guilty of the lowest crimes, afterwards became one of the most prominent men among Christians; having been again excluded by them because he had partaken of some forbidden meat, he had ended his days by throwing himself into the flames during the Olympic games. In the person of this Cynic, *Lucian* ridicules the foolish hope of immortality of Christians, their readiness to become martyrs, their silly expectation of retribution in another world, the simplicity of their brotherly love, in which only impostors could rejoice as most useful to them, their facility of belief, their love of miracles, and their sombre antagonism to the world and its pleasures. From the life of the Apostle *Paul*, and from the martyrdom of Polycarp and of Ignatius, he borrowed the traits of the caricature which he drew. Comp. *A. Planck* in the "theol. Studien u. Krit." for 1851. IV.

2. The λόγος ἀληθής of CELSUS is in great part preserved in the reply by *Origen*. That writer introduces first a Jew, who disputes the accounts furnished in the Gospels; then a heathen philosopher, who shows the absurdity both of Judaism and of Christianity. *Origen* identifies the writer as Celsus the Epicurean, about the year 150; but from his own remarks, he appears rather to have been an eclectic philosopher. His polemics are acute but superficial, sarcastic but dishonest. According to him, Christ was a common Goëta.—PORPHYRY wrote fifteen books κατὰ Χριστιανῶν. He was desirous of proving that there were contradictions in the Bible, ransacked the dispute between Paul and Peter in Gal. ii., declared that the prophecy of Daniel was a "vaticinium post eventum," and challenged the allegorical interpretations of Christians. He was also the author of a system of heathen (Neo-Platon.) theology (ἐκ τῶν λογίων φιλοσοφία). Of both works only fragments have been preserved.—HIEROCLES (2 books of λόγοι φιλαλήθεις) only reproduced shameless falsehoods about Christ and Christians, and placed Jesus far below Apollonius of Tyana.

#### § 46. SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

Amid the many persecutions through which the Church had to pass during that period, the Gospel rapidly spread throughout the whole Roman empire, and even beyond its limits. So early as 170, *Abgar Bar Manu*, a Christian prince, reigned at *Edessa*, the capital of the kingdom of Osrhoëne, in Mesopotamia. At the same period Christianity had found a lodgment in *Persia*, *Media*, *Bactria*, and *Parthia*. In the third century it had spread to *Armenia*. The Apostle *Thomas* is said to have already carried the Gospel to *India*. In *Arabia*, *Paul* had laboured (Gal. i. 17). In the third century

*Origen* was called to that country by a ἡγούμενος τῆς Ἀραβίας, who wished to be instructed in Christianity. On another occasion he went thither in order to settle an ecclesiastical dispute (§ 62, 5). From Alexandria (§ 29) the Gospel also spread to other countries of Africa—to Cyrene, and among the *Copts* (the aboriginal Egyptians). The Church of Proconsular Africa, especially that of *Carthage*, its capital, was in a vigorous, thriving state, and kept up close communication with Rome. In the third century Mauritania and Numidia numbered so many Christian communities that Cyprian could collect at Carthage a synod of eighty-seven bishops. Rome remained the central point for the Church in Europe. Colonies and teachers from Asia Minor formed in *Gaul* a number of flourishing churches (such as those of Lugdunum, Vienna, etc.). At a later period seven missionaries from Italy arrived in Gaul. Among them, *St Dionysius* founded the Church at Paris. Among the Roman colonies in the countries of the Rhine and of the Danube flourishing churches existed so early as in the third century.

The insufficiency and the decay of heathenism were the negative, the Divine power of the Gospel the positive, means by which the Gospel spread with such astonishing rapidity. This Divine power manifested itself in the zeal and self-denial of Christian teachers and missionaries, in the saintly walk and conversation of Christians, in the depth of their brotherly love, in the unshaken steadfastness and confidence of their faith,—above all, in the joyousness with which they met martyrdom under the most exquisite tortures. The blood of martyrs was the seed of the Church; and not unfrequently did it happen that the executioners of Christian martyrs immediately followed them in similarly suffering for the Gospel.—In special instances, miracles and signs—the echoes of the apostolic age—may have led to analogous results. This is borne out by the evidence of men such as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Origen, who in confirmation appeal to heathen eye-witnesses.

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## II. DANGERS ACCRUING FROM A LEAVEN OF JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM REMAINING IN THE CHURCH.

### § 47. SURVEY.

Of almost greater danger to the Church than even the direct hostility and persecution of Jews and pagans, were certain Jewish and heathen elements imported into the Christian community. The unspiritual, unbending, and narrow formalism of the one, and

the ungodly, antichristian tendency of the other, not only reappeared, but claimed equal standing with what really and distinctively was Christian. The attempt to force Christianity into the narrow-minded particularism of the Synagogue produced *Ebionism*; the desire to amalgamate with Christianity Grecian and Oriental theosophy introduced *Gnosticism*. These two directions were also combined into a *Gnostic Ebionism*,—a system for which the doctrines of the Essenes served as point of transition and connecting link. The Church had to put forth all its energies in order to defend itself against this dangerous admixture of other creeds, and to clear its soil from weeds which spread so rapidly. What of antichristian Judaism had intruded was speedily overcome and cast out. But much more difficult was the contest with Gnosticism; and although the Church ultimately succeeded in uprooting on its own soil these weeds, many of their seeds were for centuries secretly preserved, and sometimes of a sudden sprang up into fresh crops. However, these contests also brought blessings to the Church: from them it issued with views more enlarged and liberal, with the deep conviction that scientific culture was necessary for its theology, and prepared by victory for new struggles.

GNOSTICISM must ultimately be traced to a peculiar and powerful tendency inherent in many minds during the first centuries. A deep conviction that the old world had run its course, and was no longer able to resist the dissolution which threatened it, pervaded the age. It also impelled many, by a syncretism the boldest and grandest that history has recorded—we mean, by the amalgamation of the various elements of culture, which hitherto had been isolated and heterogeneous—to make a last attempt at renovating what had become antiquated. While under one aspect this tendency was intended to *oppose* Christianity (by Neo-Platonism), under another the Church itself was drawn into the vortex, and by an amalgamation of Oriental theosophy, of Grecian theosophy, and of Christian ideas, a widely ramified system of most extravagant religious philosophy came forth from the crucible of this peculiar kind of speculation. This system bore the general name of *Gnosticism*. Various sects of Gnostics viewed the *Scriptures* in a different manner. Some, by means of allegorical interpretations, sought to base their system on the Bible. Others preferred to decry the apostles as having falsified the original Gnostic teaching of Christ, to attempt recasting the apostolic writings in accordance with their own views, or by Gnostic spurious writings to make up a Bible after their own fashion. The teaching of primitive sages, handed down by tradition as secret doctrine, they placed above Sacred Writ.—*Gnostic speculation busied itself with such questions as the*



*origin* of the world and of evil, or the purpose, means, and goal of the *development* of the world. To solve these problems the Gnostics borrowed from heathenism its theory about the origin of the world, and from Christianity the idea of salvation. All Gnostic systems are based on a kind of *Dualism* of God and of Matter (ὕλη). Only that some, with the Platonists, regarded matter as *unreal* (having no real existence) and without form (= μὴ ὄν), hence as not directly hostile and opposed to the Deity; while others, in accordance with the views of the Parsees, supposed it to be animated and ruled by an evil principle, and hence to be directly opposed and hostile to the Good Deity. The theogonic and cosmogonic process was explained on the principle of an *emanation* (προβολή), by which from the hidden God a long series of Divine formations (αἰῶνες) had emanated, whose indwelling Divine potency diminished in measure as they removed from the original Divine Source. These Æons are represented as being the media of the creation, development and redemption of the world. The original matter from which the world was created consisted of a mixture of elements, derived partly from the kingdom of light (the πλήρωμα), and partly from the Hyle (ὑστέρημα, κένωμα). This mixture was differently represented as brought about naturally, by the fall or by a contest. The *world was created* by one of the lowest and weakest Æons, called the δημιουργός. Creation is the preparation and the commencement of *redemption*. But as the Demiurgos cannot and will not accomplish the latter, one of the highest Æons appears in the fulness of time as Redeemer, in order to accomplish the deliverance of the captive elements of light by the imparting of γνῶσις. As matter is in itself evil, the (*pneumatic*) Saviour had only an *apparent body*, or else at baptism descended into the psychical Messiah, whom the Demiurgos had sent. The death on the cross was either only an optical delusion, or the heavenly Christ had left the man Jesus and returned to the Pleroma, or else He had given His form to another person (Simon of Cyrene), so that the latter was crucified instead of Jesus (Docetism). According as the pleromatic or the hylic element prevails, the souls of men are naturally either *pneumatic*, and in that case capable of γνῶσις; *psychic*, when they cannot attain beyond πίστις; or *hylic*,—the latter class comprising the great mass of men who, left in hopeless subjection to the powers of Satan, only follow their own lusts. *Salvation* consists in overcoming and eliminating matter, and is accomplished through knowledge (γνῶσις) and asceticism. As it was believed that matter was the seat of evil, *sanctification* was sought physically rather than ethically, and thought to consist in resisting matter and abstaining from material enjoyments. Hence originally the system implied an exceedingly strict code of morals, but, in point of fact, frequently became the very opposite, and degenerated into Antinomianism and Libertinism. This is

partly explained from the low views entertained by some about the law of the Demiurgos, and partly by the not uncommon occurrence of a sect passing from one extreme to another

## § 48. EBIONISM AND EBIONITE GNOSIS.

COMP. *Gieseler*, Nazaräer und Ebioniten, in the kirchl. hist. Arch. IV. 2; *Credner*, Essäer und Ebioniten, in *Winer's Zeitschr.* I. 2.—*A. Schliemann*, die Clementinen u. der Ebionitismus. Hamb. 1841; *A. Hilgenfeld*, d. clement. Recognitt. u. Homilien. Jen. 1848; *G. Uhlhorn*, d. Homilien u. Recogn. d. Clemens Rom. Göttg. 1854;—also, *Hilgenfeld*, das Urchristenthum (Orig. Christian.). Jena 1855; and the same author's Jüdische Apokalypitik. Jena 1857.

Those Jewish Christians who, after the destruction of Jerusalem, continued in ecclesiastical separation from their Gentile brethren, either formed a separate sect or fell into open heresy. The former bore the name of *Nazarenes*, the latter that of *Ebionites*. These designations, however, were at first not exclusively applied to each of these parties, and their distinctive use dates from a later period. In the sect of the *Elkesaites* or *Sampseans* we perceive that Gnostic elements had found their way among the Ebionites also, probably from their connection with the Essenes and Therapeutæ. In the system embodied in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, this Ebionite Gnosis was extended and developed. It now assumed an attitude of direct antagonism to Gentile Gnosticism and to Gentile Catholicism, laying claim to represent genuine ancient Judaism, which was said to be quite the same as genuine Christianity.

1. The NAZARENES—a name by which the Jews had originally designated all Christians (Acts xxiv. 5)—held *themselves* bound still to observe the ceremonial law, without, however, disputing the salvation of Gentile-Christians who abstained from its injunctions. They believed in the Divinity of Christ's nature, acknowledged Paul as being a true apostle, and rejected the ordinances of the Rabbins, but cherished a carnal kind of Chiliasm (*i.e.*, they expected a thousand years' reign of Christ on earth, after a fashion similar to that which formed the main features of Jewish ideas of the Messiah). The so-called Gospel of the Hebrews, an interpolated edition of the Gospel of Matthew, served as the basis of their views.

2. The EBIONITES deemed observance of the ceremonial law indispensably necessary for salvation. They regarded, indeed, Christ as the Messiah, but held Him to have been only a man (the son of Joseph), whom, at His baptism, God had endowed with supernatural powers. His messianic activity they limited to His teaching;

by which He had enlarged and perfected the law, adding to it new and more strict commandments. The death of Christ was an offence to them, under which they consoled themselves with the promise of His return, when they expected that a terrestrial kingdom should be set up.—The Apostle Paul, in their opinion, was a heretic, and deserved obloquy. They also had a gospel of their own.

3. The Fathers derived the designation ELKESAITES from *Elxai*, the founder of that sect,—a name which, according to their interpretation, meant *δύναμις κεκαλυμμένη* (כֶּלֶל כֶּסֶף). But there is probably some misunderstanding about this statement. The sect rather appealed to the Holy Ghost (כֶּלֶל כֶּסֶף) as their teacher, and possessed a book for the initiated, which bore the same title. Their doctrines were a mixture of Essene, Jewish, heathen, naturalistic, and Christian elements. The law—especially that of the Sabbath and of circumcision—was held to be binding; but they rejected sacrifices. They practised frequent ablutions, both for the forgiveness of sins and for the cure of diseases; in the Lord's Supper bread and salt were used. The use of flesh was forbidden, but marriage was allowed. Christ was regarded as being the Son of God by the Virgin.—Next to Him they placed the Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, in the form of a female figure. The Elkesaites inhabited the eastern shores of the Dead Sea. According to Epiphanius, they were the same as the Sampseans = Ἡλιακοί.

4. The PSEUDO-CLEMENTINE SYSTEM originated in the latter half of the second century. It was derived from a didactic work of fiction, which, however, claims to be regarded as a true story. *Clemens Romanus*, a noble Roman, philosophically educated, had, from a desire after information, travelled to the East, where he met with Peter, and became the companion of his missionary journeys. The peculiar *doctrinal* views of the work are gathered from the sermons and the discussions of Peter; the *historical romance* is elaborated in the scenes of recognition and conversion of the father, the mother, and the brothers of Clement. *Peter* is brought forward as the representative of what is alleged to have been genuine and original Christianity; *Simon Magus*, his antagonist, represents every form of supposed spurious Christianity, from his own teaching and that of his adherents (§ 42, 1) to that of the Apostle *Paul*, according to whom the law was abolished in Christ, and that of *Marcion*, according to whom the Creator of the world was not the Supreme God (§ 49, 10). The alleged motive for the composition of the book is this, that Peter, the founder and first bishop of the Church at Rome, had, shortly before his death, appointed Clement his successor, and enjoined him to intimate this to *James* in Jerusalem, as the head of the Church, so as to obtain his acknowledgment.—The Pseudo-Clementine romance is preserved in various modifications. The two oldest forms of it are—1) the *Homiliæ XX. Clementis* (the first complete ed. by



M. Dressel. Göttg. 1853), in Greek; and 2) the *Recognitiones Clementis*, in a Latin translation by Rufinus, in which the historical and romantic element is further carried out, while the doctrinal part is less full and somewhat expurgated. *Schliemann* regarded the *Recognitiones* as a later revival of the *Homilies*; *Hilgenfeld* arrived at an opposite conclusion; *Uhlhorn* modifies the statement of *Schliemann*, and supposes that the *Homilies* themselves were recast after some original work, and that both the latter and the *Homilies* had been used in the composition of the *Recognitiones*. —The *System of the Clementine Homilies* is based on Stoic Pantheism combined with Jewish Theism, and proceeds on the supposition that genuine Christianity was exactly identical with genuine Judaism. The author discovers some elements of truth and others of error in all the principal modifications of Christian, of Jewish, and of heretical religion. He *controverts* the popular belief and the philosophy of the heathen, the sacrificial worship of the Jews, the Chiliasm of the Ebionites, the ecstatic prophetism of the Montanists, the hypostatic Trinitarianism of the Catholics, the Demiurgos, the Docetism, and the Antinomianism of the Gnostics. From the Ebionite system he *adopts* his idea of the identity of Judaism with Christianity; with the Essenes, he agrees in insisting on abstinence from meats, frequent fasts, ablutions, and voluntary poverty (but he recommends early marriages); with the Catholics, as to the necessity of baptism for the forgiveness of sins, etc. According to this writer, *God* is pure existence (ἀνάπαυσις), originally a unity of body and soul. He reveals Himself as the Living One by expansion and contraction (ἐκτασις and συστολή, of which we have a representation in the heart of man). By this process the world was created, when the Πνεῦμα (σοφία) and the σῶμα (ἔλξη) were separated and placed in antagonism. Thus the Monas became a Dyas, forming the first *Syzygia* (union) of antagonisms, which was followed by others, consisting of the Divine and the non-Divine (in *nature*: heaven and earth, day and night, light and darkness, life and death, etc.; among *men*: Adam and Eve, and after that, in inverse order, Cain and Abel, Ishmael and Isaac, Esau and Jacob). *Satan* had originated from an ungodly mixture of the four elements. *Adam* was the primal prophet who had already possessed perfect and absolute truth. In order to stem the growing corruption, *Adam* appeared under different names and forms, but always bringing one and the same truth. Thus he reappeared in Abel, in Enoch, in Noah, in Abraham, in Isaac, in Jacob, in Moses, and at last in Christ. But along with these revelations prophets of falsehood also came. Thus *John the Baptist* was the counterpart of Christ, *Simon Magus* (the disciple of John) that of Peter. In holy Scripture also Divine is to be distinguished from diabolic prophecy. Allegorical interpretations are to be rejected.



## § 49. GENTILE GNOSTICISM.

COMP. *Massuet*, diss. præviæ in edit. Irenæi. *A. Neander*, genet. Entw. d. vornehmst. gnost. Syst. (Genet. Develop. of the Princ. Syst. of Gnost.). Berl. 1818; *F. Chr. Baur*, d. chr. Gnosis in ihr. gesch. Entw. (Chr. Gnost. in its Histor. Develop.). Tübg. 1835; *J. Matter*, krit. Gesch. d. Gnosticismus. Aus d. Franz. (Crit. Hist. of Gnost. from the French of J. M., by) von *Ch. H. Dörner*. 2 vols. Heilbr. 1833.

The many and diverse systems of Gentile-Christian Gnosticism may all be arranged under two great classes, according as notions derived from Grecian philosophy—more especially from Platonism and the study of the mysteries—or Dualistic and Parsee views prevailed in them. This arrangement almost coincides with that of the more prominent representatives of that class of heretics into *Egyptian* and *Syrian* Gnostics. However, it is impossible to keep them always quite separate, since the various forms of Gnosticism closely approximate and frequently merge into each other, and since, during their development, these heresies did not remain stationary. Gnosticism reached its highest point during the first half of the second century, especially during the age of Hadrian. In apostolic times (§ 38), those Jewish, heathen, and Christian Gnostic elements—which at the commencement of the second century appeared separated, attracted or repelled each other, developed and assumed form—had been a “rudis indigestaque moles.” Even in the system of *Cerinth*, who, as it were, stands on the boundary-line between these two ages, Gentile and Ebionite Gnosis are mixed up. But, not many years afterwards, *Alexandrian* Gnosticism was fully developed by *Basilides*, whose system is moulded after the doctrines of Stoicism, and by *Valentine*, who adopted the views of the Platonists. Another class of Egyptian Gnostics based their systems rather on Grecian and Egyptian mysteries than on Greek philosophy, and mixed the fables of heathen mythology with the facts of Scripture history. Among such attempts we class the various systems of the *Ophites*, which already show a certain hostility to Judaism, and a tendency towards Antinomianism. These tendencies increased and attained their climax in *Carpocrates*, who placed Christianity on exactly the same level with heathenism.—Of *Syrian Gnostics*, *Saturninus* is the most prominent; next to him *Tatian*, whose system, however, has even more of asceticism about it. The Gnosticism of *Bardesanes*, although he was both a Syrian

and a Dualist, approximated that of Valentine; in life and doctrine he accommodated himself to the views of the Catholics. The Gnosticism of *Marcion* belongs also to the Syrian school. Setting aside the principles of emanation, of secret doctrine, and of allegorical interpretation, and laying greater stress on Pistis than on Gnosis, Marcion approximated more closely to orthodox views than any other heretical teacher had done; while, by his rejection of the Old Testament, and fanatical hatred to Jewish Christianity, he at the same time occupied a position of greater antagonism to the Church than others. The direct opposite of his system was that of the *Pseudoclement* (§ 48, 4). Lastly, independent of all these modifications of Gnosticism, *Manichæism*—a combination of Parseeism, of Buddhism, and of Christianity (§ 50)—made its appearance during the third century.

1. CERINTH was a junior cotemporary of the Apostle John in Asia Minor. He was the first to propound the peculiar Gnostic dogma of the *Demiurgos*, who, as Creator of the world, is represented as subservient to the Supreme God, without, however, knowing Him. Jesus also, who was the son of Joseph and of Mary, knew Him not, until at baptism the *ἄνω Χριστός* descended upon him. Before the crucifixion, which is regarded as merely a human calamity, without any bearing upon salvation, he again left the man Jesus. *Caius* of Rome, who ascribed to Cerinth the authorship of the book of Revelation, charges him also with carnally chiliastic views.

2. THE Gnosticism of BASILIDES. Basilides (Βασιλίδης) was a teacher at Alexandria about the year 130. It is the characteristic and fundamental idea of his system, that every development of God and of the world was brought about by an influence from beneath upwards—not, as in the theory of emanation, from above downwards. His system commences with pure non-existence. "Ἦν ὅτε ἦν οὐδέν. Hence, the principle from which everything originates is ὁ οὐκ ὢν Θεός, who from out of Himself (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων) brings Chaos into being. This Chaos though itself οὐκ ὢν is yet the πανσπερμία τοῦ κόσμου. Thence two sonships (υἱότητες), of which the one was already weaker than the other, ascended to the blessed place of not-being (non-existence—τὰ ὑπερκόσμια); while a third, which still required purification, had to remain behind in the πανσπερμία. The latter, then, is the object of redemption. Next, the great Archon ascended from Chaos to the very boundary of the blessed place, of which he knew nothing, and founded there the *Ogdoas*; after him came a second Archon, who founded the *Hebdomas* (the planet-sky). He reigned over the terrestrial world until Moses revealed the name of the great Archon. Only *Jesus*, the first-born of the third sonship, that had remained behind, obtained and

spread the knowledge of the highest God and His kingdom. The sufferings of Christ were necessary for His own salvation, *i.e.*, that He might be purified from the elements of the Psyche and of the Hyle. Then He ascended to the highest God, whither, gradually, all other pneumatic natures are to follow Him. Ultimately, God pours out *great ignorance* over all stages of existence, that their blessedness may not be disturbed by their knowledge of still higher bliss. Such, according to Clemens Alexandrinus and Hippolytus, are the fundamental ideas of the system of Basilides. *Irenæus* and *Epiphanius* attach that name, however, to a totally different system—doubtless describing the later sect of the so-called PSEUDO-BASILIDIANS. In their system, the great Archon alone is represented as the highest God, the “*pater innatus*.” But between the great Archon and the Archon of the Hebdomas not less than 365 spiritual spheres (= Ἀβραξάς, Ἀβρασάξ) intervene. Since the οὐκ ὢν θεός and the πανσπερμία had been discarded, it became necessary to adopt certain dualistic, emanatistic, and docetic views, such as that beneath the Pleroma lay an eternal Hyle, which attracted some particles of light and fixed them down in matter, etc. The Pseudo-Basilidians fell into Antinomianism and Libertinism. *Basilides* himself left twenty-four books ἐξηγητικά, and his son *Isidore* a work entitled ἡδικά.—Comp. *G. Uhlhorn*, das basilid. System. Göttg. 1855. Also, *A. Hilgenfeld*, Die Jüd. Apokalyptik. App. pp. 289, etc. Jena 1857.

3. THE Gnosticism of VALENTINE.—*Valentinus*, a teacher in Alexandria and at Rome about the middle of the second century, was of all Gnostics the most deep, ingenious and imaginative, and his system is equally remarkable for its speculation and its poetry. Its fundamental idea is, that, according to a law inherent in the Divine Being, the Æons emanated in pairs, and with the difference of sexes. Every such holy marriage of Æons he designates a *Syzygia*. Connected with this is another peculiar view, according to which the three catastrophes of terrestrial history (creation, the fall, and redemption) had already occurred in archetype in the history of the development of the Pleroma. On this basis he reared a grand and most poetic Epos, consisting of a partly Christian and partly mythological theogony and cosmogony. From the Βυθός or Αὐτοπάτωρ and his Ἐνοία (or Σιγή) emanated fifteen pairs of Æons, which, with the Father of all, formed the Pleroma. Σοφία, the last and lowest of these Æons, impelled by a burning desire, forsakes her husband in order to throw herself into the Bythos, for the purpose of embracing the Great Father himself. She is indeed prevented from carrying this into execution—but a rupture has taken place in the Pleroma. Disorder and passion (her ἐπιθύμησις) is eliminated and driven forth from the Pleroma. This, then, is an abortion, an ἑκτρωμα, which still possesses, however, an Æonic nature (κάτω Σοφία). To redeem and to bring her back



into the Pleroma—such is the object of the development of the world. For the purpose of providing a Saviour and future husband for her, all the Æons combine in emanating a new Æonic Being, glorious above all measure—the Σωτήρ, or heavenly *Jesus*. Meantime, the κάτω Σοφία, which is also called Ἀχαμώθ, gives birth to the various grades of life in the Cosmos. All hylic natures are under the government of *Satan*, all psychical under that of the *Demiurgos*, while she herself directs those that are pneumatic. To his chosen people, the Jews, the *Demiurgos* sends a Messiah, the κάτω χριστός, on whom at baptism the ἄνω Σωτήρ descends. The *Demiurgos* is astonished, but submits to the will of the higher deities. The Pneumatics are led to perfectness by γνῶσις, the Physical by πίστις. Ultimately, Achamoth returns with the Pneumatics to the Pleroma, where *she* is united to the Soter, and the Pneumatics to the angels of the Soter. The *Demiurgos* and his pious ones occupy the τόπος τῆς μεσότητος; but from the depths of Hyle bursts forth a fire which consumes them and itself.—Among the numerous disciples of Valentine we mention *Heracleon*, the first commentator of the Gospel according to John.

4. In its original form, the Gnosticism of the OPHITES consisted of a phantastic combination of Grecian mythology and biblical history, both being mystically interpreted, just as the heathen mysteries had been by philosophers. Under all the modifications of this system, a prominent part was assigned to the *Serpent* (ὄφεις, ὄφις), either as being the evil principle, or else as the Agathodæmon. This is explained from the circumstance that, both in Egyptian worship, in the Grecian mysteries, and in biblical history, the serpent was prominently brought forward. Hippolytus describes, under the name of NAASSENES, one of the earliest forms of Ophite Gnosticism, of which the system is comparatively simple. In it the serpent was the Agathodæmon. More fully developed than this was the system of the Gnostic JUSTINUS, who adopted the whole Grecian mythology. He regarded the Nachash as an evil demon. The PERATICS, a party of which *Euphrates* and *Chelbes* were the founders, taught that it was necessary to leave Egypt (which was a representation of the body), to pass (περᾶν) through the Red Sea (the things that pass away) into the wilderness, where, indeed, the gods of destruction (represented by the fiery serpents which destroyed the Jews) awaited us, but where also Christ the Saviour (represented by the serpent which Moses had lifted up) brought salvation and deliverance. The SETHIANS maintained that originally there had been two races of men—one psychical, at the head of which stood *Abel*, the other hylic, at the head of which was *Cain*. But with *Seth* commenced a third race, that of the Pneumatics or Gnostics. The Hylics had perished in the Flood, but returned in the descendants of *Ham*. At last Seth appeared a second time in *Christ*. In direct opposition to this sect, the CAINITES declared that all



those persons who in the Old Testament had been described as ungodly, were genuine Pneumatics and martyrs of truth. The first who distinguished himself in the contest with the God of the Jews, was *Cain*; the last, who brought this contest to a victorious termination, by bringing, in his deeper wisdom, the psychical Messiah to the cross, and thus destroying the kingdom of the God of the Jews, was *Judas Iscariot*. Their Antinomianism led to the most shameless excesses.—The OPHITES, whom Irenæus and Epiphanius describe, seem to have indulged in abstruse transformations of the biblical history in Gen. i.-iii., and to have derived their views originally from the system of Valentine. According to them, the Sophia-Achamoth precipitated herself into Chaos, where she gave birth to *Jaldabaoth*, the Creator of the world, who in turn renounced allegiance to his mother. But he also was disowned by the star-spirits which he had created, and by *Ophiomorphos*, or Satan. From a feeling of jealousy, Jaldabaoth had interdicted man from the tree of knowledge; but the serpent Achamoth persuaded him to disobey, and thus procured him liberty and knowledge. Jaldabaoth selected the Jews as his favourite people, sent prophets to them, and at last a Messiah, who was to obtain for them dominion over the Gentiles. On him the Anō-Christ descended, but the wicked Jaldabaoth now caused his own Messiah to be crucified. Before that, however, the heavenly Christ had already forsaken that Messiah, and, invisible to Jaldabaoth, sat down at the right hand of the latter; thus withdrawing from him any elements of light which he still retained, etc.—The book *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Schwartz et Petermann, coptice et lat. Berol. 1851) is one of the latest and best productions of Ophite Gnosticism, strongly tinged, however, with the views of Valentine.

5. The GNOSTICISM OF CARPOCRATES. The opposition to Judaism, which had so distinctly appeared among the Cainites and the Ophites, developed, in the system of *Carpocrates* and his adherents, into open and pantheistic heathenism. They regarded Christ in exactly the same light as they did Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle. Genuine Christianity they held to be equivalent with philosophical heathenism; all popular creeds, especially that of the Jews, had originated with demons (the ἀγγέλοι κοσμοποιῶν). True religion consisted in return to the lost unity with the “one and all,” attained theoretically by Gnosis, and practically by transgressing the law of the Demiurgos. In this respect *Christ* had distinguished Himself before all others. In their temples they paid divine homage to pictures of Christ and of heathen philosophers, which they placed by the side of each other. The Carpo-cratiens built in Cephalonia a temple to *Epiphanes*, the son of *Carpocrates*, a youth of great talent, but wholly steeped in vice, who died in the 17th year of his age.—At the close of their agapes they had “concubitus promiscuos.”

6. The ANTITACTES. Almost all the Alexandrian Gnostics ulti-

mately landed in Antinomianism and gross immorality, on the principle that he who was perfect must be able to bid defiance to the law, (*ἀντιτάσσεσθαι*), and that in order to break the power of Hyle, it was necessary to weaken and to mortify the flesh (*παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί*) by carnal indulgences. Among them we reckon, besides the *Nicolaitans* (§ 38, 1) and the *Simonians* (§ 42, 2), the Pseudo-Basilidians, the Carpocratians, the Cainites, and also the *Prodicians*, who, as the sons of the king, deemed themselves above the law, which had been given to servants.

7. The first in the series of *Syrian Gnostics* was *SATURNINUS*, who lived at the time of Hadrian. According to him, the spiritual world of the kingdom of light had gradually emanated from the *Θεὸς ἄγνωστος*. The lowest stage was occupied by the seven planet-spirits (*ἄγγελοι κοσμοκράτορες*), presided over by the God of the Jews. But from all eternity Satan, the ruler of Hyle, had been most violently opposed to the kingdom of light. The seven planet-spirits intended to found an empire independent of the Pleroma, and for that purpose made an incursion into the kingdom of Hyle, and partly gained possession of it. This they fashioned into the sensuous world, and created man, its guardian, after a luminous image sent by the good God, of which they had perceived the reflection. But they were unable to give man an upright posture. On this the supreme God took pity on the wretched creation of their hands. He imparted to man a spark of light (*σπινθήρ*), by which he was filled with pneumatic life and enabled to stand upright. But by means of a hylic race, which Satan created, he opposed the pneumatic race, and continually persecuted it by his demons. The God of the Jews therefore resolved to redeem the persecuted by a Messiah, and He raised up prophets to announce His coming. But Satan also sent prophets. At last the good God sent the *Æon Νοῦς* to this earth, arrayed not in a real, but in what seemed a body, that as *σωτήρ* he might teach the Pneumatics, not only to protect themselves by means of Gnosis and asceticism (abstinence from marriage and meats) from the attacks of Satan, but thereby also to withdraw themselves from the dominion of the God of the Jews and of His star-spirits, and to purify themselves from all communion with matter, in order to rise to the kingdom of light.

8. *TATIAN* (*ob.* about 174) came from Assyria, and was a Rhetor at Rome, where, through the influence of *Justin Martyr*, he became a convert to Christianity. But at a later period he adopted Gnostic views, which he zealously spread both in his writings and his teaching. He interdicted marriage as a service of Satan, and also the use of intoxicating liquors. On account of their rigid abstinence his adherents were called *Ἐγκρατίται*, and also *Υδρο-παραστάται*, *Aquarii*, because in the Lord's Supper they used water instead of wine.

9. *BARDESANES*, from Edessa (about the year 170), was a very

learned man, and an able religious poet. In his sermons he did not oppose the teaching of the Church, but by his hymns diffused his Gnostic views. The same remark applies to *Harmonius*, his son, who also was a poet.

10. MARCION, a native of Sinope and the son of a bishop, was a man of energetic but pugnacious disposition. Being excommunicated by his father on account of his pride, he betook himself to Rome, where *Cerdo*, a Syrian Gnostic, imbued him with his own peculiar views (about 150). The absolute and irreconcilable antagonism between justice and mercy, between law and gospel, between Judaism and Christianity, formed the fundamental idea of his system. Hence, besides the two principles of Syrian Gnosticism—the good and the evil God—he introduced a third, the *just God*, who was the Creator of the world and the Lawgiver. To the latter Judaism was subject, as heathenism to the evil God. At last the good God, who hitherto had been wholly unknown, in *free grace* resolved on delivering man from the dominion of both these deities. For this purpose He sent His Logos (who, however, differed from him only *modaliter* not *personaliter*) into the world in what appeared to be a body. By way of accommodation, this Logos gave Himself out to be the Messiah promised by the God of the Jews; He announced forgiveness of sins by free grace, and to all who believed imparted the powers of a Divine life. The Demiurgos, indignant at this, put Him to the cross (to apparent death), when He went to preach in Hades to those of the heathen who are susceptible of the Gospel, next cast the Demiurgos into Hades, and called the Apostle Paul to be the teacher of believers.—In a work—the *Antitheses*—he endeavoured to show that the antagonism between the Old and the New Testament was irreconcilable. Of all the apostles he only recognised the authority of Paul; the rest, he thought, had relapsed into Judaism. But he also rejected the pastoral letters (of Paul) and that to the Hebrews, and acknowledged only ten of the epistles of Paul and a mutilated edition of the Gospel according to Luke. He disapproved of all pomp and ceremonies in public worship, to which he also admitted catechumens and heathen. Strict asceticism, the use of only so much nourishment as was absolutely necessary, and abstinence from marriage, were incumbent on the “*Electi*.” The moral earnestness and the practical tendency of his teaching gathered around him many adherents, and this sect continued much longer than other Gnostics. To his query, “whether he knew him,” Polycarp, who met him in Rome, replied: Ἐπιγνώσκω τὸν πρῶτον τοῦτον τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

11. HERMOGENES, a painter in North Africa (about the end of the second century), equally rejected the Catholic doctrine of creation and the Gnostic theory of emanation, since both made God the author of sin. He therefore assumed an eternal chaos, in the resistance of which against the creative and formative agency of God



all that was evil and deformed had its origin. His views were refuted by *Tertullian*.

## § 50. MANICHÆISM.

COMP. *Beausobre*, hist. crit. de Manichéisme. Amst. 1734; *F. Chr. Baur*, d. manich. Religionssyst. Tübg. 1831; *J. E. Colditz*, d. Entsteh. (the origin of) d. manich. Religionsystems, Leipz. 1838.

Independent of Christian Gnosticism, which developed in the Roman empire during the second century, and more or less under the influence of Grecian forms of culture, *Manichæism* sprung up in the *Persian* empire towards the end of the third century. In many respects its principles and tendency coincided with those of Gnosticism, especially with that form of it which the Syrian Gnostics had adopted. But Manichæism differed from Gnosticism chiefly in employing Christian ideas and notions merely as a gloss for heathen theosophy, in bearing no reference whatever to Judaism, in prominently bringing forward, instead of Platonic views, Persian Dualism, and combining it with Buddhist ideas. From the first, also, it laid claim not merely to the title of an esoteric religion destined for a few choice spirits, but to form a church of its own, with a regular constitution and an organised worship,—an attempt which, as the result proved, was not wholly unsuccessful.

1. According to the most reliable authorities, MANI, the founder of this religion, had sprung from one of the families of the Persian Magi. Although professing Christianity, and invested with the office of presbyter, he continued to cherish his early Parsee views. Amid the religious movements which, after the overthrow of the Parthian Arsacidæ and the accession of the Sassanidæ (227), had the revival of the ancient national faith for their aim, he conceived the idea of founding a new and universal religion by combining Christianity with Parseeism. Accordingly, in 270, under the reign of Shapur I. (Sapores), he came forward as reformer and founder of a new party, claiming to be the Paraclete promised by Christ (John xvi. 13, etc.). Excommunicated by the Christians and persecuted by the Magi, he had to flee, and travelled through India as far as China, all the time gathering fresh materials for his religious system. After that he lived for a period in a cave in Turkistan, where he composed a work, full of gorgeous imagery, intended to express in symbols his doctrine (the “*Ertenki Mani*,” the Gospel of his adherents). He then returned to Persia. The new king, *Hormuz*, protected him; but *Behram* (Varanes), his successor, obliged him to discuss his system with the Magi, declared them victorious, and caused Mani to be flayed alive (277). Soon after the founder’s death the sect spread throughout the Roman empire. On account



of its origin among the hostile Persians, Diocletian persecuted the party; while, on the other hand, the opposition of the Catholic state-church of the Roman Empire secured for it, at a later period, protection in Persia. By secret tradition the sect seems to have continued to the middle ages, when it frequently reappeared.

2. The ancient Persian Dualism formed the fundamental idea in the SYSTEM of Mani. The good God and his twelve Æons (Ormuzd and his Amshaspands and Izeds) was from all eternity opposed by Satan and his demons (Ahriman and the Dews). Attracted by the beauty of the kingdom of light, Satan made an inroad upon it. God appointed an Æon (*"the mother of life"*) to be the guardian of the boundaries of the kingdom of light. This Æon gave birth to the *ideal man*, who, together with the five pure elements (fire, light, etc.), entered into the contest, but succumbed and became a prisoner. God now sends another Æon, *"the living Spirit,"* to assist him; but he arrives too late, as the powers of darkness have already swallowed up a portion of his luminous essence (the soul of the world, or the *"Jesus patibilis"*). The ideal man, so far as preserved, *i.e.*, Christ (or the *"Jesus impatibilis"*), is now transported to the Sun. From the mixture above mentioned God had caused the visible world to be formed by the *"living Spirit,"* in order that the captive particles of light might gradually regain strength and freedom. Besides *"the soul of light,"* every man has also an evil soul. The former is to gain victory and dominion over the latter by appropriating the elements of light scattered in nature, and principally in plants. This process of purification is superintended by the ideal man *Christ*, who resides in the Sun, and by the *living Spirit*, who resides in ether. On the other hand, the Demons attempt, by means of the false religions of Judaism and heathenism, to bind souls more closely to the kingdom of darkness. At last Christ Himself descends from the Sun in what appears to be a body, in order, by His teaching, to give liberty to the *"souls of light."* But the apostles misunderstood and falsified His doctrine; Mani, the promised Paraclete (not the Holy Ghost) is to restore it to purity. As such, he was the head of the Church. Under him were twelve apostles (magistri) and seventy-two bishops, besides presbyters, deacons, and evangelists. The community consisted of catechumens (auditores) and the elect (or perfect). The latter were to practise the strictest asceticism, to abstain from flesh, from eggs, milk, wine, etc., and had to remain unmarried (Signaculum oris, manuum et sinus). Baptism and the Lord's Supper—the former with oil, the latter without wine—formed part of the secret worship of the perfect. Oil and bread were regarded as those pure products of the soul of the world, which, in vegetable life, struggled after freedom (or the *"Jesus patibilis"*). Their principal festival was the anniversary of the martyrdom of Mani, when they bowed in worship before a splendid pulpit, the symbol of their divine teacher.

### III. DEVELOPMENT IN THE GOVERNMENT, WORSHIP, LIFE, AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

#### § 51. INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH.

COMP. Ziegler, Vers. e. pragm. Gesch. d. kirchl. Verfassungsformen in den 6 ersten Jahrh. (Pragm. Hist. of the Forms of Eccles. Constit. during the First 6 Cent.). Leipz. 1798; J. W. Bickell, Gesch. d. Kirchenrechts (Hist. of Ch. Law). I. II. Frkf. 1849; R. Rothe, d. Anfänge d. chr. K. u. ihrer Verf. (Early Hist. of the Chr. Ch. and of its Const.). I. Wittb. 1837; W. Palmer, Treat. on the Ch. of Christ. Oxf. 1838; J. Kaye, Some Acc. of the Ext. Disc. of the Ch. of Christ. London 1855.

During the second century the Episcopate (§ 33) became more and more a settled institution in the Church, till gradually the bishop was regarded as the superior of the presbyter. Among those who prepared the way for this result, *Ignatius* of Antioch (ob. 115) is the best known. In every bishop he sees Christ, while in his opinion the college of presbyters represents the apostles. But the later idea of an *apostolic* succession of bishops, which we find in the writings of Cyprian, appears not to have occurred to Ignatius.—The hierarchical tendency, inherent in the system of Episcopacy, was fostered and nourished by the idea of a *special priesthood* as of Divine institution. Old Testament views were transferred to the New Testament Presidents of churches. The distinction between the “ordo” or *ἐκκλησία*, and the “plebs” or *λαός* (*λαϊκοί*), once introduced, soon led to priestly claims of pre-eminence. As the congregations became larger, the functions, rights, and duties of the various office-bearers were more accurately determined, and new offices instituted for those on whom the more menial work devolved. Thus the clergy were arranged into “*ordines majores*” and “*minores*.” At first the congregations retained a voice in the choice of the clergy, the decision being frequently left to “confessors.” The love of the brethren towards one another led to a close connection between individual Christian communities, which was maintained by mutual communications. When on a journey, a Christian would everywhere meet with brotherly welcome and hospitality, if furnished by a letter from his bishop accrediting or recommending him (epistolæ formatae, *γράμματα τετυπωμένα*). The rural congregations which had been founded by the labours of Christians in neighbouring cities were provided

with presbyters from these cities (the *Parochi*). If they increased in numbers and influence, they chose a bishop of their own (χαρεπισκοποι). Where, in large cities, one church was not sufficient, *affiliated churches* were founded. Thus the bishop had gradually a *diocese* assigned to him. As the bishops of towns naturally took precedence of those in rural districts, so the metropolitans, or bishops of capital cities, over those of provincial towns. But the title *Metropolitan* occurs for the first time in the decrees of the Council of Nice (325). In the common consultations which took place in the various capitals (the *Provincial Synods*)—which at first only took place when occasion required, but afterwards became a regular institution—the metropolitan presided. Again, among the metropolitans, those who presided over churches which apostles had founded (*sedes apostolicæ*), especially those of Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Corinth, claimed pre-eminence.

1. The “ORDINES MAJORES” were composed of the bishops, presbyters, and deacons. As chief ruler, the BISHOP had supreme direction of all affairs connected with his church or diocese. His exclusive privilege it was to ordain presbyters and deacons, to confirm those who had been baptized, to absolve the penitent, commonly also to consecrate the communion elements, and, at a later period, to vote in synods. The PRESBYTERS were now only regarded as the advisers and assistants of the bishop. They took part in the direction of congregational affairs, in the dispensation of the sacraments, in preaching, and in the cure of souls, but only by special commission, or with the express sanction of the bishop. At a later period, when the requirements of churches demanded it, and the authority of bishops was sufficiently recognised not to require such safeguards, presbyters were entrusted with the entire and independent cure of souls, with preaching, and (at least in part) with the dispensation of the sacraments.—The reverse of all this took place with regard to the official position of the DEACONS (Levitæ). Their authority grew as the duties originally assigned to them were enlarged. From having at first only to take charge of the poor, they gradually came to take part in public worship and in the direction of the congregation. When commissioned by the bishop, they baptized, they prepared the communion elements, they distributed the cup, carried, after the close of public worship, to the sick or to prisoners the Lord’s Supper, announced the commencement of the several parts of public worship, conducted the prayers of the church, read the Gospel, and preserved order during worship. Frequently they were also commissioned to preach. They commonly stood in more intimate personal relation with the bishop than did the presbyters; they were his intimate associates, accom-



panied him on his journeys, and frequently acted as his delegates and representatives at councils.—Among the “ORDINES MINORES” the office of *Lectores*, ἀναγνώσται, was the oldest. According to *Cyprian*, confessors were chosen in preference for this purpose. At a later period, the office of lector was commonly the first step in clerical promotion. The lectores read the larger sections from the Bible, and were the custodians of the sacred “codices.” An office introduced at a period subsequent to this was that of *Subdiaconi*, ὑποδιάκονοι, who, as assistants of the deacons, filled the first rank in the Ordines minores, and hence (unlike the others) were also ordained by imposition of hands. For the purpose of conducting the service of praise, the office of *Cantores* (ψαλταί) was instituted towards the close of the third century. The *Acolythi* accompanied the bishop to wait on him. The *Exorcists* took spiritual charge of those who were possessed (ἐνεργούμενοι, δαιμονιζόμενοι), over whom they made the prescribed prayers and uttered formulæ of exorcism. As the latter also took place in baptism, their official duties brought them likewise into connection with the catechumens. The lowest rank was occupied by the *Ostiarii* or *Janitores* (θυραροί, πυλῶροι).—The larger churches employed special CATECHISTS for the instruction of catechumens (doctores audientium); and, where requisite, as in those churches of North Africa in which the Punic language was used, HERMENEUTÆ, whose duty it was to translate the portions of Scripture that were read.—It was the duty of the DEACONESSES (commonly widows or females advanced in life) to take charge of poor and sick females, to give advice to the inexperienced of their sex, and to take the oversight of female catechumens. They were not regarded as belonging to the clergy.—The clergy were ORDAINED by the imposition of hands. Those who had only lately or during dangerous sickness been baptized (*Neophyti*, *Clinici*), those who had been excommunicated or had mutilated themselves, were not admitted to orders.

2. The assembly of the apostles at Jerusalem (Acts xv.) served as the first model for *meeting* in SYNODS, and agreeing on resolutions in such assemblies. But a similar institution had prevailed among the heathen. Under Roman domination, the ancient politico-religious alliances in Greece and Asia Minor had indeed lost their political importance; but their meetings (κοιναὶ σύνοδοι, concilia) continued, as before, in the capitals of provinces, and under the presidency of the Roman governors. Even the similarity of the name seems to indicate that these meetings were not without influence on the later institution of ecclesiastical synods. From the peculiar circumstances of the times, they could not take place before the latter half of the second century. The Christians, who frequently could only hold their worship secretly and at night, were of course prevented from planning any such stated meetings for deliberation at a period earlier than the time of Commodus. But when a season



of rest was granted them, during which their ecclesiastical arrangements could be made more freely and openly, these meetings of synods were instituted. The montanistic movements in Asia Minor (§ 59), and soon afterwards the disputes about the celebration of Easter (§ 53), gave the first occasions for these deliberations. At the commencement of the third century, the Provincial Synods had already become a regular and continuous institution. At the time of Cyprian, not only bishops, but presbyters and deacons also took part in the synods, and the people were at least allowed to be present. It was as if no resolution was to be arrived at without the knowledge, and, in a certain sense, the consent, of the congregation. Since the Council of Nice (325), bishops alone were allowed to vote, and the presence of the laity was more and more discouraged. The *resolutions of a Synod* were communicated to congregations at a distance in Synodal Letters (*Epistolæ Synodicæ*), and, so early as the third century, they were (according to Acts xv. 28) ascribed to the immediate direction of the Holy Spirit.

#### § 52. THE UNITY AND CATHOLICITY OF THE CHURCH.

COMP. A. Möhler, die Einheit d. K. (The Unity of the Church). 2d ed. Tübg. 1843.—J. E. Huther, Cyprian's Lehre von d. Einheit d. K. (The Doctr. of Cyprian as to the Unity of the Church). Hamb. 1839. Jul. Köstlin, die kath. Auffass. v. d. K. in ihrer ersten Ausbild. (The Cath. View of the Ch. in its Early Arrangm.). In the "deutsche Zeitschr. für chr. Wissen." for 1855. No. 33 etc.—Jul. Jacobi, die kirchl. Lehre v. d. Tradit. (The Doctr. of the Church Concerning Trad.). I. Berl. 1847. J. H. Friedlieb (Rom. Cath.), Schrift, Tradit. u. kirchl. Schriftausleg. nach den Zeugniss. d. erst. 5 Jahrh. (Script., Trad. and Eccles. Interpret. of Script. according to the Testim. of the First Five Cent.). Breslau 1854. Th. Katercamp, ii. d. Primat d. Ap. Petrus und s. Nachfolger (The Primacy of Peter and of his Success.). Münst. 1820. Rothen-see, d. Primat d. Papstes in allen chr. Jahrh. (The Primacy of the Pope during all Chr. Ages). 3 vols. May. 1836. F. P. Kenrik, The Primacy of the Apost. See vindic. 4th. ed. N. York 1855.—Against the Primacy: D. Biondel, traité hist. de la Primauté. Genève 1641. fol. Cl. Salmasius, de primatu Papæ. Lugd. 1645. Ellendorf (a Rom. Cath. lawyer), der Primat d. röm. P. Darmst. 1841. J. E. Riddle, The Hist. of the Papacy. Lond. 1856, 2 vols.; Th. Greenwood, Cathedra Petri. Lond. 1856.

The mission of Christianity—to become the religion of the world, to take possession of all nationalities and all languages, to pervade them by *one spirit*, and to unite them under *one Head* in heaven, implied that the Church was to be *one* and *universal* (catholic). An outward bond of connection was to express the inward unity of the Spirit. But the desire to form and consolidate a united

and catholic Church might readily lead into error and dangers. Not heresy only, and immorality or apostasy, but every difference in outward form, constitution, and worship, was regarded as a separation from the one catholic Church (the body of Christ), and from communion with Christ, and hence as implying the forfeiture of the hope of salvation.—This view became more prevalent in the second century, in proportion as the unity of the Church was endangered by heresies, by sects, and divisions. It was finally established, and, as it were, obtained its “magna charta” in the Church by the treatise of Cyprian, “*de Unitate Ecclesiæ*.” Besides the writings of the apostles, *tradition*, as preserved in the so-called Apostolical Churches, served as the rule and test of catholicity in government, worship, and doctrine. Indeed, since the apostolic writings were as yet neither generally diffused nor acknowledged, this tradition was, *previously* to and for *the purpose* of the settlement of the New Testament canon, even placed above the writings of the apostles. The common consciousness of the churches, based upon Scripture and tradition, presented the fundamental truths of Christianity as a “*Regula fidei*,” which was to form the standard for the development, the acceptance or the rejection of any doctrine. Thus the profession made at baptism, or the Symbolum, was gradually enlarged into the *Symbolum apostolicum* in its present form.—Connected with the idea of the *one*, catholic Church, was that according to which the Apostle Peter was regarded as the one representative of the Church, on the ground of the saying of the Lord in Matt. xvi. 18, 19, which was sadly misinterpreted. *Rome*, the capital of the world, where Peter and Paul had suffered martyrdom, pretended to be the “*cathedra Petri*,” and her bishops, as the supposed successors of Peter, laid claim to be the representatives of the one Church.

1. In the position of monarch over a congregation, assigned to the bishop as Christ’s representative, *Ignatius* of Antioch finds a guarantee for the preservation of the UNITY and CATHOLICITY OF THE CHURCH. According to *Cyprian*, the unity of the Church took its rise from the *Apostolate*, and is based on the *Episcopate*. The promise of Christ, Matt. xvi. 18, was given to *Peter* as the representative, *not* as the chief, of the apostles (John xx. 21). Through ordination, the apostolic office, with the promise attaching to it, had passed from the apostles to bishops. By their monarchical office the latter represented, in individual communities, and by their co-operation throughout Christendom, the unity of the Church (*Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*). As formerly

the apostles, so now the bishops, are on a footing of perfect equality; each of them is a successor of Peter, and an heir of the promise given indeed to Peter first, but given to him *for all* the others. He who renounces the bishop separates from the Church, and: *Habere non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Extra ecclesiam nulla spes salutis.* The largest view taken of the promise in Matt. xvi. 18 is that by *Origen*: Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητής. Δέλεται τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ παντὶ Πέτρῳ.

2. The claim of the SEE OF ROME to the PRIMACY over the *whole Church* is based on the view that the promise in Matt. xvi. 18 applied solely and *exclusively* to Peter, as chief of the apostles and head of the Church, and on the assumption that the Bishop of Rome is the successor of this prince of apostles, and hence the lawful and sole heir of all his prerogatives. Although the fable about Peter's episcopate at Rome was originally derived from the heretical, pseudo-Clementine writings (§ 48, 4)—a very suspicious authority—it was the more readily credited, as, considering the very different interpretation put at that time on Matt. xvi. 18, the inferences afterwards to be made from it could scarcely be foreseen. During the whole of this period neither did the Roman bishop nor any other person think of setting up any such claim. The only admission made, was that Rome was the chief among the apostolic communities, that there apostolic tradition had been preserved in greatest purity, and that hence the bishops of Rome were entitled to be specially heard on questions which, for decision, were to be submitted to all the bishops. In the meantime, the bishops of Rome rested content with, and sought to make the most of, such admissions. Nor does even the much vaunted statement of *Irenæus* (3, 3) go farther than this: *Ad hanc enim (sc. ecclesiam Rom. a gloriosissimis duobus App. Petro et Paulo fundatam) propter potiorum principatitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, h. e. eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.* Still, the opposition of Asia Minor to the Roman observance of Easter (§ 53, 1), and that of Cyprian about the baptizing of heretics (§ 54, 2), proves that even the tradition of Rome was not regarded as absolutely and unconditionally binding.

### § 53. CELEBRATION OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

So early as the commencement of the second century the Lord's day was generally observed. Being a day of joy, the attitude in *prayer* was that of *standing* (and not, as on other days, kneeling); and *fasting* was likewise *interdicted*. Among the other days of the week, *Wednesday* and *Friday* were, in remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, observed in public worship as days of vigil (*dies statinonum*, in accordance with the idea of a militia Christiana). Being re-



garded as days of humiliation and repentance, they formed a kind of complement and, at the same time, of contrast to the Lord's day. Thus the idea of Christian feast-days, which afterwards was much more fully developed, found a certain expression in the apportionment of the various days of the week. Soon afterwards distinctively Christian festivals were introduced among the Gentile Christians after the analogy of the feasts observed by the Jews and the Jewish Christians, although in the case of the latter these feasts had been modified to bear a Christian aspect. The *Paschal* or *Easter* festival was regarded in a very comprehensive manner, and divided into a *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον* and *ἀναστάσιμον*. But so deep and overpowering were the effects of this remembrance of Christ's sufferings, that it was felt insufficient to observe only one day (that of His death). By and by it was therefore preceded by a season devoted to mourning, repentance, and fasting. After remaining for some time unsettled, it was gradually fixed as of forty days' duration, and became the *Quadragesima* (*τεσσαρακοστή*) of the Christian calendar. The solemnities of Quadragesima closed with those of the *Great Week*, while the *Easter vigil* (*παννυχίς*) formed a transition to the festival of the Resurrection. Easter was followed by the *Feast of Pentecost*, in remembrance of the origin of the Church. The fifty days intervening between these two festivals (*quinquagesima*) were regarded as a season of joy, when the communion was daily celebrated, fasting was interdicted, and the attitude in prayer was standing, not kneeling. Special solemnities distinguished the fortieth day, being that of the *Ascension*. In the *East* the *Festival of Epiphany* was introduced. It took place on the 6th of January, in celebration of the baptism of Christ when He had manifested Himself as the Messiah. But at that period we do not yet find any trace of an observance of *Christmas day*.

1. DISPUTES ABOUT THE OBSERVANCE OF EASTER (comp. K. L. Weitzel, d. Gesch. d. Passahfeier d. 3 erst. Jahrh. [Hist. of Easter-observ. during the First 3 Cent.] Pforzh. 1848). During the second century Easter was celebrated on three different principles. The *Judæo-Christian Ebionites* (§ 48, 2) observed the Paschal Supper on the 14th of Nisan (= ἡ ἰδ', i.e. = 14), and considered that in this respect an exact adherence to Old Testament customs was of chief importance, especially since Christ, who had died on the 15th, had on the 14th kept the Paschal Supper with His disciples. The *Jewish Christians* who were connected with the *Catholic Church*, and whose practice was adopted in Asia Minor generally, celebrated Easter at exactly the same time as the Jews; but they



put a Christian interpretation upon the feast, omitted the Paschal Supper, and declared that the remembrance of the death of Christ was the point of chief importance. In their opinion, Christ had died on the 14th Nisan; so that, in the strict sense, He had not celebrated the real Paschal Supper in the last year of His life. Hence they observed on the 14th Nisan their *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, and on the 16th the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*. The fast before Easter closed at the moment when Christ was supposed to have expired (at 3 o'clock in the afternoon), and was followed by an agape and the Lord's Supper, instead of the Jewish Paschal Supper. Different from these two Judaizing observances was that in use among the Gentile Christians of the West, which, both in substance and in form, had no connection with the Jewish Paschal feast. In order not to destroy the harmony with the observance of the day of the resurrection on the Lord's day, it was resolved to retain not only the annual return of the *ιδ'*, but also to celebrate it on the same days of the week. Hence, when the *ιδ'* did not happen on the Friday, the *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον* was always celebrated on the first *Friday* after the *ιδ'*, and the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον* on the *Lord's day* following. Besides, the Western churches observed the anniversary of Christ's death as a day of mourning, and the fast before Easter only terminated with an agape and the Lord's Supper on the day of the resurrection. For a considerable period these different customs of observing Easter continued without calling forth any controversy. The subject was first discussed during the stay of *Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna*, at Rome (160). *Anicetus*, Bishop of Rome, supported his mode of celebrating Easter by the tradition of the Roman Church, while *Polycarp* appealed to the circumstance that he had sat down at a Paschal feast with the Apostle John himself. Although an agreement was not arrived at, yet to give evidence of their entire ecclesiastical fellowship, *Anicetus* allowed *Polycarp* to administer the Lord's Supper in his church. But in the year 196 the discussion broke out afresh between *Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus*, and *Victor, Bishop of Rome*. The latter went so far as to wish for a cessation of ecclesiastical communion with the churches of Asia Minor. But this step was generally disapproved. Especially did *Irenæus*, in name of the Gallican bishops, pronounce in this respect against *Victor*. The general *Council of Nice* (325) decided in favour of the Roman observance, which, after that period, became that in common practice.

#### § 54. THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM.

COMP. *J. W. F. Höfling*, das Sacr. d. Taufe (The Sacr. of Bapt.). 2 vols. Erlg. 1846.

From the commencement baptism was regarded as necessary in order to have part in the salvation of Christ, and as the condition for being received into the fellowship of the Church. The Fathers

generally connected baptism and regeneration. Hence, in theory, the *Baptism of Infants* was generally recognised, although it was not universally introduced. *Tertullian* alone decidedly opposed it. All grown-up persons who wished for baptism were called *Catechumens* (audientes), and as such had to undergo a preparatory training under a Christian teacher. Some, however, voluntarily and purposely deferred their baptism to the hour of death, in order that, as they thought, by baptism, all the sins of their lives might be removed. After having received instruction by the catechist, the catechumens were to prepare for baptism by prayer and fasting; they had solemnly to renounce the devil and all his works (*abrenuntiare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus*), and to make a confession of their faith before undergoing the sacred rite. In the third century, *exorcism*, or setting free from the power of the devil, was added—a formula hitherto in use only in the case of those possessed by evil spirits. Baptism was performed by thrice *immersing*, during which the formula of baptism was pronounced; *sprinkling* was only common in case of the sick (*baptismus clinicorum*); the water of baptism was set apart for the sacred rite. Immersion was followed by *anointing* (*χρίσμα*), as the symbol of spiritual priesthood, and by *laying on of hands*, according to Acts viii. 16, etc. Soon afterwards immersion came to be regarded as the negative part of baptism (the putting away of sin), and anointing and imposition of hands as its positive counterpart (the communication of the Spirit). In the East, presbyters and deacons were allowed to administer both baptism and the chrisma. In the West, it was thought that Acts viii. indicated that bishops alone had the right of the laying on of hands. Hence, when the bishop himself had not administered baptism, the imposition of hands and the chrisma were afterwards imparted by him, by way of *confirmation* (*confirmatio, consignatio*). The usual *seasons of baptism* were Easter, especially the Sabbath of the Great Week (baptism into the death of Christ, Rom. vi. 3), and Pentecost; in the East, also the Feast of the Epiphany. No importance was attached to the place *where* baptism was administered. Soon *sponsors* (*ἀνάδοχοι*) were introduced at the baptism of children, their duty being to make a confession of faith in room and in name of the infant.

1. The gradation among CATECHUMENS, according to which each class had special privileges, commenced about the middle of the second century. Its first traces are found in the writings of *Tertullian*. He distinguishes between novitioli and edocti or aquam

adituri. Only the latter were allowed to take part in the homiletic portion of public worship. Origen also speaks of two classes of catechumens, and the *Apostolical Constitutions* of three: 1. *Audientes*, ἀκροώμενοι, who were allowed and bound to attend sermon; 2. *Genuflectentes*, γονυκλίνοντες, who were also allowed to kneel at, and take part in the first portions of the prayers of the Church; and, 3. *Competentes*, φωτισζόμενοι, who, having finished their period of instruction, looked forward to baptism. The time of probation was fixed at between two and three years.

2. DISCUSSION ABOUT THE BAPTISM OF HERETICS. From the close of the second century, it was a subject of controversy whether a baptism administered by heretics was valid or not. The churches of Asia Minor and of Africa answered this question in the negative; while Rome received, without rebaptizing them, such heretics as had been baptized in the name of Christ, or of the Holy Trinity. In the middle of the third century this subject excited violent discussion. *Stephen, Bishop of Rome*, refused to tolerate any other practice than that of Rome, and renounced ecclesiastical fellowship with the churches of Asia Minor (253). The opposite view was zealously defended by *Cyprian of Carthage*, whose ideal of one church, in which alone there was salvation, seemed endangered by the practice of Rome. It was also advocated by *Firmilian of Casarea*, in Cappadocia. Three synods held at Carthage—the last and most influential in the year 256—pronounced decidedly in favour of this view. By friendly suggestions, *Dionysius of Alexandria* endeavoured to lead Stephen to more conciliatory views. The Valerian persecution, which soon afterwards broke out, proved a greater inducement to harmony and peace than any friendly counsels. Thus the dispute remained unsettled. But gradually the Romish practice came more generally into use, and was at last confirmed by the first *General Council of Nice*.

3. THE DOGMA CONCERNING BAPTISM. *Barnabas* says: ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ,—*Hermas*: ascendunt vitæ assignati; *Justin* regards the water of baptism as a ὕδωρ τῆς ζωῆς, ἐξ οὗ ἀναγεννῶμεν; according to *Irenæus* it effects a ἑνωσις πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν; *Tertullian* says, supervenit spiritus de cœlis,—caro spiritualiter mundatur; *Cyprian* speaks of an unda genitalis, a nativitas secunda in novum hominem; *Firmilian* says, nativitas, quæ est in baptismo, filios Dei generat; *Origen* calls baptism χαρισμάτων δείων ἀρχὴν καὶ πηγὴν.—Of the baptism of blood in martyrdom, *Tertullian* says, lavacrum non acceptum repræsentat et perditum reddit. *Hermas* and *Clemens Alex.* suppose that pious heathens and Jews had preaching and baptism in Hades.

#### § 55. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

COMP. *F. Brenner* (Rom. Cath.), Verricht. u. Ausspend. d. Euchar. von Christus bis auf unsere Zeit. (Administr. of the Euchar. from the



Time of Chr. to our Days). Bamb. 1824.—*Th. Harnack*, d. chr. Gemeindegottesd. im ap. u. altkath. Zeitalter (Publ. Worsh. in the Apost. and Prim. Cath. Ages). Erlg. 1854.—*R. Rothe*, de disciplina arcani. Heidelb. 1831.—*J. W. F. Höfling*, d. Lehre d. alt. K. vom Opfer (The Teach. of the Old Ch. abt. the Sacr.). Erlg. 1851.—*Ph. Marheineke*, ss. Pp. de præsentia Chr. in Cœna Dom. sententia triplex. Heidelb. 1811. 4. In answer to this, *J. Döllinger* (Rom. Cath.), die Lehre v. d. Euch. in d. 3 ersten Jahrh. (The Doctr. of the Euch. in the Three First Cent.) May. 1826.—*Rinck*, Lehrbegr. vom h. Abdm. in d. erst. Jahrh. (Doctr. of the L. Supper in the First Cent.), in the "hist. theol. Zeitschr." for 1853. III. *Ebrard*, d. Dogma v. h. Abdm. 2 vols. Frkf. 1845. *Kahn*, d. Lehre v. Abdm. Lpz. 1851.

At first the Lord's Supper was always connected with an *agape* (§ 35). But when Trajan published a stringent edict against *Hetæriæ* (§ 43, 2), the Christians intermitted the *agapes*, of which the prohibition was implied in the above edict, and connected the observance of the Lord's Supper with the ordinary homiletic public worship on the Lord's day. This continued the practice even after the celebration of the *agape* was again resumed. In connection with the arrangement about the catechumens, public worship was divided into a *missa catechumenorum* and a *missa fidelium*. From the latter, all who had not been baptized, who were under discipline, or were possessed by an unclean spirit, were excluded. This gave rise to the view, that a mystery attached to the celebration of the Lord's Supper (*disciplina arcani*). The circumstance that originally the *agape* and the Lord's Supper were celebrated together, led to the custom of making voluntary offerings (*oblaciones*) for the purpose of procuring the provisions requisite for the *agape*.—*The bread* used in the sacrament was the same as that in common use, hence leavened (*ζωὸς ἄρτος*); the *wine* also was as in common use, mixed with water (*κραῦμα*), which *Cyprian* regarded as symbolical of the union of Christ with the Church. In the African and Eastern Churches, John vi. 53 was interpreted as applying to the communion of *children*, who (of course, after baptism) were admitted to this ordinance. During the third century, what had at first been a very simple rite gave place to a complicated *sacramental liturgy*, which has remained the basis of all later productions of this kind. At the close of public worship the deacons carried the consecrated elements to the sick and to the prisoners of the congregation. In some places, part of the consecrated bread was carried home and partaken in the family at morning prayers, in order thus



to set apart for God a new day. *Confession*, in the proper sense of the term, did not precede the communion. The discipline exercised by the Church, and the liturgical arrangements in use at the time, were such, that special confession seemed not requisite.

1. At the time of *Justin Martyr*, the SACRAMENTAL LITURGY was still very simple. The common prayer which closed the public worship was followed by a *fraternal kiss*; after that the elements were brought to the bishop, who set them apart in a prayer of thanksgiving and praise (εὐχαριστία). The people responded by an *Amen*, and the presbyters or deacons carried to all present the consecrated elements. From the above prayer the whole service obtained the name of the Eucharist, evidently because it was held that, by the consecration prayer, the common became sacramental bread—the body and blood of the Lord. The liturgy in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which may be regarded as the type of public worship at the close of the third century, is much more composite. There the *missa catechumenorum* included prayer, praise, reading of the Bible, and the sermon. At the close of the sermon, catechumens, penitents, and those who were possessed, were successively dismissed. The *missa fidelium* then commenced with a general intercessory prayer. After this followed various collects and responses, then the fraternal kiss, a warning against unworthy communicating, the preparation of the elements, the sign of the cross, the consecration prayer, the words of the institution, the elevation of the consecrated elements,—all being accompanied by suitable prayers, hymns, doxologies, and responses. The bishop or presbyter gave the bread with the words, Σῶμα Χριστοῦ; the deacon the cup, with the words, Αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ποτήριον ζωῆς. At the close, the congregation, on their knees, received the benediction of the bishop, and the deacon dismissed them with the words, Ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

2. THE DISCIPLINA ARCANI. Neither in *Justin Martyr* nor in *Irenæus* do we find any trace of the view that the sacramental portions of public worship (among which the rites of the Lord's Supper with their prayers and hymns, the Lord's Prayer, the administration of baptism, the symbolum, the chrisma, and the ordination of priests, were included) were regarded as mysteries (μυστικὴ λατρεία, τελετή), to be carefully kept from all unbaptized persons, and only made known to members of the Church (συμμύσταις). *Justin*, in his apology, addressed specially to the heathen, even described in detail the rites observed in the Lord's Supper. The view to which we referred originated at the time of *Tertullian* (170–180), and was specially due to the institution of the catechumenate, and the division of public worship to which it led, from the second part of which all unbaptized persons were excluded.

3. THE DOGMA OF THE LORD'S SUPPER. This doctrine was

not clearly developed, although it was generally realised that the Lord's Supper was a most holy mystery, that the body and blood of the Lord were mystically connected with the bread and wine, and that thus those who in faith partook of this meat enjoyed essential communion with Christ. On this supposition alone can we account for the reproach of the heathen, who spoke of the sacrament as feasts of Thyestes. *Ignatius* calls the Lord's Supper a φάρμακον ἀθανάσιον, and admits εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος; *Justin* says: σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. According to *Irenæus*, it is not "communis panis, sed eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cœlesti;" and in consequence of partaking it, our bodies are "jam non corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia." *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* also adopt similar views, while at the same time they represent, in some passages, the Lord's Supper rather as a symbol. *Clement* and *Origen* consider that it is the object of the Lord's Supper that the soul should be fed by the Divine Word.

4. THE SACRIFICIAL THEORY. When once the idea of a priesthood (§ 51) had gained a footing, the cognate notion of sacrifice could not for any time be kept out. The Lord's Supper offered several points of connection for this view. First, the consecrating prayer, which was regarded of such importance as to give its name to the whole service (εὐχαριστία), might be regarded as a spiritual sacrifice; next, names derived from terms applied to sacrificial worship were given to those offerings which the congregation made for behoof of the Lord's Supper (προσφοραί, oblationes). And as the congregation brought its gifts for the Lord's Supper, so the priest offered them again in the Lord's Supper; and to this act also the terms προσφέρειν, ἀναφέρειν, were applied. Ultimately, as the prayer, so the Lord's Supper itself, was designated as θυσία, sacrificium, although at first only in a figurative sense.

#### § 56. READING, SERMON, PRAYER AND PRAISE.

COMP. *Chr. W. F. Walch*, krit. Unters. vom Gebrauch d. h. Schr. in d. 4 erst. Jahrh. (Crit. Inq. into the Use of the Script. during the First Four Cent.). Lpz. 1779. *T. G. Hegelmaier*, Gesch. d. Bibelverbots (Hist. of the Prohibition of the Bible). Ulm 1783.—*E. Leopold*, d. Predigtamt im Urchristenth. (The Office of Preach. in the First Ages). Lüneb. 1846.—*M. Gerbert*, de cantu et musica a prima eccl. ætate. Bamb. 1774. 2 Voll. 4. *L. Buchegger*, de Orig. s. Poëseos. Frib. 1827. *K. Buhl*, der Kirchenges. in der griech. K. bis auf Chrysost. (Ch. Music in the Gr. Ch. to the Time of Chrys.), in the "hist. theol. Zeitschr." for 1848. II.

Following the arrangement in the Jewish synagogue, the reading of the Scriptures (ἀνάγνωσις, lectio) formed the fundamental part on every occasion of public worship. The person officiating

was left free to select any portions of the Bible. In general, this duty was assigned to special *readers*, although, by way of distinction, the gospels were frequently read by the deacons, the congregation standing as a mark of their respect.—Besides the canonical writings of the Old and New Testaments, other edifying works, such as the productions of the apostolic Fathers (especially the Shepherd of Hermas and the Letter of Clement), the Acts of Martyrs, and certain apocryphal works, were also read in some congregations. After reading, the bishop, or by his order the presbyter, the deacon, and occasionally the catechist (Origen), delivered a lecture or practical *discourse* (ὁμιλία, λόγος, sermo, tractatus). In the Greek Church this speedily assumed the form of an artificial and rhetorical composition. The Word of God having thus been read and explained, the congregation responded in *prayers*, which either the bishop or the deacon conducted, at first *ex tempore*, but at a comparatively early period according to a fixed liturgy. At short intervals the congregation responded to each prayer by Κύριε ἐλέησον. In the third century, when the forms of public worship became more composite, suitable prayers were introduced at various stages of the service, designed respectively for catechumens, for those who were possessed, and for those under discipline. These were followed by a general prayer of the church for all classes of men, for all states and requirements in the congregation, and lastly by the prayers which introduced the celebration of the Eucharist. *Singing of Psalms and Hymns* had been in use since apostolic times (§ 35). After the second century, this part of worship was enlarged and developed.

1. THE DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION. At first theologians (following in this Philo) regarded the prophetic inspiration of the sacred writers as something merely passive, as an ἔκστασις. *Athenagoras* compared the soul of the prophet to a flute, *Justin Martyr* to a lyre, touched by the Holy Spirit as by the plectrum. But the pretensions of the Montanistic prophets brought this view into discredit. Some of the writers of the Alexandrian school held that, in a certain sense, the Holy Spirit had also influenced the choicest minds in the heathen world. This theory led to a lower view of inspiration generally. *Origen*, especially, was wont to teach a certain gradation in the inspiration of the Bible, according as human individuality appeared more or less prominently in the sacred writings.

2. *Marcion* was the first to collect a NEW TESTAMENT CANON, about the year 150 (§ 49, 10). The list known by the name of



*Muratorî's Canon* dates from about twenty years later. It consists of a fragment found by *Muratorî*, containing an index of the sacred writings received in the Roman Church. *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and *Eusebius* are our principal authorities for a still later period. From the time of *Irenæus* and the *Muratorî* fragment, the Four Gospels, the Book of Acts, the thirteen Epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews (which, however, in the West was not regarded as of Pauline authorship), the First Epistles of Peter and of John, and the Book of Revelation, were universally recognised as canonical. Hence *Eusebius* designates them *ὁμολογούμενα*. Opinions differed about the Epistle of James, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of John, and that of Jude (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*). A third class of writings, which laid no claim to canonicity, *Eusebius* designates as *νόθα* (the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the "Acta Pauli," etc.).

3. TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE. As Hebrew was almost entirely unknown, even the learned perused the Old Testament only in the translation of the LXX. In the second century, several Latin translations circulated, among which the *Itala* was that most in repute. Since the second century, a Syriac translation also existed. It was called the PESHITO, *i.e.*, plana, simplex, as it gave the words of the original literally and without circumscription.

4. HYMNOLOGY. When Pliny (§ 43, 2) referred to the practice "carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem," he must have alluded to special hymns, with hypophonic responses on the part of the congregation. *Tertullian* and *Origen* bear frequent testimony to the existence of numerous hymns adapted for public and family worship. The Gnostics (*Bardesanes* and *Harmonius*) seem for a time to have been more distinguished than the Catholics in the composition of hymns, and thereby to have stimulated the latter to greater zeal. Among Catholic hymn writers, *Athenogenes*, a martyr, and *Nepos*, an Egyptian bishop, are mentioned. A hymn *εἰς Σωτῆρα*, by *Clemens Alex.*, has been handed down. *Socrates* ascribes to *Ignatius*, Bishop of Antioch, the introduction of antiphonies (between different choirs in the congregation). However, the statement of *Theodoret*, that about the year 350 *Flavian* and *Diodor*, two monks of Antioch, had imported this form of worship from the national Syrian into the Græco-Syrian Church, appears to us more trustworthy.

§ 57. PLACES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP AND INFLUENCE OF ART.

COMP. *G. Kinkel*, *Gesch. d. bild. Künste* (Hist. of Art). I. Bonn 1845.—*Ch. F. Bellermann*, *die ält. chr. Begräbnisstät.* (The Anc. Chr. Places of Sepult.). Hamb. 1839. *F. Münter*, *Sinnbild.*



u. Kunstvorstell. d. alt. Christen. (Emblems and Artist. Ideas of the Anc. Christ.). Altona 1825. *F. Piper*, Mythol. u. Symbol. der chr. Kunst. (Mythol. and Symb. of Chr. Art). Weim. 1847.

The first unequivocal mention of buildings specially designed for public worship occurs in the writings of Tertullian (at the close of the second century). At the time of Diocletian, a splendid church stood close by the imperial residence in the city of Nicomedia, and proudly overshadowed it (§ 43, 6). At the commencement of the fourth century, Rome numbered more than forty churches. We are, however, entirely ignorant of the form and arrangement of these churches. But the Apostolic Constitutions already enjoin that they should be oblong, and so placed as to point to the east. *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* mention an *altar* for the preparation of the Lord's Supper, and a *desk* for reading. During the times of persecution Christian worship required, of course, to be held in secret—in caves, in deserts, in places of sepulture, and in catacombs. But even at other times the Christians liked to celebrate worship in places where believers were buried (*cemeteries*) and in catacombs, in order to manifest that communion in Christ continued beyond death and the grave. Especially was it customary to observe the anniversaries of martyrdom by oblations and the Eucharist at the places where such witnesses were interred. The ancient Church regarded these seasons as birth-days unto eternal life (γενέθλια, natalitia martyrum).

THE ARTS. The early Christians inherited from Judaism a dislike to the arts. This feeling was not a little increased by their antagonism to the artistic worship of heathenism, by a spirit of outward separation from the world, which was called forth and fostered during the early persecutions, and by a one-sided interpretation of the statement of Christ concerning the worship of God in spirit and in truth. But, considering the artistic taste of the Greeks, this aversion could not last. How strong the reaction had become, even at the time of Tertullian, may be gathered from his violent opposition. The first distinctively Christian works of art consisted of emblems, used, however, only in domestic and private life, on the walls of dwellings, cups, rings, etc.; next the catacombs were adorned; and, lastly, in the fourth century, the churches. The emblems most in use were the *monogram* of the name *Christ*, consisting of an intertwining of the letters X. and P. Frequently the letter P terminated in an anchor, and the letter X was surrounded by the letters α and ω (Rev. i. 8). A symbol much in use was that of a fish, of which the name, ἰχθύς, served as an anagram (Ἰ. Χρ. Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ), and which at the same time reminded

of the water of life and of the water of baptism. Besides, we also meet with the representation of a *ship*, of a *dove*, of an *anchor* (Heb. vi. 19), of a *fisherman* (Matt. iv. 19), of a *crown* (Rev. ii. 10), of a *vine* (John xv.), of a *palm-tree* (Rev. vii. 9), of a *cock* (John xviii. 27), of a *phoenix* (as symbol of the resurrection), of a *hart* (Ps. xlii. 1), of a *lamb* (John i. 29), of a *shepherd* who carries on his shoulder the lost sheep that had been found (Luke xv.), etc.—By and by these symbols gave place to *types*. Old Testament histories were now depicted: from that it required only another step to delineate New Testament events.—So late as the year 305, the *Synod of Illiberis* (Elvira) interdicted the use of pictures in churches.—During this period, only Gnostics (the Carpocratians) and heathens (as in the *Lararium* of Alexander Severus, § 43, 4) made use of images of Christ. From Isaiah liii. 2, 3, the Catholics inferred that the outward appearance of the Saviour had been the opposite of attractive.

#### § 58. LIFE, MANNERS, AND DISCIPLINE.

COMP. *G. Arnold*, erste Liebe, d. i. wahre Abbild. d. ersten Christen. (First Love, i.e., Faithful Portrait. of the First Chr.). Erkf. 1696.—*C. Schmidt*, essai hist. sur la société dans le monde Rom. et sur sa transform. par le christianisme. Strassb. 1853.—*J. A. and Aug. Theiner*, die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit bei d. chr. Geistl. (Introduct. of the Oblig. to Celibacy among the Chr. Clergy). 2 vols. Altenb. 1828.

Where, as in the persecutions of that period, the chaff is so thoroughly separated from the wheat, the Divine power of the Gospel and the rules laid down by strict ecclesiastical discipline would of necessity produce a degree of purity, of moral earnestness, and of self-denial, such as never before had been seen in the world. But what attracted most admiration among the heathen, who were so much accustomed to mere selfishness, was the *brotherly love* practised, the care taken of the poor and sick, the ready and large-hearted hospitality, the sanctity of the marriage relation, and the joy with which martyrdom was borne. Marriages with Jews, heathens, and heretics were disapproved of; commonly also second marriage after the death of a first husband. Christians avoided taking part in public amusements, dances, and spectacles, as being “*pompa diaboli*.” According to Eph. vi. 10, etc., they regarded the Christian life as a *militia Christi*. But since the middle of the second century, as in outward constitution and worship, so in the ethical views concerning the Christian life, the depth, liberty, and simplicity of apostolic times gave place to a spurious, catholic externalism and bondage.

Ecclesiastical teachers still insisted, indeed, on the necessity of a state of mind corresponding to the outward works done. But already this outward conformity was over-estimated, and thus gradually the way was prepared for *work-holiness* and the *opus operatum* (i.e., attaching merit to a work in and by itself). This tendency appears very prominently so early as in the case of *Cyprian* (de opere et eleemosynis). With this the Alexandrian theologians also combined a theoretical distinction between a *higher and lower morality*, of which the former was to be sought by the Christian sage (ὁ γνωστικός), while an ordinary Christian might rest satisfied with the latter. This laid the foundation for all the later aberrations of *asceticism*.

1. THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. The spirit of Christianity also pervaded domestic and civil life. It manifested itself in *family worship*, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the family (§ 55), in making the sign of the cross before undertaking or doing anything, and in adorning the dwellings and furniture with certain symbols (§ 57, note). The rites of *marriage* were consecrated by the Church, but, as yet, the validity of a union was not considered as depending on this. The wearing of garlands and of veils by brides was disapproved, as being heathen symbols; but the custom of using a marriage ring was early in use, and was viewed as a Christian symbol. The practice of the heathen to burn the *dead bodies* reminded of hell-fire; the Christians, therefore, preferred the Jewish practice of burial, appealing to 1 Cor. xv.

2. ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE. Heretics, apostates, and pertinacious transgressors, were, according to apostolic injunction, excluded from the communion of the Church (*excommunicatio*), and only restored after having given sufficient proof of their penitence. From the great number of those who, during the Decian persecution, made recantation, it became necessary to fix a certain rule of procedure in such cases, which remained in force till the fifth century. Penitents had to pass through four stages of discipline, of which each lasted, according to circumstances, one or more years. In the first (the πρόσκλαυσις), the penitents, arrayed in the garb of mourning, stood by the church-door, entreating the clergy and congregation to receive them again; in the second (the ἀκρόασις), penitents were allowed to be present, although in a separate place, during the reading of the Scriptures and the sermon. In the third (ὑπόπτωσις), they were also allowed to be present, and to kneel at prayer; while in the fourth (σύστασις), they might again join in all the parts of public worship, with the exception of the communion, which, however, they might witness, standing. After that, they made a public confession of their sins (ἐξομολόγησις), and received absolution and the fraternal kiss (pax, reconciliatio). This admi-



nistration of discipline was only shortened or rendered milder "in periculo mortis." But this extreme strictness in dealing with penitents also led to the opposite extreme of excessive laxity. Confessors especially, frequently abused their privilege of procuring the restoration of penitents by means of what were called *recommendatory letters* (*libelli pacis*), a practice which tended seriously to injure the administration of discipline. On the other hand, some went so far as to deny that the Church had the right of absolving and restoring those who had been guilty of mortal sin (1 John v. 16), such as theft, murder, adultery, or apostasy. But these extreme views did not mislead the Church.

3. ASCETICISM. The asceticism (*ἐγκρατεία*, *continentia*) of the heathen and of the Jews (the Pythagoreans, the Essenes, the Therapeutæ) was either the result of dualistic views, or the manifestation of a false spiritualism. In opposition to this tendency, Christianity propounded it as a principle: Πάντα ὑμῶν ἐστίν (1 Cor. iii. 21; vi. 12). At the same time it also admitted, that from the disposition, the requirements, or circumstances of an individual, a sober asceticism was warrantable, and might even prove relatively useful (Matt. xix. 12; 1 Cor. vii. 5, 7). But the Gospel neither insisted on it, nor ascribed to it any merit. Views such as these prevailed so late as the second century (they occur, for example, in *Ignatius*). But after the middle of that century, a much greater value was attached to asceticism. It was regarded as a higher stage of morality, and as ensuring superior merit.—Along with this change, the ideas connected with asceticism underwent a modification. In general, it meant frequent and protracted *fasts* and *celibacy*, or at least abstinence from conjugal intercourse (after 1 Cor. vii.; Matt. xix. 12). Continued prayer and meditation served to foster the spiritual life of ascetics. Most of them, also, voluntarily relinquished their worldly possessions, in application of Luke xviii. 24. After the middle of the second century their number rapidly increased, till they formed a distinct class in the community. But as yet they were not bound by irrevocable vows to continue this manner of life.—The idea that the call to asceticism devolved more *especially* on the clergy, resulted from their designation as the *κλήρος Θεοῦ*. So early as the second century, a second marriage on the part of clergymen was held to be unlawful (on the ground of 1 Tim. iii. 2); while in the third, it was considered their duty, after ordination, to abstain from conjugal intercourse. The attempt to make this obligatory was first made in the year 305, at the *Council of Elvira*, but proved unsuccessful.—The shameful practice, on the part of certain ascetics and clerics, of taking to themselves (perhaps in misinterpretation of 1 Cor. ix. 5) religious females as *sorores* (*ἀδελφαί*), seems to have originated in the second century. The idea was, that being joined to them in spiritual love, they were unitedly to defy the temptations of the flesh. In the middle



of the third century this practice was widely spread. *Cyprian* frequently inveighs against it. The abuse went so far, that these so-called “sorores” slept in the same bed with the ascetics, and indulged in the most tender embraces. To prove the purity of their relationship, they were wont to appeal to the testimony of midwives. So far as we can gather, *Paul of Samosata*, in Antioch, was the first bishop to encourage this practice by his own example. In the popular parlance of Antioch, this more than doubtful relationship went by the name of *γυναικες συνεισάκτοι* (*subintroductæ*, *agapetæ*, *extranæ*). At last bishops and councils passed strict injunctions against it.—During the Decian persecution some Egyptian Christians had fled into the wilderness, where avoiding, on principle, all intercourse with their fellow-men, they led a life of strict asceticism. These were the first ANCHORITES. One of them, *Paul of Thebes*, lived almost ninety years in the wilderness. His existence had been forgotten by his contemporaries, when, in 340, *S. Antonius* discovered his remains, from which life had but lately departed. His body was found in the attitude of prayer.

§ 59. THE MONTANISTIC REFORMATION (ABOUT 150 A.D.).

COMP. *G. Wernsdorf*, de Montanistis. Gedan. 1751. *A. Neander*, Antignosticus (Transl. by J. E. Ryland, Lond. Bohn). *K. Hesselberg*, Tertullian's Lehre (The Doct. of Tert.). Dorp. 1848. [*A. Schweigler*, d. Montan. u. d. chr. K. d. 2 Jahrh.—Montan. and the Chr. Ch. of the Second Cent.—Tübg. 1841. *F. Chr. Baur*, das Wesen d. Montanism., in the Tübg. Jahrb. for 1851. IV.]

However rigorous the moral demands which the Church of the second and third century made upon its members, and however strict the exercise of its discipline, parties were not wanting who deemed the common practice and views insufficient. Among these the *Montanists* were the most notable. The movement originated in Phrygia, about the middle of the second century. Its leading characteristics were: a new order of ecstatic prophets, with somnambulist visions and new revelations; a grossly literal interpretation of scriptural predictions; a fanatical millenarianism; a self-confident asceticism; and an excessive rigour in ecclesiastical discipline. Thus, without dissenting from the doctrinal statements of the Church, Montanism sought to reform its practice. In opposition to the false universalism of the Gnostics, the Montanists insisted that Christianity alone, and not heathenism, contained the truth. In opposition to Catholicism, they maintained that their own spiritual church was really a step in advance of apostolical Christianity. If Montanism had universally prevailed, Christianity would speedily

have degenerated into mere enthusiasm, and as such run its course. This the Church recognised at an early period, and hence protested against these views as a *heretical* aberration. It could not but be seen that their much vaunted purity of doctrine was always, more or less, at the mercy of the disordered imagination of some Montanist prophet. Still, their moral earnestness and zeal against worldliness, hierarchism, and false spiritualism, rendered important service to the Church, both in the way of admonition and of warning.

1. PHRYGIAN MONTANISM. About the middle of the second century *Montanus*, a native of Ardaban, appeared at Pepuza, in Phrygia, as a prophet and reformer of Christianity, to which he had only lately become a convert. He had visions, and while in a state of unconsciousness and ecstasy, prophesied of the near advent of Christ, and inveighed against the corruption in the Church. *Maximilla* and *Priscilla*, two females, were infected with his enthusiasm, became likewise somnambulistic, and prophesied. Part of the congregation recognised him as a divine prophet, and believed his predictions and teaching (Montanistæ, *Κατάρφυγες*, *Pepuziani*). Others regarded him and these two females as possessed, and would have called in the aid of exorcism. Meantime opposition only served to feed the delusion. *Montanus* felt convinced that in him was fulfilled the promise of Christ concerning the *Paraclete*, who was to guide the Church into all truth. His adherents declared that they alone had received the Holy Ghost. They called themselves *πνευματικοί*, and designated the unbelieving Catholics as *ψυχικοί*. The movement spread, growing in error as it proceeded. The principal ecclesiastical teachers of Asia Minor (Claudius Apollinarius, Miltiades, Rhodon, etc.) rose against it as one man, and by word and writing contended against Montanism. Several synods also solemnly pronounced against it (about 170). They succeeded in arresting the spread of this delusion.

2. MONTANISM IN THE WEST. The sentence of condemnation pronounced in Asia Minor was approved of at *Rome*. But the Christians of Gaul, who had always kept up close intercourse with the Mother Church in Asia Minor, and who, under the pressure of the Aurelian persecution, cherished at that time more lively expectations of a coming millennium, refused entirely to condemn the Montanistic movement. Accordingly, they addressed conciliatory letters, both to Asia Minor and to Rome. *Irenæus*, at the time only a presbyter, went to Rome, and persuaded Bishop *Eleutherus* to adopt mild and conciliatory measures. But soon afterwards, when *Praxeas*, a confessor from Asia Minor (§ 62, 3), arrived in Rome, he and *Cajus*, a presbyter and a fanatical enemy of millenarianism, so wrought upon Bishop *Victor* by a description of the proceedings of the Montanists, that he withdrew the epistles of

peace which he had already written. From that time the Roman Church remained strenuously opposed to Montanism. Still, the movement met with considerable sympathy in the West, especially in Proconsular Africa. This translocation, however, proved otherwise useful, by removing much of the fanaticism and sectarianism which had originally attached to the party. *Tertullian*, a presbyter of Carthage (about the year 201), and the most eminent teacher in the West of his time, was by far the ablest champion of Montanism. He devoted all his energy and talents to gain adherents to his principles. But the stigma of sectarianism and the reproach of heresy attached to them. Still the sect of *Tertullianists* continued in Africa for a long time.

3. DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE. It is the fundamental idea of Montanism that Divine revelation gradually and increasingly developed. This progression had not reached its climax in Christ and His apostles, but was destined to do so during the era of the Paraclete, which had commenced with *Montanus*. The patriarchial period was the period of infancy in the kingdom of God; the period of the law and of prophecy, under the Old Covenant, its *childhood*; in the Gospel it entered upon the *period of youth*; while in the Montanistic effusion of the Spirit, it finally attained the full maturity of *manhood*. Its absolute completion may be expected to take place in the *millennium*, which was regarded as at hand. The following were the principal reformatory ordinances of the Paraclete: *Second marriage* was to be considered fornication;—much greater importance was to be attached to *fasting*; on the “*dies stationum*” it was absolutely unlawful to partake of anything, and two weeks before Easter only water and bread or dry meat (ξηροφαγία) were allowed;—those who had been excommunicated were to continue in the “*status pœnitentiæ*” during the remainder of their lives;—*martyrdom* was to be sought after; to withdraw in any way from persecution was, in measure, to apostatise;—virgins were to appear only *veiled*, and, generally, women to renounce all luxury and ornaments;—worldly science and art, and all worldly enjoyments, even those which appear to be innocent, were treated as a snare laid by the enemy, etc.

#### § 60. ECCLESIASTICAL SCHISMS.

It so happened that sometimes in one and the same congregation there were those who advocated the administration of lax and of rigorous discipline. Each of these parties, of course, wished to enforce its peculiar views, to the exclusion of all others. From such controversies, accompanied as they frequently were by disputes between presbyters and bishops, and by doctrinal divergences, various schisms arose which continued for a period, even although outward circumstances seemed at the time to render ecclesiastical union more



than ever desirable. We read of four such schisms during the period under review.

1. THE SCHISM OF HIPPOLYTUS AT ROME (about 220–235). Comp. *J. Dollinger*, *Hipp. u. Callistus*. Regensb. 1853.—*Wordsworth*, *S. Hippol. and his Age*. Lond. 1853. *W. E. Taylor*, *Hippol. and the Chr. Ch. of the Third Cent.* Lond. 1853; Art. “Hippol.” in *Herzog’s Encycl.* vi. 131, etc. 1856.

After a life full of curious adventures, Callistus (Calixtus), a liberated slave, was in 217 raised to the see of Rome, not without strenuous opposition from the more strict party in the Church. They charged him with a connivance at every kind of transgression, equally inconsistent with Christian earnestness and destructive of all discipline. Besides, they also accused him of holding the Noëtian heresy (§ 62, 4). The opposition was headed by *Hippolytus*, a presbyter, whom his adherents elected counter-bishop. The schism lasted till the time of *Pontianus*, the second in occupation of the see of Rome after Callistus. The chiefs of both parties having been banished to Sardinia, a reconciliation took place between their adherents, who united to choose another bishop (235).

2. THE SCHISM OF FELICISSIMUS AT CARTHAGE, ABOUT THE YEAR 250, was in reality an opposition to the episcopal authority of *Cyprian*. The (moderate) strictness of that bishop in dealing with the lapsed was only made a pretext. Several presbyters at Carthage were dissatisfied with the appointment of *Cyprian* as bishop (248), and sought to withdraw from his jurisdiction. At their head was *Novatus*. They ordained, of their own authority, *Felicissimus*, who afterwards became the chief of the party, as deacon. When, during the Decian persecution, *Cyprian* for a short time left Carthage, they accused him of dereliction of duty and cowardice. But *Cyprian* soon returned, and his opponents turned his strictness towards the lapsi to account for exciting people against him. The bishop had protested against the readiness with which some confessors had, without fully examining into the circumstances, given *libellos pacis* to the lapsed, and deferred the consideration of such cases to a synod, to be held after the persecution had ceased. An ecclesiastical visitation completed the breach. The dissatisfied presbyters at once received the lapsed; renounced the authority of *Cyprian*, although, when the persecution broke out afresh, that bishop himself introduced a milder discipline; and elected *Fortunatus* as counter-bishop. Only after considerable trouble *Cyprian*, by a combination of prudence and firmness, succeeded in arresting the schism.

3. IN THE SCHISM OF NOVATIAN, A PRESBYTER AT ROME (251), the cause of dispute was of an almost opposite character from that just described. *Cornelius*, Bishop of Rome, exercised a mild discipline; a practice opposed by the more strict party, under the presbyter *Novatian*. When *Novatus* of Carthage arrived at Rome, he



joined the discontented party, although his own views on ecclesiastical discipline had been the very opposite of theirs, and incited them to separation. The strict party now chose *Novatian* as their bishop. Both parties appealed for recognition to the leading churches. *Cyprian* pronounced against *Novatian*, and contested the sectarian principles of his adherents according to which the Church had not the right to assure forgiveness to the lapsed, or to those who, by gross sin, had broken their baptismal vows (though they admitted the possibility that, by the mercy of God, such persons might be pardoned). The *Novatians* also held that the Church, being a communion of pure persons, could not tolerate in its bosom any who were impure, nor readmit a person who had been excommunicated, even though he had undergone ecclesiastical discipline. On this ground the party called itself the *Κάθαρτοι*. Owing to the moral earnestness of their principles, even those bishops who took a different view from theirs were disposed to regard them more favourably; and almost through the whole Roman empire *Novatian* communities sprung up, of which remnants existed so late as the sixth century.

4. THE SCHISM OF MELETIUS IN EGYPT. During the Diocletian persecution, *Meletius*, Bishop of Lycopolis, in Thebais, had, without being authorised, arrogated to himself the power of ordaining and of otherwise interfering with the rights of his metropolitan, *Petrus*, Bishop of Alexandria, who for a season had retired from his diocese. Warnings and admonitions were in vain. An Egyptian synod then excommunicated and deposed him. This gave rise to a schism which spread over Egypt. The general Council of Nice (325) offered to all Meletian bishops amnesty, and the succession in their respective sees in case the Catholic counter-bishop should die. Many submitted, but Meletius himself, with some others, continued schismatic, and joined the party of the Arians.

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#### IV. TEACHING AND LITERATURE OF THE CHURCH.

##### § 61. THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES.

The earliest Christian writers had enjoyed intercourse with, and instruction from, the apostles. On that account they are commonly called *Apostolic Fathers*. In their case, as in that of the apostles themselves, the immediate requirements of practical life formed the burden and the motive of their writings. But the literary contest with heathenism, which immediately succeeded, gave a more scientific character to Christian authorship. This contest gave rise to a long series of *apologetical works*, which in great part date from the second century. The scientific tendency of Christian theology

developed even more fully in the third century during the controversy with Judaising and paganising *heretics*. In opposition to those dangerous aberrations, three peculiar types of doctrinal views developed within the Catholic Church after the close of the second century. They are commonly distinguished as the *schools of Alexandria, of Asia Minor, and of North Africa*.—Since the close of the first century, another branch of literature, though one of very doubtful value, had also appeared. We allude to the *apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphic writings*, which arose partly with the view of spreading certain heresies, partly for apologetical purposes, and partly to give sanction to certain ecclesiastical ordinances. This species of literature seems to have attained its highest point during the second and third centuries.

1. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS (comp. *A. Hilgenfeld*, die ap. V. Halle 1853. *J. H. B. Lübkert*, d. Theologie d. ap. V. in the "Luther. Zeitschr." for 1854. IV. *Lechler*, d. Apost. u. nachapost. Zeitalter. Stuttg. 1857). Of these seven are mentioned.

(1.) CLEMENT, Bishop of Rome (Philippians iv. 3), from whom we have an Epistle to the Corinthians, containing admonitions to concord and humility.

(2.) BARNABAS, the well-known companion of the Apostle Paul. The letter, preserved under his name, betrays, by its allegorical interpretations, the Alexandrian ideas of the author, and breathes contempt for the Old Testament and its ceremonial. It contains, however, some ingenious views, and gives evidence of deep piety. Its authenticity is doubtful.

(3.) HERMAS (Rom. xvi. 14). The Ποιμήν (Pastor) ascribed to him was perhaps written by a later *Hermas*, the brother of the Roman Bishop Pius, about the year 150. The work derives its name from the circumstance that in it an angel, under the guise of a shepherd, instructs the author. It contains visions, "mandata," and "similitudines."

(4.) IGNATIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH (§ 43, 2). We possess seven letters of his, which on his journey to martyrdom he addressed to various churches (one of them to Polycarp). Of the two Greek recensions, the more lengthy is manifestly a paraphrase. They are distinguished above all other writings of this time by energetic opposition to Judaistic and Docetic heresy, by a most decided confession of the Divinity of Christ, and by strenuous assertions of the authority of bishops as the representatives of Christ. *Bunsen*, *Lipsius*, and others, maintain that a still shorter recension (in Syriac translation), of only three letters, represents the genuine works of Ignatius; while *Baur*, *Hilgenfeld*, and others, deny the genuineness of all the three recensions.

(5.) **POLYCARP**, Bishop of Smyrna (§ 43, 3), a disciple of the Apostle John, has left a letter addressed to the Philippians.

(6.) **Papias**, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, likewise a disciple of John, collected the oral traditions of the discourses and deeds of the Lord (λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις), of which only a few fragments have been handed down. Credulity, misunderstanding, and an unbounded attachment to millennarian views, seem to have characterised this work.

(7.) *A letter addressed to* **DIOGNETUS** by an unknown author, who calls himself μαθητῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων. It is manifestly erroneous to regard Justin Martyr as its writer. The letter ably refutes the objections of Diognetus to Christianity. Unlike the other Fathers, the author regards the heathen gods not as demons, but as empty phantoms. The institutions of the Old Testament he considers to have been human, and indeed partly inept, arrangements. The best edition of the Apostolic Fathers is that by *Cotelerius*, Paris 1678, folio; the latest edition, that by *Hefele*, 4th edition. Tüb. 1855.

2. Among the numerous **APOLOGETICAL WRITERS** of the second century (complete collections of their works, so far as extant, comp. § 63, 1, were published by *Prud. Maranus*. Par. 1742. 2 Voll. fol. and by *C. T. Otto*. Jen. 1842, etc.) the first place must be assigned to **JUSTIN MARTYR**, who was born at Sichem in Samaria, and died as martyr in the year 166. As a heathen, he successively sought after truth in the various philosophical systems, among which he was most attracted by that of Plato. But it was only when an unknown venerable man, whom he met by the sea-shore, directed him to the prophets and apostles, that he found satisfaction. In the thirtieth year of his life he became a convert to Christianity, which, while continuing to wear his philosopher's cloak (pallium), he enthusiastically defended by writings and discussions. But thereby he also called forth the special hatred of heathen sages. *Crescens*, a Cynic at Rome, was his most bitter enemy, and left nothing undone to secure his destruction. In this he succeeded. Under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and about the year 166, Justin was scourged and beheaded at Rome. Comp. *Semisch*, Justin Martyr, transl. by J. E. Ryland. Edin. T. and T. Clark.

3. **THE SCHOOL OF ASIA MINOR**. This school may be traced back to the labours of John, and was distinguished by its firm adherence to the Bible, its strong faith, its scientific liberality, its conciliatory tone, and its trenchant polemics against heretics. The greater part of its numerous and formerly so celebrated teachers are known to us almost only by name. One of its oldest representatives was **MELITO**, Bishop of Sardis, who died about 170. Of his numerous writings, which bore on all the important ecclesiastical questions of the time, only a very few fragments have been preserved. Eusebius and Hieronymus have preserved a list of eighteen different tractates by that Father. After *Melito*, **IRENÆUS**, a dis-



ciple of *Polycarp*, was the most celebrated teacher of that school. He went into Gaul, where he became presbyter, and, after the martyrdom of Bishop POTHINUS (§ 43, 3), was elevated to the see of Lyons. He died a martyr under Septimius Severus in the year 202. The best editions of his writings are those by *R. Massuet*, Paris 1710; and by *A. Stieren*, Leipsic 1847.—The learned HIPPOLYTUS, presbyter, and afterwards schismatic Bishop at Rome (§ 60, 1), *ob.* 235, was a disciple of *Irenæus*. Such was the authority in which Hippolytus was held, that, soon after his death, his friends erected a statue of him in Rome, bearing on the back of the chair a list of his numerous writings. It was dug out on an island of the Tiber in the year 1551. The best edition of his writings is that by *J. A. Fabricius*, Hamb. 1716. 2 vols. 4to, supplemented by *S. Hippolyti Episc. et Mart. Refutat. omn. hæres. Libr. X. quæ supersunt. ed. Duncker et Schneidewin.* Gott. 1856.

4. THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA. The principal task to which the representatives of this school set themselves, was to oppose a true churchly Gnosis to the spurious Gnosticism of heretics. In this attempt, some of them, however, were entangled in dangerous philosophical aberrations. Still, most of them were distinguished by classical culture, by logical acumen, by liberality and originality. The centre of this theological tendency was the *Catechetical School* of Alexandria, which, from an institution for the instruction of educated catechumens, had become a theological seminary. The first celebrated teacher in this institution was PANTÆNUS (*ob.* 202). He was surpassed by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, his pupil and successor. Impelled by a desire for knowledge, this writer, when still a heathen, had travelled about; and having acquired considerable learning, arrived at Alexandria, where he was attracted by, and converted under, PANTÆNUS. During the persecution under *Septimius Severus* (202), he withdrew, according to Matt. x. 23, by flight from the vengeance of the heathen. But to his death in 220 he continued to work and to write for the Church. (Best edition by *J. Potter*, Oxon. 1715. 2 vols. fol.) However great his fame, it was surpassed by that of ORIGEN, his pupil and successor, whom heathens and Christians equally admired for his learning, and who, from his unwearied diligence, bore the designations of Adamantius and Χαλκέντερος. He was distinguished as a philosopher, as a philologist, as a critic, as an exegetical, dogmatic, apologetic, and polemic writer. Posterity has, with equal justice, honoured him as the founder of scientific theology, and disowned him as the originator of many heretical views. He was born at Alexandria, of Christian parents, about the year 185, and trained by his father *Leonidas*, and by *Pantænus* and *Clement*. When still almost a boy, he encouraged his father to undergo martyrdom under Septimius Severus (in 202), provided for his helpless mother and her six orphan children, and was appointed by Bishop Deme-



trius teacher in the catechetical school (in 203). In order to do justice to his new office, he applied himself with all diligence to the study of philosophy, under the tuition of Ammonius Saccas, a Neo-Platonic. In private life he was exceedingly abstemious, and from his youth a strict ascetic. In his zeal for Christian perfection, and misunderstanding the passage in Matt. xix. 12, he made himself a eunuch,—a step which he afterwards felt to have been wrong. Meantime his fame increased daily. In obedience to a highly honourable call, he laboured for some time in the mission in Arabia. The excellent Empress *Julia Mammæa* summoned him to Antioch (218); and in the year 228 he undertook, for ecclesiastical purposes, a journey to Palestine, where the Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem* ordained him presbyter, though in opposition to the canons of the Church. His own Bishop, *Demetrius*, who had at any rate been jealous of the fame of *Origen*, resented this invasion of his rights, recalled him, and in two synods held at Alexandria (in 231 and in 232), caused him to be deposed and excommunicated for heresy, self-mutilation, and contempt of ecclesiastical canons. *Origen* now betook himself to *Cæsarea*, where, honoured and assisted by the Emperor Philippus Arabs, he opened a theological school. Here his literary activity attained its climax. During the Decian persecution he was imprisoned, and finally died at Tyre, in 254, in consequence of the fearful tortures which he had borne with calmness.—Comp. *E. R. Redepenning*, Origenes. Bonn 1841. 2 vols. *G. Thomasius*, Origenes. Nuremb. 1837. (Best editions of his works by *C. de la Rue*, Paris 1733. 4 vols. fol., and by *Lommatszsch*, Berlin 1831. 26 vols.)—Among the successors of *Origen* at Alexandria, *DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS* (since 233) was the most celebrated. In the year 248 he was elevated to the see of that city, and died in 265. He was not equal to *Origen* in point of speculation. But indeed his Charisma was rather the *αυβέπνησις*. Even his cotemporaries called him *the Great*. During the Decian persecution he displayed equal prudence, calmness, courage, and constancy. Amid the ecclesiastical disputes of his time, he had ample opportunity of manifesting the generosity and mildness of his character, his faithful adherence to the Church, and his zeal for the purity of its teaching. Everywhere the influence of his self-denial and amiability was felt.—*GREGORIUS THAUMATURGUS* had attended on the teaching of *Origen* at *Cæsarea*. Converted, as a youth under *Origen*, from paganism to the Gospel, he clung with the deepest affection to his venerated teacher. He afterwards became bishop of his native city, Neo-*Cæsarea*, and on his death-bed enjoyed the consolation of leaving to his successor no more unbelievers in the city (17) than his predecessor had left believers. He was designated a second Moses, and it was thought that he possessed the power of working miracles.

5. THE SCHOOL OF NORTH AFRICA was distinguished by its realism and its practical tendency, thus representing the opposite extreme to the idealism and the speculations of the Alexandrians. Its peculiarity was that of the western mind generally, and chiefly manifested itself in the controversy with Gnosticism. Its representatives, although themselves classically educated, rejected classical science and philosophy, as apt to lead astray. They laid great stress on purity of apostolical tradition, and insisted on sanctification of the life and strict asceticism. Its first and greatest teacher was TERTULLIAN, the son of a heathen centurion at Carthage. While a pagan, he distinguished himself as an advocate and rhetorician. He was converted late in life; and, after a considerable stay at Rome, was ordained a presbyter at Carthage (*ob.* 220). Naturally he was impetuous and energetic; in his writings, as in his life, he appears a strong man, full of glowing enthusiasm for the foolishness of the Gospel, and equally strict towards himself and others. He originated the Latin ecclesiastical language; his "Punic style" is terse, rich in imagery and rhetorical figures; his thoughts are acute and deep. Although himself trained in heathen lore, he was fanatically opposed to it, and equally so to Gnosticism. His zeal in favour of strict asceticism, and against every kind of worldliness, led him to become a Montanist in 201. There his peculiar mode of thinking and feeling, the energy of his will, the ardour of his affections, his powerful imagination, his tendency towards the strictest asceticism, and his predilection for realism, found full scope for development. If withal he kept free from many aberrations of Montanism, this must be ascribed to his clear understanding and, however much he may have despised it, to his thorough scientific training. (Best edition of his works by *Fr. Oehler*, Leipsic 1854.)

Comp. § 59.—THASCIUS CÆCILIVS CYPRIANUS was first a heathen rhetorician, afterwards Bishop of Carthage, and died a martyr under Valerian in 258. Although trained by the writings of *Tertullian* ("da magistrum!"), he kept clear of his extravagances. He was equally distinguished by warm and firm adherence to the idea of one, holy, visible Church, and by zeal, faithfulness, vigour, and prudence in the cure of souls and the administration of his congregation. His life and writings give ample evidence of these qualities. (Comp. *Retberg*, *Cypr. nach sein. Leben und Wirken.*—*Cypr.*, his Life and Works—*Gött.* 1831; *G. A. Poole*, *Life and Times of Cyprian*, Oxf. 1840.)—*L. Coel.* LACTANTIUS *Firmianus* (*ob.* 330), by birth a heathen, afterwards teacher of elocution at Nicomedia, and then tutor to *Crispus*, the imperial prince, who was executed in 326 by command of his father (Constantine the Great). His apologetic writings show that he was modest, amiable, and learned. They abound with evidences of his culture, affectionateness, and clearness. From the purity of his Latin style and the elegance of his diction, in which he far surpassed all other Fathers, he was called the Chris-

tian Cicero. But his writings are destitute of depth and acumen, and on theological questions he frequently commits blunders and oversights.—To this school belong also *Minucius Felix*, *Commodianus*, and *Arnobius*, all of them apologetic writers.

6. During this period the SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH (§ 74), of which the presbyters *Dorotheus* and *Lucian* were the founders, first appeared. The latter died a martyr in 311. Through his influence, that school from the first gave its main attention to the critical, grammatical, and historical interpretation of the Scriptures.

7. The greater part of the very numerous APOCRYPHAL and PSEUDO-EPIGRAPHIC WORKS were composed to promote the spread of heretical, chiefly of Ebionistic and Gnostic views. Many of them, however, must also be traced to Catholic authors. Their chief purpose seems to have been, through a kind of pious fraud, to exalt Christianity by “vaticinia post eventum,” or to fill up any gaps in its history by myths and fables already existent, or specially devised for that end. The subjects chosen were either connected with the Old or with the New Testament. Among the latter we reckon Apocryphal Gospels, Acts of Apostles, Apostolic Letters and Revelations. In these gospels reference is not made to the teaching of Christ, probably because it was thought that the canonical gospels had given sufficient details on that subject. On the other hand, they dwell largely on the history of the childhood of the Lord, and furnish fabulous, though pretendedly documentary supplements to the accounts of Christ’s sufferings. Besides, a number of spurious ancient heathen and Jewish oracles were circulated and frequently quoted for apologetic purposes (§ 63, 1).

#### § 62. DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE AND DOGMATIC CONTROVERSIES.

COMP. *F. Chr. Baur*, d. chr. Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit (The Chr. Doctr. of the Trinity). I. Tübg. 1841. *G. A. Meier*, d. Lehre v. d. Trinität. I. Hamb. 1844. *J. A. Dorner*, d. Lehre v. d. Person Christi. 2d Ed. I. Stuttg. 1845. *K. A. Kahnis*, d. Lehre v. h. Geiste (The Doctr. concern. the H. Sp.). I. Halle 1847. *Lobeg. Lange*, Gesch. u. Lehrb. d. Antitrin. vor d. nicæn. Synode. Leipz. 1851.—(II. *Corrodi*) krit. Gesch. d. Chiliasm. (Crit. Hist. of Millenar.) 4 vols. Zur. 1794. Art. “Chiliasmus,” by *Semisch*, in Herzog’s Encycl. II. p. 657, etc.

In its friendly or hostile contact with heathen culture, Christianity had to appear in a *scientific* form, in order thus also to prove its claim to recognition as a universal religion. It must therefore soon have been felt necessary to develop the doctrines of the Gospel. During the three first centuries, however, the dogmas of the Catholic Church were not yet fully formed and established. Before this



could be accomplished, Christian truth had freely to develop in individuals;—besides, as yet, no generally recognised medium for the decision of these questions such as the later universal councils existed;—the persecutions left not time or quietness for such purposes;—and all the energies of the Church were engaged in defending Christian truth against the inroads of heathen and Jewish elements, which in Ebionism and Gnosticism presented so threatening a front. But, on the other hand, the internal collisions and discussions which took place at that period prepared the Church for unfolding and ultimately establishing Christian doctrine. Among these we reckon the contest between the Catholics and the Montanists (§ 59).—The discussions about Easter and about baptism (§ 53, 1; 54, 2) had also a dogmatic bearing, while the various schisms (especially that of Novatian) tended to fix the dogma concerning the Church. Nor must we leave out of consideration the *Millenarian discussions*. But of greatest importance by far was the Trinitarian controversy, which took place in the 3d century.

1. THE TRINITARIAN QUESTIONS. These bore on the relation between the Divine *μοναρχία* (the unity of God) and the *οἰκονομία* (the nature and the relations of the Trinity). Peculiar emphasis was laid on the relation subsisting between the Son (or *λόγος*) and the Father. The Church firmly maintained the independent personal subsistence of the Son (HYPOSTASIANISM); but various errors and difficulties arose when it was attempted to bring this view into harmony with the monotheism of Christianity. Adopting the distinction made by Philo between the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and the *λ. προφορίζος* (§ 22, 1), it was at first thought that the Hypostasation was somehow connected with or depended on the creation of the world, and had taken place for that purpose,—in short, that it was not necessary and eternal, but a free act in time on the part of God. The real essence of the Deity was rather ascribed to the Father, and all the attributes of divinity were not assigned to the Son in the same manner as to the Father. The statement of Christ (John xiv. 28): “The Father is greater than I,” was also applied to Christ’s state of existence before His incarnation. The views entertained about the Holy Ghost were even more vague. His personality and independent existence were not subjects of settled or deep conviction; it was more common to subordinate Him, and also to ascribe to Christ Himself the functions peculiar to the third person of the Trinity (inspiration and sanctification). But this process of *subordination* appeared to some of the Fathers to endanger not only the fundamental doctrine of the unity of God, but also that of the divinity of Christ. Hence they preferred passing over the personal distinction between the Logos, the Spirit, and the Father. One of



two ways might here be chosen. Following the example of the *Ebionites*, Christ might be regarded as a mere man, who, like the prophets, had been furnished with Divine wisdom and power, only in infinitely higher measure (*dynamistic MONARCHIANISM*). Or else, yielding more fully to the felt want of Christians, it might be conceived that the whole fulness of the Deity dwelt in Christ; thus identifying the Logos with the Father, *i.e.*, regarding the former as only a peculiar mode in which the latter operated (*modalistic Monarchianism*). Either of these forms of Monarchianism was regarded as heretical, and the hypostasian view as alone orthodox. Still the *latter* also contained an element of error (that of subordination), while the *former* (at least in its more elevated, modalistic form) embodied a truth which as yet was left out of the orthodox view (the acknowledgment of the equality of being, or of the *ὁμοουσία* of the Son with the Father). These two opposing views were reconciled and united by the doctrine of *homousian Hypostasianism* propounded in the third century, but which found general acknowledgment only in the fourth century.

2. THE DYNAMISTIC MONARCHIANS. Among them we reckon, 1. *The Alogians* in Asia Minor (about 170). They violently opposed the millenarianism and prophetism of the Montanists, and rejected not only the Book of Revelation, but also the Gospel of John. *Epiphanius* gave them their peculiar name, in which he alluded both to their rejection of the Gospel and of the doctrine of the Logos, and also to the groundlessness of their views (*ἄλογος* = unreasonable). 2. The same writer speaks of the THEODOTIAN SECT as an *ὑπόπασμα τῆς ἀλόγου αἵρέσεως*. Their founder, *Theodotus ὁ σκυτεύς*, from Byzance, taught *ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν*. —*Spiritu quidem sancto natum ex virgine, sed hominem nudum nulla alia præ cæteris nisi sola justitiæ autoritate*. Towards the close of the second century he arrived at Rome, where he gained some adherents, but was excommunicated by Bishop Victor. Another *Theodotus* (ὁ *τραπεζίτης*) conceived that the power of God in Christ was less than that in Melchisedec, since Christ was only mediator between God and *men*. On this ground his adherents were called *Melchisedechites*. 3. Of greater influence than either of these heretics, was ARTEMON, who busied himself with Aristotle rather than with the Bible, and maintained that his doctrine had been regarded at Rome as orthodox up to the time of Bishop Zephyrinus (the successor of Victor), who excommunicated him and his adherents.

3. PRAXEAS and TERTULLIAN. PATRIPASSIANISM, which represents the Father as Himself becoming incarnate and suffering in Christ, may be regarded as the preparation for, and the first rough form of Modalism. These views were first prominently brought forward by PRAXEAS, a confessor from Asia Minor (§ 60, 2). He propounded them without let in Rome, about the year 190; but was

even then vigorously opposed by TERTULLIAN. On his return to Africa that Father wrote, in defence of Montanism and Hypostasianism, a treatise against him, in which he showed the weak parts, the contradictions, and the dangerous tendency of the theory of Praxeas. Although Tertullian himself is not quite free from the errors of subordinationism, his views are more satisfactory, since he speaks of a threefold progress in the hypostasation of the Son (filiatio). The first stage consisted of the eternal indwelling (immanence, immanent subsistence) of the Son *in* the Father; the second stage took place when the Son came forth *by* the side of the Father, for the purpose of creating the world; and the third when, by His incarnation, the Son manifested Himself in the world.

4. NOËTUS, CALLISTUS, and HIPPOLYTUS. The views of *Noëtus* of Smyrna were not quite free from Patripassian error. He taught that the Son was the son of himself, and not of another. This doctrine was brought to Rome about 215 by *Epigonus*, his disciple, where it met with considerable support, being chiefly advocated by *Cleomenes*. In opposition to these views, Hippolytus (§ 61, 3) maintained the doctrine of subordinatian Hypostasianism, which up to that time was regarded as orthodox (from all eternity Christ was perfect Logos, but only as the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*, being undistinguished from the Father; by His incarnation He had become perfectly the Son). *Callistus*, Bishop of Rome, conceived that both views contained some elements of truth and others of error. Although by no means clear in his statements, or wholly free from error, he was the first to propound what, in its fuller development, is known as homousian Hypostasianism. *Hippolytus* reproached the bishop with being a Noëtian, and he retorted by charging the presbyter with Ditheism. *Sabellius*, who at the time lived in Rome, was at first undecided, but ultimately pronounced in favour of Modalism, and was excommunicated by *Callistus*. *Hippolytus* and his adherents renounced the authority of *Callistus*, and formed a community of their own (§ 60, 1).

5. BERYLLUS and ORIGEN. *Beryllus* of Bostra, in Arabia, was also a Patripassian. His system formed a link of connection between Patripassianism and Sabellian Modalism. He denied the *ἰδίᾳ θεότης* of the divinity of Christ, and designated it as *πατρικὴ θεότης*, but at the same time regarded it as a new form of manifestation (*πρόσωπον*) on the part of God. In the year 244 an Arabian synod, to which ORIGEN also was invited, was convened to discuss his views. *Beryllus*, convinced of his error, made full recantation. All former teachers had held that the hypostasation of the Logos had taken place in time, for the purposes of creating the world and of the Incarnation. *Origen* was the first to propound the truth that the Son is begotten by the Father from all eternity, and hence from all eternity a hypostasis. Again, the Son is not begotten because this is necessary in order that the Son might become the

Creator, but because it is necessary in and by itself, as light cannot be without radiance. He also propounded the dogma that the generation of the Son was going on for ever. He held that, as the life of God is not bound to time, the becoming objective of this life in the Son must likewise lie beyond the limitations of time; it is not an act of God once done, but a continuous manifestation of His life (*αἰεὶ γεννᾷ ὁ Πατήρ τὸν Υἱόν*). True, even *Origen* is not quite free from the errors of Subordinationism, but in his case they are confined within the narrowest limits. He rejects indeed the expression, that the Son was *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς*, but only in opposition to the Gnostic theories of emanation. Similarly, he speaks of a *ἐτερότης τῆς οὐσίας*, but only in opposition to the *ὁμοούσιος*, taken in the sense of the Patripassians. He held that the Son was begotten *ἐκ τοῦ θελήματος Θεοῦ*, but only because he regarded Him as the Divine will become objective; he calls Him a *κτίσμα*, but only in so far as He is *θεοποιούμενος*, and not *αὐτόθεος*; but the Son is *αὐτοσοφία*, *αὐτοαληθεία*, *δεύτερος Θεός*. He held a subordination, not of essence, but of being or of origin.

6. **SABELLIUS AND THE TWO DIONYSII.** *Sabellius*, from Ptolemais, in Egypt, had during his stay at Rome devised a peculiar, speculative and monarchian system, which met with considerable support from the bishops of his country. It was favourably distinguished from other systems of the kind, in that it assigned a distinct and necessary place to the *Holy Ghost*. According to him, *God* is a simple unity (*μονάς*), who, as *Θεός σιωπῶν*, rested in Himself, and when about to create the world came forth out of Himself as *Θεός λαλῶν* or *λόγος*. During the course of the development of the world, the Monas (or the Logos) presented Himself, for the purpose of salvation, successively under three different forms of existence (*ὀνόματα, πρόσωπα*), of which each contained the entire Monas. They are not *ὑπόστασεις*, but *πρόσωπα* (masks), as it were parts which God, when manifesting Himself in the world, successively undertook. Having finished His peculiar part by the giving of the law, or in the Old Testament economy, the “Prosopon” of the *Father* returned again into His absolute state. Next He appears in the incarnation as the *Son*, when, at His ascension, He again returns into the Monas; and lastly manifests Himself as the *Holy Ghost*, that when the Church shall have been wholly sanctified, He may again, and for all eternity, become a monad, without distinction in itself. Sabellius designated this process as an expansion (*ἐκτασις*) and contraction (*συστολή, πλατυσμός*). To make his ideas more intelligible, he illustrated the above process by a simile of the sun, *ὄντος μὲν ἐν μία ὑποστάσει, τρεῖς δὲ ἔχοντος τὰς ἐνεργείας*, viz., *τὸ τῆς περιφερείας σχῆμα, τὸ φωτιστικὸν καὶ τὸ θάλλπον*.—At the Synod of Alexandria, in 261, DIONYSIUS THE GREAT (§ 61, 4) contended against the Sabellianism of the Egyptian bishops, but in his zeal made use of terms which implied subordinationian errors of the grossest kind (*ξένον κατ’*



οὐσίαν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ γεωργὸς πρὸς τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ ὁ ναυπηγὸς πρὸς τὸ σκάφος,—ὡς ποίημα ὃν οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γέννηται). When DIONYSIUS, BISHOP OF ROME, obtained tidings of this, he rejected, in a *Synod at Rome* in 262, the expressions used by his colleague at Alexandria, and published a tractate (*Ἀνατροπή*), in which, with equal acuteness, clearness, and depth, he defended against Sabellius the doctrine of the hypostatic existence, and against the Alexandrians the *ὁμοουσία* and the eternal generation of the Son. Dionysius of Alexandria retracted, with praiseworthy modesty, the ill-chosen illustrations he had employed, and declared himself substantially at one with the views of the Bishop at Rome.

7. PAUL OF SAMOSATA. For half a century dynamistic Monarchianism had not been represented by any man of note, when, about the year 260, it was again propounded in a (comparatively) more profound manner by *Paul* of Samosata, an arrogant, vain, luxurious, and withal covetous and immoral prelate. While, with the former advocates of this theory, he maintained that the Godhead, in the strictest sense of the term, consisted only of one person, he at the same time admitted in the Deity a relationship between the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικὸς*. Again, while in the opinion of his predecessors the humanity of Christ alone constituted His distinctive personality, *Paul* (like the Socinians of modern times) held that, by His unique excellency, the man Jesus had gradually risen to Divine dignity, and to deserve the name of God. The Syrian bishops held three synods to discuss his errors. At the third of these (269), they condemned him, and rejected the expression *ὁμοούσιος*, which he had misapplied. But, by the protection of Queen *Zenobia*, Paul retained his see. When *Zenobia* was vanquished by *Aurelian*, in the year 272, the Synod laid accusation against him with the (heathen) emperor, who, after taking the opinion of the bishops “in Italy and Rome,” expelled Paul.

8. THE MILLENARIAN CONTROVERSY. Since the time of Papias, the expectation of a thousand years' reign of glory, at the close of the present dispensation, had been fondly cherished by the Christians, who, under their continued persecutions, looked for the speedy return of the Lord. Only the spiritualists of Alexandria (Clement, Origen, etc.) opposed these views, and, by allegorical interpretations, explained away the Biblical arguments in favour of them. *Caius*, a Roman presbyter (about 210), asserted, in his controversy with *Proculus*, a Montanist, that both Millenarianism and the Book of Revelation, on which it was founded, were a fabrication of *Cerintus*, the heretic. Fifty years later, the Millenarians of Egypt were headed by *Nepos*, the learned Bishop of Arsinoe. He wrote a treatise against Clement and Origen, entitled *Ἐλεγχος τῶν ἀλληγοριστῶν*. After the death of *Nepos*, his adherents, under the leadership of *Coracion*, a presbyter, seceded from the Church of



Alexandria. To arrest the mischief, *Dionysius* immediately hastened to Arsinoe. A discussion ensued, which lasted for three days, and at the close of which, the leaders of the Millenarian party sincerely thanked the Bishop for his instruction. *Coracion* himself made formal recantation. To confirm his converts, *Dionysius* wrote a book entitled *Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν*. Aversion to the spiritualism of the school of Origen soon afterwards induced *Methodius*, Bishop of Olympus, to advocate a moderate Millenarianism, which *Lactantius* also enthusiastically defended. But as the aspect of outward affairs changed under the reign of Constantine the Great, these views lost their hold on men's minds. The Church now prepared for a long-continued period of temporal prosperity, and the State-Church of that time forgot the millennial glory of the future.

### § 63. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

1. Attention was chiefly paid to APOLOGETICS. The apology of *Quadratus*, Bishop of Athens, has been lost. In this tractate, which he handed to the Emperor Hadrian, he appealed to the circumstance that he had been acquainted with some of the persons whom Jesus healed or raised from the dead.—The same fate overtook the apologies of *Aristides*, a converted philosopher of Athens,—of *Ariston of Pella*, who wrote a Dialogue between Papiscus, a Jew of Alexandria, and Jason, a Jewish Christian,—of *Melito*, Bishop of Sardes, of *Claudius Appolinaris* from Hierapolis, and of *Miltiades*, a rhetorician, who handed their apologies to Marcus Aurelius. (The “Oration of Melito to Antonius Cæsar,” edited by W. Cureton in his *Spicilegium Syriac.* Lond. 1855, is probably not the celebrated apology of that Father, but his tractate *περὶ ἀληθείας*.) With *Justin Martyr* commences the series of apologies which have been preserved. That Father wrote a large and a smaller apology—both addressed to Marcus Aurelius—a Dialogue “cum Tryphone Judæo,” and a tractate *περὶ μοναρχίας*. The authenticity of the *λόγος προτρεπτικός πρὸς Ἕλληνας* (cohortatio), and of the *λόγος* (oratio) *πρὸς Ἕλληνας*, is doubtful. *Tatian*, a pupil of Justin (§ 49, 8), wrote a *λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας*; *Athenagoras* handed to Marcus Aurelius his *πρεσβεία περὶ χριστιανῶν*; *Theophilus* of Antioch wrote *πρὸς Ἀύττολιν περὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως*; *Hermias*, a satire, *διασυρμὸς τῶν ἑξω φιλοσόφων*.—From the pen of *Clemens Alex.* we possess an apology consisting of three portions: The *λόγος προτρεπτικός πρὸς Ἕλληνας* shows the falsehood of heathenism, the *παιδαγωγός* shows the way to Christ, and the *στρώματα* introduce the reader to the deeper truths of Christianity. *Origen* wrote an excellent apology “contra Celsum” (§ 45, 2). From the able pen of *Tertullian* we have the “Apologeticus adv. gentes,”—the “ad nationes,”—“ad scapulam” (the Proconsul of Africa),—“de testimonio animæ;”—from *Minucius Felix*, an advocate at Rome, an excellent Dialogue entitled “Octavius;”—from *Cyprian* the “de idolorum vanitate”

and "testimonia adv. Judæos." *Commodian* wrote, in barbarous Latin and in bad hexameters, his "instructiones adv. gentium Deos,"—*Amobius*, even before his baptism, the "disputationes adv. gentes," containing traces of Gnostic leanings,—*Lactantius*, in elegant Latin, his "institutiones divinæ"—"de mortibus persecutorum," "de opificio Dei," "de ira Dei."—Among the *pseudo-epigraphic* and *apocryphal* works, written for apologetic purposes, we reckon the "Testamenta XII. patriarcharum," being the instructions and prophecies addressed by Jacob to his twelve sons,—and the *Christian Sibylline books*, being oracles (in hexameters) by the daughters-in-law of Noah, referring to the history of the various empires, the life of Jesus, the fate of Rome, Antichrist, etc. The Christians, who frequently appealed to them as very ancient testimonies in favour of the truth, were, by way of derision, designated by the heathen as *Sibyllists*.

2. **POLEMICS.** No polemical works of very ancient date (against the Ebionites, the Gnostics, the Montanists, etc.) have been preserved. This species of literature seems to have been assiduously cultivated by the theologians of Asia Minor. *Hippolytus* wrote his *φιλοσοφουμενα ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἑλεγχος* against every kind of heresy. The following authors wrote against the **GNOSTICS**: *Irenæus*, the *ἑλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδάνυμου γνώσεως* (adv. hæreses),—*Tertullian*, "de præscriptione hæreticorum," "adv. Hermogenem," "adv. Valentinianos," "adv. Marcionem," "de anima," "de carne Christi," "de resurrectione carnis," "Scorpiace" (antidote);—against the **MONARCHIANS**: *Hippolytus*, "contra Noëtum," "contra Artemonem,"—*Tertullian*, "adv. Praxeum,"—*Novatian*, "de trinitate,"—*Dionysius* of Alex. and *Dionysius* of Rome;—against the **ALLEGORISTS** (the disciples of Origen): *Nepos* of Arsinoë (§ 62, 8) and *Methodius* of Olympus, *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* and *περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν*,—while, on the other hand, *Dionysius* of Alex. (§ 69, 8), *Gregorius* Thaumaturgus (*εἰς Ὀριγένην πανηγυρικὸς λόγος*), and *Pamphilus* of Cæsarea (*Ἀπολογία*) defended Origen and his tendencies.

3. **DOGMATICS.** In the tractate *περὶ ἀρχῶν* (de principiis), which has only been handed down in the Latin elaboration of Rufinus, *Origen* gave a systematic exposition of Christian doctrines generally. The work is full of ingenious speculations; it also contains many traces of Platonic, Gnostic, and spiritualising views, and a good many heterodox statements (such as: the eternity of creation, the fall of human souls before the creation of the world, their incarceration in the body, a denial of the doctrine of the resurrection, Apocatastasis, etc.). Occasionally, dogmatical statements on special points occur in some of the apologetic and polemic writings of that period. On the doctrine concerning the Church, the work of *Cyprian*, "de unitate ecclesiæ," may be said to form an era.

4. **CRITICISM AND EXEGESIS.** To correct the text of the LXX.,

*Origen* undertook his gigantic work entitled the Hexapla, which consists of collation of the different texts in six columns. Similar labours engaged *Lucian* of Antioch (§ 61, 6).—The EXEGESIS commonly in use was that known as *allegorical*, the Fathers following in this respect the Rabbins and the Hellenists. The *Κλείς* of *Melito* (§ 61, 3), in which the mystical sense of Biblical names and words is indicated, furnishes directions for the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. It is preserved in a later Latin elaboration (*Clavis Melitonis* in *Pitra Spicil. Solesmense* T. II. III.). *Origen* reduced the prevailing mode of interpretation to definite canons. He distinguished in every passage of Scripture a threefold sense—first the literal, then the higher or mystical, *i.e.*, the tropical or moral, and lastly, the pneumatic sense,—as it were the *σῶμα*, *ψυχή*, and *πνεῦμα*. Without undervaluing the literal meaning of a passage, he deemed it of much greater importance to ascertain its mystical sense. Every history in the Bible was a representation of what had occurred in the higher world. Most events had occurred just as they were related; but some, which, if literally taken, appeared to him unworthy or unreasonable, were merely typical, and had not really taken place. The founders of the school of Antioch (§ 61, 6), and probably also *Nepos* the Millenarian (§ 62, 8), opposed this allegorical treatment of the Bible, and advocated an exclusively historical and grammatical interpretation. The exegetical writings of the time of *Origen* have not been preserved. Of his own works, the *σημειώσεις* or brief scholia, the *τομοὶ* or detailed commentaries on entire Biblical books, and the *ὁμλίαι*, being explanatory lectures on the Scriptures, have been preserved, partly in the original, and partly in the Latin translations of Hieronymus and of Rufinus. *Hippolytus* was, next to *Origen*, probably the ablest exegetical writer; but only small fragments from his exegetical works have been handed down.

5. IN HISTORICAL LITERATURE CONNECTED WITH THEOLOGY we possess *Acts of Martyrs*, *Apocryphal Gospels*, and *Acts of Apostles* (Ev. Jacobi Minoris, Ev. de nativitate Mariæ, Hist. de Joachim et Anna, Hist. Josephi fabri lignarii, Ev. infantiae Salvat., Ev. Nicodemi, Acta Pilati, etc.). Eusebius has preserved some fragments of the *ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων* of *Hege-sippus*, a Jewish Christian from Asia Minor. Of greater importance than this work was the Chronography (*Χρονογραφία*) of *Julius Africanus*, which showed the connection between Biblical and profane history. But this tractate has also been lost. Among writings of the same class we may also reckon the work of *Lactantius*, *de morte persecutt.*

6. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY. In *Homiletics*, the first rank must be assigned to *Origen*. The most interesting writings of an ascetic character are those of *Clement of Alexandria*, *Τίς ὁ σώζόμενος πλούσιος*; of *Origen*, *Περὶ εὐχῆς*, and *Εἰς μαρτύριον προτρεπτικὸς λόγος*; of *Methodius of Olympus*, *Συμπόσιον τῶν δέκα παρθένων περὶ τῆς*

ἀγγελολομῆτου παρθενίας Among the Latins, we have by *Tertullian* (before he became a Montanist), “de oratione,” “ad martyres,” “de spectaculis,” “de idolatria,” “de cultu feminarum,” “de patientia,” “ad uxorem;” (after he became a Montanist:) “de virginibus velandis,” “de corona militis,” “de fuga in persecutione,” “de exhortatione castitatis,” “de monogamia,” “de pudicitia,” “de jejuniis,” “de pallio;”—by *Cyprian*, “de gratia Dei,” “de lapsis,” “de opere et eleemosynis,” “de bono patientiæ,” “de zelo et livore,” etc.—On the subject of ECCLESIASTICAL LAW (constitution, worship, discipline), the pseudo-Clementine Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων (constitutiones apostolorum) are of very great importance. These originated in the Syrian Church, partly at the close of the third and partly at the commencement of the fourth century. The first six books also bear the name of διδασκαλία καθεολικῆ. At the end of Book VIII. eighty-five pseudo-epigraphic “Canones apostolorum” are appended.

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## SECOND PERIOD

### OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

UNDER THE ANTIQUE CLASSICAL FORM.

FROM THE YEAR 323—692.

#### I. STATE AND CHURCH.

COMP. *A. Beugnot*, hist. de la destruction du Paganisme en Occident. Par. 1835. 2 Voll. *E. Chastel*, hist. de la destr. du Pag. dans l'empire de l'Orient. Par. 1850. *E. von Lasaulx*, der Untergang des Hellenismus (The Fall of Hellen.). Mun. 1854.

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#### § 64. CONSTANTINE THE GREAT AND HIS SONS.

COMP. *J. C. F. Manso*, Leb. Konstantin's (Life of Const.). Bresl. 1817. *J. Burckhardt*, Konst. u. s. Zeit. (Const. and his Time). Bas. 1853.

After the defeat of Licinius (323), CONSTANTINE openly professed himself a Christian, although he still remained Pontifex Maximus, and was only baptized shortly before his death (337).



He showed himself tolerant towards the heathen, only interdicting immoral rites, and assigning to the Christians a few temples which had not been much in use. His dislike of heathenism, which, through the influence of some powerful families, was still prevalent at Rome, formed one of the elements in his resolution to transfer his residence to Byzantium (Constantinople). The profession of Christianity he rewarded by various favours. His own conversion cannot be set down to the account of mere political calculation. However, outbursts of passionate violence (among them the execution of *Crispus*, his son), and not a few actions which cannot be justified, occurred after his profession of Christianity. He died in 337, soon after having received baptism, without having ever taken part in all the rites of public worship (§ 55, 1). His three sons commenced their reign by assassinating all the relatives of the Emperor (only two nephews, Gallus and Julianus, escaped), and by dividing among themselves the empire. *Constantius* (337–361) ruled first over the East. After the death of Constantine II. (*ob.* 340), and of Constans (*ob.* 350), he became sole lord of the empire. All the sons of Constantine endeavoured to suppress heathenism by force. Constantius caused all heathen temples to be shut, and interdicted sacrifices on pain of death. Great numbers of pagans made profession of Christianity, few of them from real conviction. These measures only deepened the dislike of the more noble-minded heathen against Christianity. In their opinion, patriotism and intellectual culture were identical with attachment to the old faith.

#### § 65. JULIAN THE APOSTATE (361–363).

COMP. *A. Neander*, Kaiser Julian und sein Zeitalter (The Emp. Jul. and his Age). Leipz. 1812. *V. S. Teuffel*, de Jul. Christianismi content. et osore. Tüb. 1844. *D. Strauss*, d. Romantiker auf d. Thron d. Cæsaren. Mannh. 1847. *J. E. Auer*, Julian d. Abtr. im Kampfe mit den Kirchenvätern s. Zeit. (Cont. betw. Jul. the Apost. and the Fathers of his Age). Vienna 1855.

JULIAN, the heir to the throne, who was at any rate incensed at the murder of his relatives, long chafed under the monkish and ascetic training to which he was subjected. But he knew to conceal under the garb of feigned bigotry his heart-hatred of Christianity. When at last he obtained permission to study at Nicomedia and Athens, the representatives of heathenism in these places filled him with the conviction that he was called by the gods to restore

the ancient faith. Lulled into security by his hypocrisy, *Constantius* intrusted *Julian* with the command of an army against the Germans. His courage and talents gained him the heart of the soldiers. He now threw off the mask, and openly raised the standard of rebellion. *Constantius* died on his expedition against him, and *Julian* became Emperor (361–363). He immediately addressed himself with zeal and energy to the execution of his long-cherished plans, and sought to renew and restore the glories of ancient Paganism. To weaken and oppress Christianity, he employed ingenious rather than violent measures, although he deprived the clergy of their possessions, reminding them in derision of the duty of evangelical property. He encouraged, so far as he could, schisms in the Church, favoured all heretics and sects, sought by artifices to induce the soldiers to take part in sacrifices, interdicted Christians from having literary schools, removed them from the higher offices of state, and heaped on them all manner of indignity, etc. In order to defeat the prediction of Christ (Matt. xxiii. 38; xxiv. 2), he attempted to restore the temple at Jerusalem. But earthquakes and flames bursting from the ground, scattered the workmen. By all means in his power, and in every manner, he sought to restore and to elevate Paganism. From Christianity he borrowed certain charitable institutions, its ecclesiastical discipline, preaching, singing at public worship, etc. He also bestowed a number of distinctions on the heathen priesthood; but, on the other hand, insisted on strict discipline among them. In his capacity of Pontifex Maximus, he himself sacrificed and preached, and led a strictly ascetic and almost cynically simple life. But the want of success attending his endeavours increasingly exasperated him. Already fears were entertained of new persecutions, when, after a reign of only twenty months, he died in an expedition against the Persians,—as Christians related it, with the words, “Tandem vicisti, Galilæe!” on his lips.—On the throne of the Cæsars, *Julian* had displayed talents and virtues such as had not adorned it since the time of *Marcus Aurelius*. His reign was an historical anomaly, which proved that heathenism died, not a violent death, but of “marasmus senilis,”—its life-power having been wholly exhausted.

#### § 66. FINAL DESTRUCTION OF HEATHENISM.

With *Julian* perished also his futile attempts. His successors, *Jovian* (ob. 364), and then in the West, *Valentinian I.* (ob. 375), *Gratian* (ob. 383), and *Valentinian II.* (ob. 392),—in the East,

*Valens* (ob. 378) and *Theodosius I.* (ob. 395), tolerated heathenism for some time, but only to prepare for its more certain destruction. Scarcely had *Theodosius* in some measure allayed political troubles, when, in 382, he made conversion to heathenism a criminal offence. The populace and the monks destroyed the temples. On this account *Libanius* addressed to the Emperor his celebrated oration, *περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν*; still, the latter caused the remaining temples to be shut, and interdicted all attendance on them. Bloody contests raged in the streets of Alexandria during the episcopate of *Theophilus*, in consequence of which the Christians destroyed the splendid *Serapeion* (391). In vain the heathen expected that this sin would cause the heavens to fall or the earth to perish; there was not even a scarcity in consequence of the failure of Nile water.—*Gratian* followed in the West the example which *Theodosius* had set in the East. He was the first to decline the dignity of Pontifex Maximus; he deprived the heathen priests of their immunities, confiscated the landed property belonging to the temples, and ordered the altar of victory, which stood in the Curia of the Senate at Rome, to be removed. It was in vain that *Symmachus*, the *præfectus urbi*, endeavoured to get it restored. By the advice of *Ambrosius*, *Valentinian II.*, on four different occasions, refused to see deputations which had come to him on this subject. So soon as *Theodosius* became sole ruler (392), edicts even more stringent appeared. On his entrance into Rome (394), he addressed the Roman Senate in language of reproof, and admonished them to adopt Christianity. His sons *Honorius* (ob. 423) in the West, and *Arcadius* in the East (ob. 408), continued the policy of *Theodosius*. Under *Theodosius II.* (ob. 450), monks armed with imperial power travelled through the provinces for the purpose of suppressing heathenism. This was not accomplished without violence or bloodshed. Among the misdeeds of that period, the best known is the assassination of the noble heathen philosopher *Hypatia* (415) at Alexandria. In official language, heathenism was regarded as defunct. For a long time it had been branded as the religion of rustics (*Paganismus*), and could only be practised secretly and in distant localities. Its last, and indeed its only prop, was the Academy at Athens, which attained its highest celebrity when *Proclus* (ob. 485) taught in its halls. *Justinian I.* (527–565) closed this institution. Its teachers fled into Persia. With their departure heathenism in the Roman and Grecian empire may be said to have deceased. Still, in the mountains of the Peloponnesus, the

*Mainots* maintained their political independence and ancestral religion so late as the ninth century; while in Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, individual heathens were found even at the time of Gregory the Great (*ob.* 604).

§ 67. ATTEMPTS OF HEATHENISM TOWARDS RENOVATION  
AND PRESERVATION.

*Neo-Platonism* had, despite the protection of Julian and the fame of its representatives (*Jamblichus*, *ob.* 333, *Libanius*, *ob.* 395, *Himerius*, *ob.* 390, *Themistius*, *ob.* 390, *Proclus*, *ob.* 485), fallen very far short of the goal it had proposed to attain. Even more notable was the failure of the attempts made by the *Hypsistarians*, the *Euphemites*, and the *Cælicoli*, who sought to engraft on heathenism a rigid Jewish monotheism or an antiquated Sabianism.—The literary contest between Christianity and heathenism had strangely changed. *Julian* alone could still polemise after the ancient fashion; the other representatives of heathenism were content to sue for religious liberty and toleration. Again, while among Christian writers *Lactantius* had still pled for mutual forbearance, *Firmicus Maternus* already plied the sons of Constantine the Great with fanatical admonitions to suppress idolatry by force, pressing upon them the command of God to Joshua to exterminate the Canaanites. But when, since the fifth century, the incursions of the barbarians gave indications of the speedy downfall of the Roman empire, heathen writers felt encouraged to ascribe the disasters of the commonwealth to a judgment of the gods, on account of the suppression of the ancient religion, under which the State had so long flourished. These statements were made, among others, by the heathen historians *Zosimus* and *Eunapius*. But history itself refuted them better than Christian apologetical writers (§ 78, 3) could have done; for these very barbarians gradually adopted Christianity, and almost surpassed the Roman emperors in the number and severity of their measures for the suppression of heathenism.

1. Fragments of JULIAN'S *work*, κατὰ Χριστιανῶν, in seven books, have been preserved in the reply made to it by *Cyrill* of Alexandria. The Emperor represented Christianity as a deteriorated form of Judaism; the worship of Christ and the honour paid to martyrs were treated as later adulterations of the doctrine of Jesus.—PROCLUS, the Neo-Platonic, controverted the Christian doctrine of creation. Fragments of his tractate have been preserved in the reply made to it by *Johannes Philoponus*.



2. According to *Gregory of Nazianzus*, whose father had belonged to the sect of the *HYPSISTARIANS* in Cappadocia, the religious views of that party consisted of a mixture of Grecian heathenism with Jewish monotheism, and the Eastern worship of fire and of the stars,—special opposition being made to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. A kindred sect were the *EUPHEMITES* (those that sung praise) in Asia, who also bore the name of *Messalians* (praying) or *Euchetes*, and the sect of the *Calicolæ* in Africa.

### § 68. THE CHRISTIAN STATE AND THE STATE CHURCH.

COMP. *C. Riffel*, gesch. Darst. des Verh. zw. K. u. Staat. (Histor. Repr. of the Relat. betw. Ch. and State). Vol. I. May. 1836. *Planck*, Gesch. d. Kirchl. Gesellschafts.—Verf. Vol. I.

As, in his capacity of Pontifex Maximus, the Roman Emperor had formerly had the supreme direction of all religious affairs, so, when Christianity became the religion of the State, he gradually came to occupy a similar position in reference to the Church. Even Constantine the Great regarded himself as ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, and all his successors exercised the “jus circa sacra,” nor were their claims in this respect ever called in question. The Donatists (§ 93, 2) alone held that the State had no control whatever over the Church. As yet, the limits within which the State might claim certain rights in reference to the Church were not clearly defined. But thus much was asserted, at least in theory, that the Emperor had no power of his own accord to decide on internal questions concerning the Church (worship, discipline, and doctrine). To decide on such questions, *General Synods* were convened, of which the decrees obtained imperial sanction, and thereby became public enactments. But, in measure as the court of Byzantium degenerated and became the centre of intrigues, the interference of the court in ecclesiastical matters became increasingly pernicious. More than once, heresy for a time prevailed through personal feeling, unworthy artifices, and even by open force. But in the end, generally, truth again obtained the victory. The usurper *Basiliscus* was the first, in the year 476, to determine, by imperial edicts, what should be taught and what should be believed throughout the empire (§ 82, 5). Later emperors followed his example; among them, especially Justinian I. (527 to 565); and court theologians even attempted to justify such interferences by investing the imperial office with a priestly character, of which, according to them, Melchisedec had been a type. The emperors exercised great influence on the election of bishops in the principal cities; at a later period, they

appointed or deposed them as they chose. On the other hand, the protectorate of the emperors conferred on the Church a number of outward advantages and privileges. Among them we reckon the fact, that the State undertook the maintenance of the Church, partly by bestowing rich presents and foundations from the public exchequer, partly by making over to the Church the heathen temples and the possessions attaching to them. Even Constantine had authorised the Church to receive legacies of every kind. Besides, churches and ecclesiastical officials were free from all public burdens. The ancient practice of bishops to act as arbiters (1 Cor. vi. 1–6) was formally recognised; the clergy were exempted from secular jurisdiction, and placed under the authority of their superiors. *The right of asylum* which had belonged to the heathen temples was transferred to Christian churches. Connected with this was the right of episcopal *intercession* in favour of those who had been condemned by the tribunals,—a practice by which the latter became subject to a certain spiritual control, and unjust, arbitrary, or harsh measures were not unfrequently prevented.

1. According to the *jus circa sacra*, the emperors had power to arrange all things which bore on the relation between Church and State. At the same time, it was also their duty to preserve or restore peace and unity in the Church, to protect orthodoxy, to take charge of the interests of the Church and of the clergy, and to uphold the ecclesiastical canons. *Constantine* the Great already excluded all *heretics* from the privileges which he had accorded to the Church, and deemed it his duty to oppose the progress of heresy to the best of his power. For that purpose, the State did not hesitate to take away or to close such churches, to interdict their worship, to exile their leaders, and afterwards also to confiscate their property. The usurper *Maximus* (§ 84, 2) was the first, so early as the year 385, to execute sentence of death against heretics. But during this period his example was not followed by his successors. In 654, *Constant II.* caused a determined opponent of his ecclesiastical schemes (§ 82, 8) to be scourged and barbarously mutilated.—The Fathers of the fourth century disapproved of all constraint in matters of faith (comp. however § 93, 2).

2. The institution of GENERAL SYNODS (*σύνodoι οἰκουμενικαί*, concilia universalia s. generalia) originated with *Constantine* the Great. They were convoked by the Emperor, and presided over either by the monarch in person, or by a prelate chosen by the Council. An imperial commissary opened the Synod by reading the imperial edict convening it; and also attended the meetings, for the purpose of guarding the rights of the State. The travelling

expenses and maintenance of members of Synod were paid from the treasury. The decrees were designated by the common name of *ὅροι*, definitiones;—if they determined on matters of faith, they were called *δόγματα*, or if couched in the form of a confession, *σύμβολα*;—if they bore on the government, worship, or discipline of the Church, they were called *κανόνες*. Dogmas and symbols required to be unanimously passed; for canons a majority of votes was sufficient. From the first, only bishops were held entitled to vote in synods. But the prelates might be represented by some of their inferior clergy.—Instead of œcumenic councils, which could not be rapidly convened, *σύνοδοι ἐκδημοῦσαι*, as they were called, were sometimes held at Constantinople. These were composed of all the bishops present at the time in the capital. Such endemic synods were also occasionally held at Alexandria.—Twice a year *Provincial Synods* assembled under the presidency of their respective metropolitans. By and bye *Patriarchal* or *Diocesan Synods* were instituted, to serve as a court of appeal.

3. Among the *sources* of general ECCLESIASTICAL LAW at that period, we may mention, 1. The canons of the general councils,—2. The decrees of the principal provincial synods,—3. The Apostolic Canons (§ 63, 6),—4. The *epistolæ canonicæ* of the principal bishops (especially of those in the sedes apostolicæ, § 51; above all, those from Rome and Alexandria), in reply to inquiries about the ecclesiastical practice prevalent in their dioceses (those from Rome were called *epistolæ decretales*),—5. The imperial laws on the subject, *νόμοι* (the Codex Theodosianus about 440, the Codex Justinianæus 529, the Novellæ Justiniani). So far as we know, the first collection of these was made in the Greek Church, by *Johannes Scholasticus*, Patriarch of Constantinople. It obtained the name of *Nomocanon* (about 560), because the ecclesiastical *νόμοι* of Justinian were added to it. A later Greek nomo-canon bears the name of *Theodorus Balsamon*. In the West, all former collections gave place to the Codex canonum, compiled by the Roman abbot *Dionysius the Small*, to which also all the decretal letters then extant were appended (about 500).

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## II. MONASTICISM, THE CLERGY AND HIERARCHY.

### § 69. MONASTICISM.

COMP. A. Möhler, *Gesch. d. Mönchth. in d. Zeit sein. Entsteh.* (Hist. of Mon. at the time of its Orig.) in his coll. Works, II. 165,

etc.; *G. I. Mangold*, de monachatus orig. et causis. Marb. 1852. Comp. also the works cited in § 3, 3.

Satiated of the ways of the world, and following the inclination for a contemplative life, which is characteristic of Orientals, many persons retired into solitude. Here, amidst prayer and labour, amidst want and self-denial which not unfrequently degenerated into self-torture, these *Anachorets* sought after that sanctification which they deemed impossible to attain in the midst of a corrupt world. The first example of this mode of life was given by *Paul of Thebes*, whose end became only accidentally known (§ 58, 3). But Monasticism properly originated with *St Antonius*, ob. 356. His example was soon followed, and the deserts of Egypt became peopled with swarms of hermits, who gained from the wilderness a scanty subsistence. On the Nitrian mountains *Amonius*, and in the Scetian Desert *Macarius* the elder, founded celebrated institutions of anachorets. The largest of these communities was that founded by *Pachomius* (ob. 348) in Tabennæ, an island in the Nile. By the rules which he gave to his followers, the institutions of anachorets were transformed into regular monastic establishments (*ζωνὸς βίος*). The monks with their president, called *Abbot* (abbas = father) or *Archimandrite*, were to live in a cloister (cœnobium, monasterium, claustrum, mandra, dairo, *i.e.*, dwelling), and to spend their time in prayer and labour (agriculture, making of baskets, carpets, etc.). Several other monasteries were founded in connection with the great cloister at Tabennæ, and soon the number of these monks amounted to 50,000. *Hilarion* founded in Palestine, near Gaza, a monastery on the same principles, the affiliated cloisters of which extended over all Syria. In the East, the number of cloisters and monks increased immensely. The monastic life was vaunted as a *βίος ἀγγελικός* and a *φιλοσοφία ἐψηλή*, and regarded as a substitute for the martyrdom which was not any longer attainable. Already its institution was traced back to *Elijah* and *John* the Baptist, and the *Therapeutæ* were represented as having been the first Christian monks. The cloisters became an asylum for those that were oppressed or persecuted, institutions of charity for the poor and sick, and soon afterwards also seminaries for training those who were to fill the clerical or episcopal office. But here also corruption made sad havoc. Not spiritual motives only, but ambition, vanity, idleness, and especially a desire to withdraw from the obligation to serve in the army, etc., or to pay taxes, helped to fill the cloisters. Hence in 365, the Emperor *Valens* ordered that such persons should



be taken by force out of the monasteries. In order to arrest spiritual aberrations (such as self-tortures, work-righteousness, enthusiasm and fanaticism, spiritual pride, etc.), and to make these institutions available for the real good of the Church, by converting them into seminaries for scientific studies and for education, some eminent bishops, among them Basilus the Great, took the monasteries under their special superintendence and care. Other prelates, however, frequently employed the monks as a ready soldiery to carry out their ambitious or party views.—At first, the *Western Church* was opposed to these monastic tendencies. The authority of *Athanasius*, who on several occasions was obliged to seek a refuge in the West, led to a more favourable opinion of them. After that, the most celebrated of the Fathers, headed by such men as *Ambrosius*, *Hieronymus*, and *Augustine*, exerted all their influence to spread monastic institutions. *Martin of Tours* introduced them into Northern Gaul about the year 380. In Southern Gaul, *Honoratus* founded the celebrated monastery of *Lerinum*, and *Johannes Cassianus* (ob. 432) the still more celebrated institution at *Massilia*. But Monasticism in the West almost perished during the migration of nations; it was reserved for *Benedict of Nursia*, in the year 529, to reorganise the monasteries, and to introduce unity and order in them (§ 115).

1. ST ANTONIUS sprung from a Coptic family at Coma, in Egypt. Left in his 18th year an orphan, the passage in the Gospel about the rich young man (Matt. xix.) affected him in such a manner, that he gave all his goods to the poor and retired to the desert. Amidst agonising internal conflicts and temptations, his Christian experience ripened. Persons of all ranks went to consult him in search of comfort and peace. Even *Constantine* the Great intimated in a letter his veneration for this Christian Diogenes. Through his prayers bodily diseases, through his counsel spiritual ailments, were removed. Twice—in the year 311, during the Diocletian persecution, and in the year 351, during the height of the Arian controversy—he suddenly appeared in Alexandria. By Christians and Pagans regarded as a sign from God, he succeeded in converting, within a few days, thousands of heathens. Like-minded persons gathered around him in order to enjoy his ministrations. In his last days he retired from them, and died at the age of 105 years (in 356).

2. NUNNERIES. So early as the second century, some pious virgins renounced marriage in order to devote themselves wholly to God. As their sex prevented them from leading the life of anachorets, they were the more ready to fall in with the idea of a monastic life. *St Anto-*

nus himself had given the first example of a nunnery, when, on retiring to the wilderness, he founded for his sister, at Coma in Egypt, an institution destined to receive such virgins. The first regular nunnery was instituted by *Pachomius*, and presided over by his sister. After that time their number rapidly increased. Their president was called *Ammas* (mother), and the members *μοναχαι*, Sanctimoniales, *Nonnæ* (in Coptic=castæ). *St Paula* of Rome, the pupil and friend of *St Jerome*, became the patroness of female Monasticism in the West. She and her daughter *Eustochium* followed *Jerome* to Palestine, and founded in his vicinity, near Bethlehem, three nunneries.

3. *St Basilus* gave to the monks in the EAST new and improved rules, which soon came into general and almost exclusive use. Since the fifth century the synods gave laws to monasteries and their inmates. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon subjected cloisters to the jurisdiction of bishops.—At first it was held lawful for monks to return into the world, although this step was regarded as blameworthy, and requiring penance. But from the fifth and sixth centuries, monastic vows were regarded as absolutely binding. Hence entrants required to be of a certain (canonical) age, and to have passed a *noviciate*, or period of probation and for consideration. Since the sixth century, not only a “*propria professio*,” but even a “*paterna devotio*” was held to be binding.—According to the rule of *St Basilus*, every monastery had one or more presbyters attached to it, who conducted worship and administered the sacraments. Up to the tenth century, the monks themselves were regarded as *laymen*, but were distinguished as “*Religiosi*” from the “*Seculares*.” Monasticism was, however, considered a preparation for the clerical office, and the majority of bishops were taken directly from monasteries.

4. The ACOIMETES were a particular class of monks, whose origin dates from the fifth century. *Studius*, a Roman, founded for them at Constantinople the celebrated monastery of *Studion*. They derived their peculiar name from the circumstance that, in their cloisters, Divine worship was continuously celebrated night and day.—The STYLITES were a peculiar class of hermits. The best known among them was *Symeon Stylites*, who at the commencement of the fifth century lived for thirty years, in the neighbourhood of Antioch, on a pillar thirty-six yards high, and thence preached repentance to the multitudes who from all parts crowded to see and hear him. Vanquished by the power of his addresses, thousands of Saracens who wandered about in that neighbourhood were baptized.

5. Even after *Pachomius*, *Hilarion*, and *Basilus* had given fixed rules to the various monasteries, individual associations of hermits refused to submit to any regulation. Among them we may mention the SARABAITES in Egypt, and the REMOBOTH in Syria.

Irregular associations of monks wandered about through Mesopotamia, under the name of Βοσζοί, *pabulatores*, from the circumstance that they lived on herbs or roots. Since the fifth century we read of the *Gyrovagi* (as they were called), in Italy and Africa, who, under the designation of monks, led a dissolute and vagrant life.—The EUCHITES and EUSTATHIANS, who appeared in the second half of the fourth century, were *heretical* and *schismatic* monks. The former—who are not to be confounded with the heathen Euchetai (§ 77, 2)—bore also the names of *Messalians* and *Choreutai* (from their mystical dances). They claimed to have attained the highest point of spirituality, and on that ground to be above the law. Pretending to be absorbed in silent prayer, and honoured with heavenly visions, they went about begging, since labour was unbecoming perfect saints. They taught that, in virtue of his descent from Adam, every man brought an evil spirit with him into the world, who could only be overcome by prayer. Thus alone would the root of all evil be removed. After that was done, man required no longer either the law, the Scriptures, or the sacraments. He might give reins to his passions, and even do what would be sinful in one who was still under the law. They employed the lascivious imagery of sensual love to describe their mystical communion with God. The Gospel history they regarded as only an allegory, and considered fire to be the creative principle of the universe. *Flavian*, Bishop of Antioch, by artifices and accommodation, obtained knowledge of their secret principles and practices (381). But, despite the persecution to which they were subjected, they continued till the sixth century.—The EUSTATHIANS derived their name from *Eustathius*, Bishop of *Sebaste*, the founder of Monasticism in the Eastern provinces of the empire. In their fanatical contempt of marriage, they went so far as to regard communion with married persons as impure, and to institute religious services of their own. They rejected the feasts of the Church, enjoined fasting on Sundays and feast-days (§ 53), and entire abstinence from animal food. Their women went about dressed as men. They also insisted that persons of property should give up all their possessions. Servants left their masters, wives their husbands, to join the communion of these saints. But the vigorous measures taken by the *Synod of Gangra* in Paphlagonia (between A.D. 360 and 370) arrested the spread of the sect.

#### § 70. THE CLERGY.

Gradually the separation between the clergy and laity became more and more marked, while the superior ecclesiastical functionaries formed a spiritual corresponding to the secular aristocracy. It was maintained that the priesthood occupied the same relation to the laity as the soul to the body. Withal, the number of aspi-

rants to the clerical office increased to a degree to render it necessary for the State to regulate their admission by certain laws. The *clergy* were appointed by the bishops, but with the formal concurrence of the people. In the East, bishops were chosen by all the prelates of a province, under the presidency of the metropolitan, on whom also devolved the ordination of the person elected. But in the West the old practice continued, and bishops, clergy, and people combined in making the choice. The Council of Nice interdicted the *translation* of bishops, characterising it as spiritual adultery (Eph. v. 23, etc.); still the practice was by no means uncommon. The monarchical power of the bishop over his clergy was admitted by all parties. According to the practice in Rome, one-fourth of the total *revenues* of a congregation went to the bishop, another fourth to the rest of the clergy, a third portion to the poor, and the remainder was employed for ecclesiastical buildings and furniture. In the course of time the episcopal functions and privileges of the *chorepiscopoi* were more and more limited; they were subordinated to the city bishops, and ultimately (about 360) the office was wholly suppressed. After the reaction against episcopal claims had ceased, the *presbyters*—especially those who ministered in affiliated or rural congregations—obtained a position of greater independence than before as regarded the administration of worship and of the sacraments. By and by the extension of congregational relationships gave rise to a variety of *new ecclesiastical offices*.

1. TRAINING OF THE CLERGY. The few *theological schools* which existed in Alexandria, in Cæsarea, in Antioch, in Edessa, and in Nisibis, were manifestly quite insufficient for the requirements of the Church. Besides, most of them went down during the political and ecclesiastical turmoils of the fifth and sixth centuries. In the West there were not any such institutions. So long as the heathen seminaries of learning flourished at Athens, Alexandria, Nicomedia, etc., many Christian youths obtained in them their preparatory literary training, and afterwards supplemented what was wanting in a religious aspect by retiring into solitude or into monasteries, and there devoting themselves to asceticism and theological study. Others, despising classical training, contented themselves with a monastic education. Others, again, commenced their clerical career, when still boys, as lectores or episcopal clerks, and were trained under the superintendence and direction of bishops or experienced clergymen. *Augustine* constituted his clergy into a kind of monastic community (*monasterium clericorum*), and transformed it into a clerical seminary. This arrangement met with general approbation;



and, when the North African bishops were expelled by the Vandals from their country, was imported into Sicily and Sardinia.

2. Ultimately the CANONICAL AGE of priests was fixed at 30 years, that of deacons at 25. Neophytes, those who had been baptized when sick (*cliniici*), penitents and energumanoi, *bigami*, mutilated persons, eunuchs, slaves, actors, dancers, soldiers, curials, etc., were not to be *admitted to the clerical office*. At so early a period as the fourth century the African Church insisted that candidates for the ministry should undergo a strict *examination* as to their attainments and orthodoxy; *Justinian I.* required that the bishops should at least inquire into the orthodoxy of candidates.

3. ORDINATION (*χειροτονία*) was regarded as analogous to the chrisma of baptism, and hence as a sacrament. If the latter admitted into the general priesthood, the former made a person a priest in a special sense; both imparted a "*character indelebilis*." Its effect was commonly regarded as magical. To impart ordination was the privilege of bishops only; but presbyters were wont to assist in the ordination of their colleagues. The principle, "*ne quis vage ordinetur*," was universally acted upon—the only exception being in the case of missionaries. According to the Canons, a person was not to be ordained to any superior ecclesiastical office till he had passed through all the inferior grades, commencing with the sub-diaconate. At first, ordination consisted only in imposition of the hands; but at a later period the person set apart was, after the analogy of baptism, also *anointed* (with chrism, *i.e.*, oil mixed with balsam). This ceremony was preceded by the Lord's Supper, taken fasting. Since the sixth century candidates had also to submit to TONSURE. This practice was first introduced in the case of penitents; it was imitated by the monks, as being a symbol of humility, and from them it passed to the regular clergy. According to the *Grecian* mode of tonsure (*tonsura Pauli*), the hair of the whole head was clipped quite short; according to the Roman mode (*tonsura Petri*), a narrow rim of hair was left all round the head (either in remembrance of Christ's crown of thorns, or as a symbol of the royal priesthood, *corona sacerdotalis*). The anniversaries of episcopal ordinations (*natales Episcoporum*) were frequently celebrated as feast-days. Gradually, INVESTITURE, or the solemn putting on of the *insignia of office*, was introduced. It formed the only real mark of distinction in ordination between the different grades of the clerical office.—The practice among the clergy of wearing a PECULIAR DRESS on all ordinary occasions, and *official robes* when administering the ordinances, had its origin in the circumstance that the clergy still retained a style of dress after fashion had abolished its use among the laity. The desire to attach a symbolical meaning to everything, and to imitate the dresses worn by the priests under the Old Testament dispensation, gave rise to various other modifications and additions.

4. **INJUNCTION OF CELIBACY.** Following the precedent of the *Spanish* Provincial Synod of *Elvira* (A.D. 305), the first Council of Nice (325) felt inclined to enjoin clerical celibacy throughout the whole Church, at least so far as the “ordines majores” were concerned. But this measure was opposed by *Paphnutius*, a confessor and Egyptian bishop, who from his youth had been an ascetic. He maintained that not only abstinence, but marriage also, was chastity; and his influence decided the question. The former practice was therefore maintained, which ruled that bishops, presbyters, and deacons were not to have been twice married, nor to contract a marriage after their ordination, but were allowed to use their own discretion in reference to marriages contracted before their ordination. These comparatively liberal views continued for a considerable period to be entertained in the East; and in opposition to the Eustathians (§ 69, 5), the *Synod of Gangra* defended the sanctity of wedlock, and the rights of married priests. In the fourth and fifth centuries frequent instances of married bishops occurred (for example, the father of Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Synesius of Ptolemais, and many others). *Justinian I.* prohibited married persons to be elected bishops. The *second Council of Trulla* (A.D. 692) confirmed this mandate, prohibited all clergymen from marrying a second time; but allowed presbyters and deacons, before their ordination, to contract a first marriage, only enjoining a temporary separation during the period of their service at the altar. To this a special protest against the unnatural severity of the Roman Church was added.—In the *West* the principles promulgated in Spain were generally entertained, and *Leo the Great* applied them also to *sub-deacons*. But there also the frequent instances of contravention rendered a degree of indulgence necessary.

5. The number of **ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONARIES** was largely increased by the employment of clerical attendants on the sick, or **PARABOLANOI** (from *παραβάλλεσθαι τὴν ζωὴν*), and **GRAVEDIGGERS** (*κοπιатаί*, fossarii), whose number increased to a very great extent in the larger cities. Where a bishop was arrogant, imperious, or prone to violent measures, he had in these officials a kind of standing army and body-guard. In A.D. 418, *Theodosius II.* limited the number of parabolanoi in Alexandria to 600, and that of the copiatari in Constantinople to 950. The property of the churches was administered by *οἰκονόμοι*; their causes were carried through the courts of law by special **ADVOCATES** (*ἐκδικοί*, *σύνδικοι*, defensores); the proceedings at ecclesiastical assemblies were taken down by *notarii*, *ταχύγραφοι*. Besides these officials, *record-keepers* (*χαρτοφύλακες*), *librarians*, *thesaurarii* (*σκευοφύλακες*), etc., were employed. All these were unordained persons. Among the *ordines majores*, also, new grades were introduced. In the fourth century an *archdeacon* was placed over the deacons. He was the right-hand

man, the substitute and plenipotentiary of the bishop, and frequently succeeded to that office. The College of Priests also was presided over by an ARCH-PRESBYTER. The superintendence of several congregations was entrusted to a city presbyter, who was called the PERIODEUTES, or visitator.—The *seniores plebis* of the African churches were lay elders, and not ordained in the same manner as the clergy. The office of *deaconesses* gradually lost in importance, and ultimately ceased entirely.

### § 71. THE PATRIARCHAL OFFICE.

COMP. *Le Quien*, Oriens Christianus. Par. 1740. 3 Voll. fol.—*Janus*, de origg. Patr. chr. Vit. 1718.—*Wiltsh*, kirchl. Geogr. u. Statistik. (Eccl. Geogr. and Statist.) I. 56, etc.

The institution of *Metropolitan Sees* (§ 51) had, during the period preceding that which we describe, prepared the way for introducing hierarchical distinctions among bishops. This movement was furthered by the political division of the empire under *Constantine the Great*. The bishops of capital cities now claimed a *spiritual* sway analogous to that which the imperial governors exercised in secular matters. But former privileges and later claims prevented anything like a complete correspondence between the secular and the hierarchical arrangements. The first *Council of Nice* (325) expressly confirmed the preponderance of the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, which these prelates had long enjoyed. The second general *Council of Constantinople* (in 381) exempted the Bishop of CONSTANTINOPLE (διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην) from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Heraclea, in Thracia, and assigned to him the first rank *after* the Bishop of Rome. The bishops thus distinguished bore the title of *Patriarchs*—a designation which the Roman bishops refused, in order not to be on the same level with other prelates, choosing in preference the title of *Papa*, Πάπας. The fourth general *Council of Chalcedon* (A.D. 451) placed the Patriarch of the metropolis of the East on a footing of *perfect* equality with his colleague of Rome; put the three dioceses of Thracia, Pontus, and Asia under his jurisdiction; and invested him with the power of receiving complaints against the metropolitans of any diocese. The same council also raised the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom the Council of Nice had in 325 already declared as entitled to special honours, to the dignity of Patriarch, and invested him with supremacy over the whole of Palestine, while formerly that prelate had been under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of



Cæsarea. Still, some metropolitans—and among them especially those of *Salamis* in Cyprus, of *Milan*, of *Aquileja*, and of *Ravenna*, in Italy—refused to acknowledge that their sees were, in any sense, subject to their respective patriarchs.—The patriarchs were entitled to have at the Imperial Court resident legates, who were called *Apocrisarians*. The *σύγχελλοι* acted as clerical councillors and assistants of the patriarchs.—From this period it was considered to be necessary for the validity of a general council, that all the five patriarchs should be represented in them. But when in 637 *Jerusalem*, in 638 *Antioch*, and in 640 *Alexandria*, became subject to the *Saracens*, the Patriarch of Constantinople remained the sole representative of that dignity in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire.

*Constantine the Great* divided the empire into prefectures, over which a *Præfectus prætorio*, into dioceses, over which a *Vicarius*, and into provinces, over which a *Rector*, respectively presided. The arrangement was as follows : I. *Præfectura Orientis*, with the following dioceses : viz.—1) *Oriens* (Antioch the capital), with 15 provinces ; 2) *Ægyptus* (Alexandria), with 9 provinces ; 3) *Asia* (Ephesus), with 12 provinces ; 4) *Pontus* (Neo-Cæsarea), with 13 provinces ; 5) *Thracia* (Heraclea, and afterwards Constantinople), with 6 provinces ;—II. *Præfectura Illyrici Orientalis* (Thessalonica the capital), with the following dioceses : viz.—1) *Macedonia*, with 7 provinces ; 2) *Dacia*, with 6 provinces ;—III. *Præfectura Italiae*, with the following dioceses : viz.—1) *Roma*, with 10 suburbicarian provinces ; 2) *Italia* (Milan), with 7 provinces ; 3) *Illyricum occidentale* (Sirmium), with 7 provinces ; 4) *Africa* (Carthage), with 6 provinces ;—IV. *Præfectura Galliarum*, with the following dioceses : viz.—1) *Gallia* (Treves), with 17 provinces ; 2) *Hispania*, with 7 provinces ; 3) *Britannia*, with 5 provinces.—The office of *Metropolitan* was therefore intended to correspond with that of the *Rector* of a province, the office of *Eparch* with that of the *Vicarius*, and the office of *Patriarch* with that of the *Prefect*. But the office of eparch was never properly introduced ; it remained merely a title, and soon ceased altogether. The district over which a bishop exercised jurisdiction was called *paroikia*, *παροικία*, that of the metropolitan *provincia*, *ἐπαρχία*, and that of the patriarch *diæcesis*, *διοίκησις*. But the application of these terms was by no means fixed or continuous.

§ 72. CONTEST FOR THE PRIMACY IN THE CHURCH

COMP. besides the works referred to in § 52, also : *Archinard*, les origines de l'égl. Rom. 2 Voll. Par. 1851 ; *H. G. Hasse*, über d. Vereinig. d. geistl. u. weltl. Obergewalt im röm. Kirchenstaate (On



the Combinat. of Spir. and Secul. Supremacy in the States of the Ch.). Haarl. 1852. 4; *F. Maassen* (Rom. Cath.) *der Primat d. Bisch. zu Rom u. d. ältesten Patriarchalkirchen* (The Primacy of the Bish. of Rome and of the oldest Patr. Ch.). Bonn 1853.

Since the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) the Patriarch of Constantinople claimed equal power and honours with the Bishop of Rome. Justinian I. gave indeed to the Bishop of Constantinople the designation of *Œcumenical Patriarch*; but this remained an empty title, while the Bishop of Rome took every opportunity to declare, by word and deed, that, according to Divine appointment, he exercised supremacy over the whole Church, and over all prelates, including the Patriarch of Constantinople. Even in so far as the principles were concerned on which each of these two prelates rested his claims, those of Rome were much more full and intelligible. In the East the episcopal sees ranked according to the political importance attaching to the cities in which they were placed. As Constantinople was the residence of the ruler of the whole *οἰκουμένη*, its bishop was likewise held to be œcumenical. But, in the opinion of the world, the position of ancient Rome was higher than that of her modern rival. All the proud reminiscences of history clustered around the capital of the West. On the other hand, the visible decline and the threatening decay of the empire were associated with Byzantium. But neither did the West admit the principle on which the pretensions of the see of Constantinople were founded. Not the will of the Emperor, it was argued, nor the growing decrepitude of the empire, could decide the spiritual rank of a bishop; the history of the Church and the will of its Divine Founder and Lord must determine the question. Measured by this standard, the see of Constantinople was not only inferior to those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, but even to those in many cities whose bishops indeed were not metropolitans, but whose churches had been founded by apostles; while, on the other hand, Rome undoubtedly occupied the first rank. There the two princes of the apostles had lived, taught, witnessed, and suffered; their graves and bones were there. More than that, Peter, whom the Lord Himself had made primate among the apostles, had been the first occupant of the see of Rome, and the Roman bishops were his successors and the heirs of his privileges. The Patriarch of Constantinople depended for the support of his claims only on the influence of the court. But frequently that very court, which had seconded and fostered his

claims, deserted him, in order, through the wide influence of the Bishop of Rome, to strengthen its tottering power in Italy. Again, he was selected and deposed by the court; too often he fell a sacrifice to its intrigues, or became the tool of its policy and the advocate of its heretical views. How favourable, in comparison with this, was the position of the Bishop of Rome! In his selection the court could but rarely exercise any influence, much more rarely could it bring about his deposition. While the East was torn by a number of ecclesiastical disputes, in which truth and error (if only for a time) alternately prevailed, the West, ranged under the leadership of Rome, presented almost always a close and united phalanx. To Rome disputants appealed for ultimate decision, oppressed parties for advocacy and protection; and since the Bishops of Rome always lent their authority to truth and right, the party whose case was supported by them always ultimately carried off the victory. Even at that period, "*Roma locuta est*" was in itself a power. Thus, in the opinion of Christendom, Rome gradually rose in authority, and soon it claimed, as of right, what at first personal confidence or the urgency of circumstances had accorded in special and individual instances. Besides, during the lapse of ages, Rome always learned, but never forgot. The consciousness of common interests, supported by a deep hierarchical spirit, had sprung up and gathered around the chair of Peter,—influences by which even worthless or weak popes were upheld. Thus, despite all opposition and resistance, Rome steadily advanced towards the mark which all along it had kept in view. At last the *East* was only able to preserve and assert its ecclesiastical independence by an act of complete and final separation.—Since the fifth or sixth century Rome had begun to ratify the election of metropolitans in the West, by transmitting to them the *Pallium* as the insignia of their archiepiscopal rank.

The COUNCIL OF NICE (325) assigned to the Bishop of Rome spiritual supremacy over the (ten) sububicarian provinces, *i.e.*, over Middle and Lower Italy, and the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily. This arrangement had been made in conformity with the political position of Rome at the time. But long before that, Rome enjoyed a much more extensive authority (§ 52, 2), from the circumstance that it was the only *sedes apostolica* in the West. Indeed, when any difficulty occurred, it was the practice in all parts of the West to apply to Rome for guidance. So early as the fourth century, the official answers to these appeals assumed a tone of command rather than of advice (EPISTOLÆ DECRETALES). But up to

the year 343, it was not attempted to assert any claim of authority over the East. But in that year, the pressure of circumstances obliged the COUNCIL OF SARDICA (§ 80, 2) to decree that *Julius*, Bishop of Rome, had, as the consistent and trustworthy advocate of orthodoxy, the right of hearing appeals from bishops in any part of the empire; and, if he found the complaints just, of appointing judges and instituting a fresh trial, the verdict in that case to be final. But this decree applied only to Julius as an individual, and must be regarded as only a temporary expedient adopted by a minority which was hardly beset. Hence it scarcely excited attention, and was soon forgotten. But Rome did not forget it; and in 402-417, INNOCENT I. made it the basis of a claim to the effect that all *causæ majores* should be submitted to the Apostolic See for decision. Still, even then the claim to primacy was based only upon human authority. LEO THE GREAT (440-461) was the first, in his instruction to his legates at the *Council of Ephesus* (449), to rest it on Divine authority, by appealing to Matt. xvi. 18 (§ 52, 1). Formerly, Western authorities, such as Hilarius, Ambrosius, Jerome, and Augustine, and Innocent I. himself, had adopted the interpretation of the passage by Cyprian, who applied it to all the apostles, and hence to all bishops; while they understood the word *πέτρα* as applying either to the confession of Peter, or to the person of Christ. *Leo I.*, however, applied it to Peter exclusively, and to the Pope as his sole successor. Of course, the Fathers of Ephesus, and afterwards also those of *Chalcedon* (A.D. 451, comp. § 82, 4), refused to receive this interpretation. The claims of Leo received fuller acknowledgments in the West. On the occasion of a resistance to them by *Hilarius*, Bishop of *Arles*, the Pope procured from the youthful Emperor VALENTINIAN III. a rescript (A.D. 445), which ordained that in future none should venture to resist or to doubt the primacy of the Pope, which the Lord Himself had instituted. The suburbicarian bishops of Italy readily submitted. The SYNODUS PALMARIS of Rome (A.D. 503), which *Theodoric*, King of the East Goths, had summoned to inquire into the charges brought against Pope *Symmachus*, absolved the latter without an investigation; and *Ennodius* of *Pavia* openly proclaimed the principle that, since the Pope was judge over all, he could not be subject to the jurisdiction of any. Still, the metropolitans of NORTHERN ITALY (of *Aquileja*, *Milan*, and *Ravenna*) steadily opposed these views, and for centuries maintained the independence of their sees. However great their reverence for the "cathedra Petri," the bishops of NORTH AFRICA ascribed to the Pope only a "principatus honoris;" at all periods they firmly resisted the aggressions of Rome; and when *Apiarius*, a presbyter who had been deposed, sought protection in Rome (A.D. 418), they interdicted, on pain of excommunication, every appeal "ad transmarina judicia." They also refused to acknowledge the validity of the decree of the Council of Sardica, even when Pope *Zosimus* pretended



it had come from the Council of Nice.—In A.D. 590–604, GREGORY THE GREAT still admitted that the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch occupied the same rank with himself, and that even the other bishops were subject to his jurisdiction only in case of an accusation preferred, but that in other respects their office was the same as his. That prelate also refused the proud title of “*episcopus universalis*,” which *Johannes Jejunator*, Patriarch of Constantinople, had shortly before assumed (A.D. 587), and in token of humility called himself “*servus servorum Dei*.” But the protest of Rome against the assumption of the see of Constantinople remained unheeded, till the usurper and murderer PHOCAS interdicted the use of this appellation to his patriarch, and acknowledged the see of Peter as the “*caput omnium ecclesiarum*” (A.D. 606).—The firm and energetic bearing of Rome during the Monothelete controversy (§ 82, 8) secured for it another brilliant triumph. The sixth œcum. Council of *Constantinople* condescended, in 680, to make to the Pope a humble report of its proceedings, and to request his confirmation of them. However, the SECOND COUNCIL OF TRULLA, A.D. 692 (§ 93, 3), amply made up for this by a sweeping condemnation of the decrees of Rome, thereby laying the foundation for the later schism between the East and the West.

### III. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES.

#### § 73. GENERAL SURVEY.

The ancient Church attained its highest stage of literary eminence during the fourth and fifth centuries. As the number of seminaries of theological learning was very small (§ 70, 1), most of the great theologians of that period were self-taught. But the fewer the outward means, opportunities, and stimuli for calling forth and developing the mental activity, the greater must have been the intellectual resources of that period, and the stronger its general impetus towards such culture. These schools still, however few, served as points whence a more scientific theology issued, and where it found a rallying place. Their extinction marks the general decadence of scientific studies and of original investigation. Probably the middle of the fifth century—the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451—formed the turning-point. After that period, science, and in general every ecclesiastical movement, stagnated or declined.—The theological directions prevalent at the time may be distinguished as those of *traditionalism* and of *free scientific inquiry*. The collisions



between them gave rise to the various dogmatic discussions of that period. The *former* of these parties defended the results of the development of doctrine already achieved, as being established and sanctioned by tradition, and even sought conclusively to settle, in the same manner, the doctrinal questions which arose in the progress of subjective development. The *latter* of these schools represented the cause of the freedom of Christian intellect, and resisted every attempt at narrowing the province of free inquiry. The first had its most numerous adherents among the Latins of Italy and North Africa; the second, among the Grecians of the East and of Egypt. But this division was not by any means complete, nor was the distinction perfectly marked and established. From the lively intercourse subsisting between different parts of the empire, the germs of traditionalism were carried to the East (and especially to Egypt), while those of scientific and philosophical inquiry were also brought to the West; and this interchange and admixture gave rise to various intermediate views.—But after the middle of the fifth century the spirit of free scientific inquiry gradually disappeared in the Eastern as in the Western Church, and a traditionalism, which became more and more ossified, attained supreme and unlimited sway. Political troubles, hierarchical aggressions, a narrow-minded monasticism, and the spread of barbarism, arrested every liberal or scientific movement. In place of the youthful vigour of independent inquiry, we find the industry of mere compilers, or laborious but vain attempts to appropriate the intellectual products of centuries gone by. Such was now the authority of the older Fathers, and so binding, in common esteem, were their dicta, that the discussions in councils were almost entirely carried on by citations from those Fathers whose orthodoxy was acknowledged.

#### § 74. THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH.

THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH may be regarded as representing liberal and scientific investigations (§ 61, 6). At first, following in the wake of the inquiries and general principles of Origen, it became, in the course of its development, independent of, and indeed frequently diverged from, that great teacher. More especially did it substitute a method of grammatical and historical exegesis for the allegorical interpretations of the Origenists, and calm, sober reflection in place of their extravagant speculations. It endeavoured to ascertain the plain meaning of the Scriptures, and to derive from them a purely Biblical theology. Thoroughly opposed to all mysti-

cism, these divines viewed Christianity in its intellectual and rational aspect; and, by a process of clear and logical thinking, sought to deduce its dogmas. Hence they attempted carefully to distinguish between the Divine and the human in Christ and in Christianity, to view each of these elements separately, and to secure its right place especially for the human element. But in this they frequently strayed into rationalistic sentiments. Still the school impressed its stamp on the East properly so called. Its most celebrated representatives were DIODORUS of Tarsus, and his pupils, the three great Antiochians (as they are called): THEODORUS, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, and THEODORET. EPHRÆM SYRUS also, though inclined towards traditionalism, belonged to this school. After the middle of the fifth century, it was in a great measure excluded from the pale of the Catholic Church, and stigmatised as tainted with the Nestorian heresy; still it prolonged its existence in the schools of Edessa and Nisibis, famed for their theological lore and scientific investigations.

1. EPHRÆM SYRUS, a deacon and the founder of the theological school of Edessa (350), was the most celebrated poet, exegetical scholar, and orator in the National Church of Syria (Propheta Syrorum). He was zealously attached to Nicene views; and at a very advanced age undertook, in 372, a journey into Cappadocia for the purpose of becoming personally acquainted with Basilus the Great.—2. DIODORUS was first a monk and presbyter at Antioch, afterwards Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia—*ob.* 394. In consequence of a later condemnation of the Church (§ 82, 6), his numerous writings were suppressed. He gave to the school its peculiar dogmatic character.—3. THEODORUS, Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (*ob.* 429), was a friend and fellow-student of Chrysostom. The ban of the fifth œcumenical Council of Constantinople attached also to his writings and teaching. At a later period, the Syrian Church honoured him with the designation of “*Interpres.*” He was considered one of the deepest thinkers of the age.—4. JOHN of Antioch, whose name was afterwards almost forgotten in the title of CHRYSOSTOM, by which he was designated. His pious mother *Anthusa*, who had early become a widow, bestowed great care on his education. He attended the rhetorical school of *Libanius*, and practised at Antioch with great success as an advocate. But after his baptism he gave up this profession, became the pupil of *Diodorus*, and a monk and presbyter in his native city. Ultimately, his brilliant eloquence procured for him the patriarchal see of Constantinople (A.D. 397). On his activity there, comp. § 81, 3. He died in exile, A.D. 407. Along with Athanasius and the three Cappadocians (§ 75), he may be ranked as the most eminent of the Greek Fathers (Ed. of his works by B. Montfaucon.

Par. 1713. 13 Voll. fol.).—5. THEODORET, Bishop of Cyros in Syria, was a pupil of Theodorus—*ob.* 457. He was the most learned and fertile writer of his age—a profound thinker, and a diligent pastor, a man of straightforward and noble character, and withal who could avoid the extreme views of his cotemporaries (§ 82, 3, 4). Still, during the imperial attempts at bringing about a union, he was branded as a heretic (§ 82, 6). Best ed. of his works by J. Sirmond et J. Garnier. Par. 1642; and by J. L. Schulze. Halle 1769.

#### § 75. THE OLD AND THE NEW SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA.

Since the discussion between Dionysius of Alexandria and his namesake of Rome (§ 62, 6), the theology of Alexandria had assumed a twofold type. The Old School remained faithful to the views of Origen, and generally assumed a position antagonistic to the theology and tradition of the West, asserting the right of free and unrestricted investigation. While revering the memory of Origen, the representatives of that school discarded most of his extravagant speculations. The best known theologian of that party was *Eusebius of Casarea*, the historian. He and most of his friends were semi-Arians. The school became extinct during the latter half of the fourth century. Since that time, enthusiastic admirers of Origen have not, indeed, been wanting; but their influence on the development of the Church has been small, and the suspicion of heterodoxy has always attached to them (comp. § 82, 6).—It was otherwise with the NEW ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, whose influence became, after the fourth century, co-extensive with that of Alexandrian culture generally. This party also (at least the earlier representatives) sincerely respected the memory of Origen, and in their speculative treatment of Christian doctrine followed in his wake. But they disowned his unbiblical errors, and consistently carried out what was sound in his teaching. More especially did this school, by firm adherence to the doctrine of the eternal generation of the Son, keep clear of all *subordinationism*, and thus draw more closely to the divines of the Western Church (§ 62, 5). A predilection for what in Christianity was mysterious, and a dislike of the intellectual tendency in theology, were the characteristics of the school of Alexandria as contrasted with that of *Antioch*. It regarded the union of the Divine and the human in Christ and in Christianity as a glorious mystery, which it was impossible to analyse or explain. But it lost sight of the human aspect of these realities, or rather merged the human in the Divine. While energetically maintaining the intimate connection of these two elements, it lost sight of their diversity, and fell into an



error the opposite from that towards which the school of Antioch verged. Its leading and most orthodox representatives were *Athanasius*, the three great Cappadocians (*Basilus* and the two *Gregorys*) and *Didymus* the Blind. The leaven of error in the New Alexandrian School appeared for the first time in *Cyril* of Alexandria, although that Father was still regarded as orthodox. After that period the school rapidly declined. The tendency of the teaching of *Synesius* was philosophical rather than theological. Almost his counterpart was *Epiphanius*, whose glowing zeal for traditionary orthodoxy inclined him towards the New Alexandrian School, although he had not the least sympathy with its speculative tendencies.

1. EUSEBIUS PAMPHILIUS, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine—*ob.* 338. He was on terms of most intimate friendship with *Pamphilus* the confessor, whom he called his father, and whose admiration of Origen he shared (§ 63, 2). He also enjoyed the fullest confidence of Constantine the Great, who, for behoof of his history, gave him access to the archives of State. His learning was very extensive, and his assiduity indefatigable; but he was superficial and wanting in speculative depth and doctrinal consistency. However, all the more credit attaches to his comprehensive and laborious historical researches.—2. Probably the most prominent ecclesiastical personage in the fourth century was *ATHANASIUS*, whom his successors, in acknowledgment of his merits, have called "*Pater orthodoxiæ*." He was every inch a Church-Father, and his history is at the same time that of the Church of his day (comp. § 80). His was a life of heroism in the midst of contests, of faithfulness, of power and wisdom in construction; nor was he less great when defeated than when successful; rich and varied talents, energy, determination, earnestness and gentleness, extensive learning and humble faith, were beautifully blended in him. In 319 he became a deacon in Alexandria. *Alexander*, the bishop of that see, perceiving his talents, took him to the Council of Nice (325), where he first engaged in that great contest to which his life was devoted. Soon afterwards, when *Alexander* died, *Athanasius* was chosen his successor (328). He held the episcopal office for forty-five years; during that period he was ten times banished, and passed twenty years in exile, chiefly in the West (*ob.* 373). His writings are mainly directed against Arianism. (His works edited by *Montfaucon*. Par. 1698. 3 vols.)—3. *BASILIUS THE GREAT*, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia—his native city—was truly a "*royal*" personage in history—*ob.* 379. His mother *Emmelia*, and his grandmother *Macrina*, early planted the seeds of piety in his breast. When studying at Athens he entered into close friendship with his like-minded countryman, *Gregory of Nazianzus*. This connection, based upon attachment to the Church and to science—which afterwards also embraced *Gregory*, Bishop of



*Nyssa*, the brother of Basil—lasted through life. Having spent a considerable period in ascetic retirement, and distributed his property among the poor, Basil first became presbyter and then bishop. His life was that of a faith which overcomes the world, of self-denying love, of high aims, and of royal dignity. By the power of his spirit he kept together the Catholic Church of the East during the frightful persecutions inflicted by *Valens*, the Arian. Perhaps his best monument was the foundation of a great hospital at *Cæsarea*, to which he devoted the rich revenues of his see, living himself in poverty. His writings also entitle *Basilius* to a distinguished place among the Fathers. His 365 letters are a faithful reflex both of his own mind and of those stormy times. Comp. *W. Klose*, *Bas. d. Gr. nach Leben u. Lehre* (Basil the Gr., his Life and Teaching). Strals. 1835; *Böhringer*, *Kirchengesch. in Biogr.*, vol. I. 2 (his writings, edited by *J. Garnier* and *P. Maranus*. Par. 1721. 3 Voll. fol.).—4. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS was born at Arianus about the year 328. Gregory, his father, who had been a Hypsistarian, was converted through his pious wife *Nonna*, and became Bishop of Nazianzus. Gregory the Younger became the assistant and, though against his will, the successor of his father. From his see he first retired into the wilderness, then became Bishop of the small community at Constantinople which had remained faithful to the Nicene creed (the church of *Anastasia*, where he delivered the celebrated orations which procured for him the designation of *ὁ Θεόλογος*), and was nominated Patriarch by *Theodosius the Great* in 380. Driven the year following from that post through the envy of his enemies, he returned to Nazianzus, where he died in 391. Comp. *C. Ullmann*, *Greg. of Naz. the Theol.* Darmst. 1825, and *Böhringer* ut supra I. 2 (best ed. of his writings by *D. Clemencet*. Par. 1778. 2 Voll. fol.).—5. GREGORY OF NYSSA, the younger brother of Basil. He excelled his two friends in philosophic acumen and scientific acquirements. His theological views were more closely connected with those of Origen than theirs, but he was equally zealous in opposing Arianism. Both among his cotemporaries and with posterity his fame has scarcely been less than that of his friends. *J. Rupp*, *Greg. v. Nyssa, Leben u. Meinungen* (Greg. of Nyssa, his Life and Opinions). Leipz. 1834 (best ed. of his writings by *Fronton le Duc*. Par. 1615. 2 Voll. fol.).—6. Though DIDYMUS THE BLIND had lost his sight when only four years old, he acquired very extensive learning. He acted as catechist in Alexandria, where he died about the year 395. He wrote many works, of which, however, only few have been preserved. An enthusiastical admirer of Origen, he shared some of the extravagant views of that Father; but in consequence of the discussions of that period his theology gradually came to be more in accordance with that of the Catholic Church.—7. SYNESIUS, Bishop of Ptolemais in Egypt, was a pupil of the celebrated *Hypatia* (comp. § 66), and an enthusiastic disciple of Plato—*ob.* about 430. Happy as

husband and father, wealthy, and devoted to the study of philosophy, he felt considerable difficulty in accepting a see. He openly confessed his heterodoxy in respect of the doctrine of the resurrection, and stated his determination to continue in the married relation even after his consecration. In the discharge of his office he was equally distinguished by zeal and by undaunted courage. He composed several hymns and philosophical tractates. (His works edited by *Petavius*. Par. 1612. fol.)—8. **EPIPHANIUS**, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, was born in Palestine of Jewish parents, and trained by *S. Hilarion* and his monks (*ob.* 403). As bishop he was a pattern of faithfulness and devotedness, being specially distinguished for his self-denying care of the poor. But the main characteristic, both of his inner and outer life, was zeal for ecclesiastical orthodoxy. He was honest, truthful, and kindly, but somewhat narrow-minded, without much breadth of culture or knowledge of the world, incapable of taking a comprehensive view of matters, stubborn and very credulous, though at the same time learned, diligent, and not without talent or acuteness. His monkish teachers had filled his mind with a perfect horror of heretics, and he firmly believed that Origenism was the source of the Arian, and indeed of all other heresies. Comp. § 81. (His works edited by *D. Petavius*. Par. 1622. 2 Voll. fol.)—9. **CYRILLUS**, Patriarch of Alexandria, the nephew, pupil, and successor of *Theophilus*. The bigoted and violent measures adopted by *Theophilus* were not without their influence in forming the character of this Father. As to his life and labours comp. § 82, 3. (His works edited by *J. Aubertus*. Par. 1638. 6 Voll. fol.)

#### § 76. THEOLOGY OF THE WEST DURING THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES.

The *Western Church* insisted on the necessity of carrying Christianity into every relationship of life, of fully developing its dogmas, and of distinctly expressing and guarding them against all innovations. Hence it became the great focus of traditionalism. But as yet the connection between the East and the West was so close, that many of the views broached in the East found at least partial reception in the West also, and led to many discussions. We have, therefore, to distinguish two directions, which, however, frequently coalesced. The *genuine Latin School*, following in the wake of Tertullian and Cyprian, embodied the theology of the West in its most distinctive features. Among the representatives of that party we reckon *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, and *Leo I.* At first it joined the New Alexandrian School in its opposition to the semi-Arian followers of Origen, and the Nestorian leanings of the theologians of Antioch. But when, by their one-sided views, the Alexandrians themselves verged

towards heresy, the Western School declared, with equal decision, in favour of that aspect of the truth which the School of Antioch represented. Another party in the West owned to a certain extent the influence of Origen, without, however, giving up the distinctive theological characteristics of the West. Among these divines we name *Hilarius*, *Hieronymus*, and *Rufinus*. The practical and merely intellectual tendency of the West, which was wanting in spiritual depth, gave rise to *Pelagianism*, a heresy first broached by *Pelagius*, a British monk (comp. § 83, 3). Lastly, a fourth party, the *Massilian* (or semi-Pelagian) theologians, sought to leaven the theology of the West with ideas derived from the School of Antioch. This school was founded by *John Cassianus* (comp. § 83, 5).

1. **AMBROSIUS**, Bishop of Milan (*ob.* 397), was Governor of the province of Milan, and had not been baptized when the voice of a child designated him as bishop. In vain he resisted the offer. He was baptized, distributed his property among the poor, and eight days afterwards occupied the episcopal see. The duties of his new office he discharged with a zeal truly apostolic. He proved a father of the poor, the protector of those who were oppressed, an unwearied pastor, and a powerful opponent both of heresy and of heathenism. The eloquence which formerly he had displayed in the forum, became more brilliant when employed in the service of Christ. To redeem captives he would even part with the sacred vessels of his church. To affability and gentleness he joined a firmness which neither the fear of men nor threats and dangers could shake. *Theodosius the Great* venerated him as a father, and openly declared that he was the only bishop who deserved that title. His claim to such an acknowledgment he proved in a conflict with this emperor, in which it were difficult to say whether bishop or emperor deserved greater admiration. When, in a sudden fit of passion, *Theodosius* had committed great cruelties among the rebellious Thessalonians, the bishop publicly refused to admit him to the altar till he had done public penance. Ambrosius was a zealous advocate of Monasticism, and in his sermons extolled the merits of virginity so much that many mothers prohibited their daughters from attending his church. Comp. *Böhringer*, I. 3; *Rudelbach*, chr. Biogr. I. 2 (best ed. of his works by *N. le Nourry* and *J. du Frische*. Par. 1686. 2 vols. fol.) —2. **AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS** was born at Tagaste in Numidia. His pious mother, Monica, had early led him to Christ, but during the time he studied at Carthage he lapsed into sensuality and worldliness. The Hortensius of Cicero again awakened in him a longing for something higher and better than pleasures. We next find him professing rhetoric at Carthage, at Rome, and at Milan, when ambition, worldliness, doubts, and higher aspirations led him in turn to



oscillate between the world and religion. During the next nine years he held Manichean views. Finding himself grievously deceived in that sect, he would have wholly given himself up to the world, if he had not for a time been kept back through the influence of Platonism. But philosophy could not give peace to his soul. At last, the sermons of Ambrosius (who had comforted Monica with the assurance that a son of so many prayers and tears could not be lost) became the means of directing him to the truth, which the Spirit of God applied to his heart and conscience. Ambrosius administered baptism to him in 387. Immediately afterwards Augustine gave up his employment as rhetorician, returned to Africa, became first a presbyter, and in 396 Bishop of Hippo Regius in Numidia, where he died in 430. Augustine was the greatest and most influential among the Fathers. He combined in a rare degree acuteness with breadth of mind, clearness and depth with dialectic versatility, Christian experience with simplicity of faith, and strength of mind with energy of will. His writings bear upon almost all the departments of theology, and may be characterised as forming an era in theological literature. This remark applies especially to his elucidation of the doctrines of the Trinity (comp. § 80, 6), and of those of sin and grace (comp. § 83). In his "Confessiones" he lays before the Lord the whole of his past life, indicating in a spirit of deepest humility, and of holy, prayerful solemnity, both its errors and His gracious leadings; in his "Retractationes" he displayed the same conscientiousness in regard to his writings. Comp. *Böhringer* I. 3; *C. Bindemann*, S. Augustine, 2 vols. Berl. 1844. 56; *K. Braune*, Monica and Augustine. Grim. 1846 (his works ed. by *Th. Blampin et P. Constant*. Par. 1679. 11 Voll. fol., and frequently since).—3. LEO I., THE GREAT, Bishop of Rome, 440–461. Even when a deacon he was the most prominent person in Rome. Elevated to the see of the capital, he found a fitting sphere for the exercise of talents of a peculiarly high order. From the energy and consistency with which he advocated the idea of the primacy of Rome, he may be regarded as really the founder of its spiritual supremacy (comp. § 72, 1). With vigorous hand he guided the Church; he introduced reforms or a better organisation, restored discipline and order, advocated orthodox views, refuted heretics, and even conciliated the barbarians (Attila 452, Genseric 455). His sermons and letters have been preserved (best ed. by the brothers *Ballerinii*. Venet. 1753. 3 Voll. fol.). Comp. *Böhringer* I. 4; *E. Perthel*, Leo's I. Leben u. Lehre. Vol. I. Jen. 1843.

4. HILARIUS, Bishop of Poitiers (*ob.* 368), was the Athanasius of the West. His zealous opposition to Arianism was punished with four years of exile. After his return he undertook a journey to Italy, in order, if possible, to convert *Auxentius*, Bishop of Milan, the leader of the Arians in Italy. But this prelate avoided the encounter through means of an imperial ordinance, which enjoined



Auxentius to leave Italy. He was specially distinguished for the philosophical acumen with which he defended this doctrine. (Best ed. of his writings by *P. Constant*. Paris. 1693. fol.; and by *Sc. Maffei*. Veron. 1730. 2 Voll. fol.)—5. **HIERONYMUS**, a native of Stridon in Dalmatia—*ob.* 420. His life and labours were devoted partly to the East and partly to the West. He was the most learned among the Fathers of his time, a zealous advocate of monasticism, of asceticism, and work-righteousness. His character was not without its blemishes, among which we reckon vanity, ambition, jealousy, passionateness, bigotry, and a peculiarly acrimonious mode of polemics. He resided successively in Gaul, Italy, Syria, Egypt, Constantinople, Rome, and Palestine. *Damasus*, Bishop of Rome, honoured him with his implicit confidence, and commissioned him to revise the “*Itala*” (comp. § 56, 3). His many and successful efforts to recruit the number of monks and virgins from among the youthful nobility of Rome raised so many enemies that he was at last obliged to leave the city. He returned to the East in 385, and settled at Bethlehem, where he founded a monastery, over which he presided till his death, with only an interruption of two years, during which he had to withdraw from the persecution of his enemies. At one time he had been an enthusiastic admirer of Origen; but fear of being stigmatised as a heretic afterwards led him to take up a position directly antagonistic to that school (comp. § 81, 2). His contributions to exegesis, especially his translation of the Bible—the *Vulgate*, as it is called—proved of greatest service to the Church. (Best edition of his works by *D. Vallarsi*. Veron. 1734. 11 Voll. 4.) Comp. *F. Lauchert* and *A. Knoll*, *Hist. of S. Jerome*. Rottw. 1846.—6. **RUFINUS** of Aquileja, *ob.* 410, had from his youth been the intimate friend of Jerome, in whose vicinity he settled (on the Mount of Olives, by Jerusalem). But the controversy about Origen and his writings changed this friendship into the bitterest hostility (comp. § 81, 2). Rufinus considered it the mission of his life to translate the writings of Origen, and of others of the Greek Fathers, in order to make them accessible to readers in the West.

## § 77. THE THEOLOGY OF THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES.

The brightest period of theological literature had gone by. Study was indeed still carried on, and the writings of the Fathers were assiduously perused and adapted to the wants of the times; but we miss every trace of genius or life, of creative power or originality. About the year 550 *Johannes Philoponus*, a Monophysite at Alexandria, wrote a commentary on Aristotle, and applied to theology the categories of that philosophy. After that Platonism, which, from its idealism, had hitherto been chiefly in vogue with those

Fathers who cultivated philosophical studies, gradually gave place to the fuller and more developed forms of the Aristotelian philosophy. Already the theology of the Greeks assumed the type of *scholasticism*. But along with this tendency a *theosophic mysticism* also appeared, founded chiefly on spurious writings of *Dionysius*, which embodied the neo-Platonic ideas that had lately been broached. The writings of *Maximus*, the Confessor, exhibit a combination of this mysticism with the dialectics of Aristotle. In the West, the troubles connected with the breaking up of the Roman Empire contributed to and hastened on the decay of theological literature. Still, at the commencement of the sixth century, flourished some theologians who recalled better times; among them, in Africa, *Fulgentius* of Ruspe; in Gaul, *Cæsarius* of Arles. In Italy, *Boëthius* and *Cassiodorus* gained immortal fame by cultivating and preserving classical and patristic lore at a time when it seemed threatened with complete extinction. *Gregory the Great* closed the series of Latin Fathers in the strict sense of that term.

1. The spurious writings of DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE (Acts xvii. 34) first made their appearance about the year 532, and among the monophysite sect of the Severians. Most probably the real author of these compositions belonged to that party, and lived about that time (comp. § 78, 5). They met with little opposition, and soon passed as genuine. (Best ed. by *B. Corderius*. Antv. 1634. 2 Voll. fol.; transl. into German, and with dissertations, by *Engelhardt*. Sulzb. 1823. 2 vols.)—2. MAXIMUS CONFESSOR was the most acute and profound thinker of his time, and favourably distinguished by firmness, adherence to his convictions, and courage, at a time when such qualities were rare. At first private secretary to the Emperor *Heraclius*, he afterwards became monk and abbot of a monastery near Constantinople, where he contended and suffered for duothelite orthodoxy (comp. § 82, 8). He died in exile in 662. (Best ed. of his writings by *Fr. Combefisius*. Par. 1675. 2 Voll. fol.)—3. FULGENTIUS, Bishop of Ruspe, was exiled by *Thrasimund*, King of the Vandals, on account of his zeal for Catholic doctrine—*ob.* 533. He was one of the ablest defenders of the views of Augustine. (Opp. ed. *J. Sirmond*. Par. 1612.) His life was written by *Fulgentius Ferrandus*, his excellent pupil, who took a prominent part in the controversy about “the Three Chapters” (comp. § 82, 6).—4. CÆSARIUS, Bishop of Arles (*ob.* 542), was one of the most prominent and deserving men of his time, and specially distinguished for practical usefulness in the Church, and for able advocacy of Augustinian views.—5. BOETHIUS occupied high offices under *Theoderic*, King of the Ostrogoths. His enemies charged

him with treason, in consequence of which he was thrown into prison and executed in 524. While in confinement, he wrote his work, “*de consolatione philosophiæ*,”—a book very popular in the middle ages, but which of late has given rise to doubts whether the writer had been a Christian, although legend has even transformed him into a Christian martyr. The theological writings attributed to him are spurious. In point of form, his philosophy agrees with that of Aristotle; in point of substance, with that of Plato.—6. AURELIUS CASSIODORUS retired, after fifty years’ public service under *Odoacer* and *Theoderic*, into the monastery of Vivarium in Lower Italy, which he had founded, and where he died in 565, at the advanced age of nearly one hundred years. To his conduct in office, Italy was indebted for the blessings of an excellent administration; to his learned researches and retirement from the world the literary history of Europe owes the preservation of what of classical and patristic lore still remained at the time.—7. GREGORY I., THE GREAT, Bishop of Rome, 590–614. The Roman Catholic Church numbers him (with Ambrosius, Hieronymus, and Augustine) among the four great Fathers (“*doctores ecclesiæ*”). Although his theological writings were not distinguished by great depth or originality, he deserves the appellation of Great on account of his successful labours. With a remarkable strength of purpose he combined mildness and gentleness, and with humility and unfeigned piety a full consciousness of what became his position as the supposed successor of Peter. But with all his knowledge, circumspectness, and liberality, he was full of monkish prejudices, and clung tenaciously to the traditionalism of the Roman Church in respect of forms and dogmas. He lived in the most retired and simple manner, as a strict ascetic, spending all his property and income in deeds of charity. His lot was cast in troubled times, when the throes of a new historical period were felt over Europe. All the more precious, therefore, was it that Providence had called such a man to act as spiritual father and guide of the Western Church. He was a strenuous advocate of monasticism and of all similar institutions; nor can posterity feel otherwise than grateful for it, since, at that troubled period of transition, monasticism was almost the sole depository and centre of intellectual culture and of spiritual aspirations. Comp. *Th. Lau*, Gregor d. Gr., nach s. Leben u. s. Lehre. Leipz. 1845; *G. Pfahler*, Greg. d. Gr. u. s. Zeit. Vol. I. Frkf. 1852. (Opp. ed. Sammarthanus. Par. 1705. 4 Voll. fol.)

### § 78. THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

1. EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY. As yet the critical study of the text of Scripture had not been commenced. Jerome himself was only a translator. In regard to the Old Testament, the LXX. was considered a satisfactory version, and its divergences from the Hebrew text were set down to Jewish interpolations. With the



exception of Jerome, the Fathers were entirely ignorant of Hebrew. The *allegorical mode* of interpretation was that most in favour. The school of Antioch, however, adopted, both in theory and practice, the historical and grammatical mode of interpretation. *Diodorus* of Tarsus disputed the propriety of the method of Origen in a tractate (Τῆς διαφορᾶς θεωρίας καὶ ἀλληγορίας), which has not been handed down. In the same strain wrote his pupil, *Theodorus* of Mops. (de allegoria et historia); while Gregory of Nyssa defended the opposite view in his Proœm. in Cant. Cant. The first attempt at a work on HERMENEUTICS was made by *Tychonius*, a Donatist (Regulæ VII. ad investigandam intelligentiam ss. Scr.), which, however, is far inferior to the tractate of Augustine on the same subject, entitled, "de doctrina christiana." In Book I. Augustine gives a summary of the "analogia fidei," as the ultimate standard for the interpretation of special points; the two following books detail the canons of interpretation; while Book IV. explains how the truth thus ascertained was to be communicated to the people. The "liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiæ," by *Eucherius*, a Gaul (ob. 450), is a practical manual for allegorical interpretation. The Εἰσαγωγή τῆς Δείας γραφῆς, by *Adrianus*, a Greek, is a kind of hermeneutical manual.—For the study of the INTRODUCTION to the Scriptures, the Proœmia of Jerome were of some service. *Theodorus* of Mops. denied the genuineness of the superscriptions to the Psalms, and the canonicity of Chronicles, Esther, and the General Epistles. *Junilius*, an African, was the first (about 560) to attempt a scientific Introduction to the study of the Bible, in a work entitled, Libri II. de partibus div. legis; the "Institutio div. literarum," by *Cassiodorus*, was mainly designed for popular use.—The Τοπικό, or Bibl. Geography, of *Eusebius*, preserved in Latin, as recast by *Jerome* (de situ et nominibus loc. Hebr.), and the tractate of *Epiphanius*, περὶ μέτρων καὶ στάδμων (on measures and weights), may be regarded as contributions towards the study of BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES.—The most celebrated and fertile among the allegorical COMMENTATORS of the East was *Cyrillus* of Alexandria. The school of *Antioch*, on the other hand, furnished a succession of able interpreters of the historical meaning of the Scriptures. Among them we mention *Eustathius* of Antioch, ob. 360 (whose writings have been lost), *Eusebius* of Emisa, ob. 360 (writ. lost), *Diodorus* (writ. lost), *Theodorus* of Mops. (considerable fragm. preserved), *Chrysostomus* (Homilies and Comment.), and *Theodoret*. *Theodorus* referred most of the Messianic predictions to cotemporaries of the prophets—to Hezekiah, Zerubabel, etc.—and pronounced the Song of Songs "libidinoso pro sua mente et lingua meretricia." The exegesis of *Theodoret* was much more trustworthy; the Song of Songs he regarded as an allegory. *Chrysostomus* combined with grammatical commentation a deep practical tendency. The same remark applies to the commentaries of Ephræm, written in Syriac.



All the Western divines—*Hilarius*, *Ambrosius*, the *Ambrosiaster* (a commentary on the Epistles of Paul by Hilarius, an unknown writer, which is found among the works of Ambrosius), *Jerome*, and *Augustine*—more or less adopted the allegorical mode of interpretation; although *Jerome*, on principle, applied himself also to grammatical commentation. *Pelagius* was the only writer who busied himself exclusively with the literal meaning (of the Epistles of Paul). After the sixth century, independent exegetical investigations were almost entirely given up, and theologians contented themselves with making compilations from the commentaries and homilies of the Fathers (*Catenæ*). This species of composition originated in the East with *Procopius* of Gaza (in the sixth cent.), and with *Anastasius* Sinaita (in the seventh cent.); in the West, with *Primasius* of Adrumetum, about 560. Only *Gregory* the Great possessed sufficient originality and confidence in himself to write an original commentary (*Expositio in l. Jobum s. Moraliū libri 24*).

2. HISTORICAL THEOLOGY. The study of General Church History was especially cultivated during the fourth and fifth centuries (comp. § 6). The history of the rise and of the various forms of heresy was traced by *Epiphanius* (*Πανάριον* or *Κιβώτιον*—i.e., medicine-chest—*κατὰ αἱρέσεων* 80), by *Theodoret* (*Αἰρετικῆς κακομυθίας ἐπιτομή*, s. hæretic. fabulæ), by *Leontius* of Byzance (about the year 600: *L. de sectis*);—among Latin writers, by *Augustine* (*de hæresibus*), by *Philastrius*, *ob. 397* (*de hæresibus*), and by the author of the “*Prædestinatus*” (comp. § 83, 5).—Many biographies of eminent Fathers, dating from that period, have also been preserved. *Jerome* was the first to compose something like a theological literary history in the form of biographies (*Catalogus, s. de viris illustr.*). This work was continued by *Gennadius* of Massilia. *Palladius* (*Hist. Lausiaca, i. e.*, dedicated to Lausus), *Theodoret* (*Φιλόθεος ἱστορία*, s. hist. religiosa), and *Rufinus* (*Hist. eremitica s. Vitæ Pp.*), collected the accounts circulating about the great monastic saints. But even the writings of *Gregory the Great* (*Dialogorum Libri IV. de vita et miraculis Pp. Italicorum*), and of *Gregory of Tours* (*Libri VII. de miraculis*), are couched in the tone of later legends, and exhibit immense credulity and love of the miraculous. The correspondence of the Fathers, which in many instances has been preserved and handed down, is of great importance as an authority on all subjects connected with the history of their times. The *Cyclus paschalis* of *Dionysius Exiguus* (comp. § 69, 3), which gave rise to the *Æra Dionysiaca*, still in use, forms an important contribution to the science of *Ecclesiastical Chronology*. In *Ecclesiastical Statistics* the *Τοπογραφία χριστιανική* of *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, a Nestorian, who as a merchant had travelled a good deal in the East (about the year 550), deserves attention.—The *παντοδαπή ἱστορία* s. *Chronicon*, by Eusebius, in two books—

of which the second was recast in Latin by Jerome—was designed to illustrate the connection between Biblical and profane history. The original of this tractate has been lost, but a complete Armenian translation of it has lately been discovered. At the suggestion of Augustine, *Orosius*, a Spaniard, wrote a secular history for the purpose of proving that the decline of the Roman Empire was not attributable to Christianity (Hist. adv. Paganos, Libri VII.).

3. APOLOGETICS. The controversial tractate of Julian (comp. § 67, 1) was answered by *Cyril of Alexandria* (πρὸς τὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀδέοις Ἰουλιάνου), by *Gregory of Nazianzus* (λόγοι στήλιτευτικοί s. Invektivæ in Jul.), and by *Chrysostom* (in his oration on S. Babylas). *Ambrosius* and *Prudentius* the poet (see below, Note 8) wrote against the design of Symmachus (comp. § 66). The insinuations of Zosimus, Eunapius, and others were met in the history of *Orosius*, and by *Augustine* in his dogmatical and apologetical work, “de civitate Dei,”—by far the ablest apology which has been put forth by the ancient Church. For the same purpose, *Salvianus*, a Gaul, composed eight books, “de gubernatione Dei.” *Johannes Philoponus* replied to the objections of Proclus against the Christian doctrine of creation. The controversy with the Jews was carried on by *Chrysostom*, *Augustine*, and *Gregentius*, Bishop of Taphar in Arabia, who, in presence of a vast concourse, for four days carried on a discussion with *Herban*, a Jew. Apologetic works of a more general character were composed by *Eusebius* of Cæsarea (the “Præparatio evangelica,” in fifteen books, and the “Demonstratio evangelica,” in twenty books), by *Athanasius* (two books, κατὰ Ἑλλήνων—Book II. bearing also the title, περὶ τῆς ἐνανδρωπῆσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου), by *Gregory of Nyssa* (πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοίων), by *Theodoret* (de curandis Græcor. affectionibus), and by *Firmicus Maternus* (de errore profanarum religg. ad Constantium et Constantinum. Comp. § 67).

4. But by far the greatest energy, talent, acuteness, and research was displayed in the POLEMICAL writings of that period, which were directed partly against old and partly against recent heresies. Comp. below, the history of Theol. Controv.

5. DOGMATICS. The precedent of Origen in constructing a general theological system was not followed. But theologians addressed themselves to the elucidation of Christian doctrines for practical purposes, especially for the instruction of catechumens. Among such works we reckon those of *Cyril of Jerusalem*, ob. 386 (twenty-three addresses to catechumens, of which the last five treat of the Christian mysteries); of *Gregory of Nyssa* (Oratio catech. magna); of *Epiphanius* (to defend Catholic truth against Arianism); of *Augustine* (in the last books of the “civitas Dei,” in Book I. de doctrina Christ., and in the “enchiridium ad Laurentium”); of *Fulgentius of Ruspe* (de regula veræ fidei); and of two semi-Pelagian writers, *Gennadius* (de fide sua), and *Vincentius Lirinensis*,

*ob.* 450 (Commonitorium pro cath. fidei antiquitate et universitate, comp. § 83, 5). The tractates written on special topics, more particularly for controversial purposes, greatly contributed to the elucidation of certain dogmatical questions. The works of the *Pseudo-Dionysius* (§ 77, 1), in which the main elements of Christianity were represented as a theosophic and gnostic mysticism, understood only by the initiated, acquired a place of very great importance. Their author distinguished between a *θεολογία καταφατική*, in which truth was presented under the garb of a symbol, of history, or of the traditionary teaching of the Church, and a *θεολογία ἀποφατική*, which dispensed with such *media*, and in which the initiated rises by contemplation or the ecstatic state to an immediate view of things divine. The writer also discussed at considerable length the different grades among heavenly beings, of which he supposed the earthly hierarchy was a type. His system was based on neo-Platonism, and derived only its terminology and forms from the theology of the Church. This mysticism assumed a higher and decidedly Christian cast in the hands of *Maximus Confessor*, who in numerous writings attempted to combine these speculations with orthodox views.

6. ETHICS and ASCETICISM. The tractate of *Ambrosius*, “de officiis ministrorum,” was specially designed for the clergy, while that of *Gregory the Great* (expositiones in l. Jobum s. Moraliū Ll. 24) discussed moral questions generally. Special tractates were frequently devoted to particular topics, especially to those connected with asceticism. Among them we instance *Chrysostom’s* four books, “de Sacerdotio,” and *John Cassian’s* tractate, “de institutis cœnobiūrum, Ll. 12,” and the “Collationes Patrum, 24” (comp. § 83, 5).

7. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY. The most distinguished preachers of that age were *Macarius the Great*, an hermit, *ob.* 390 (distinguished for fervour and a profound mysticism, in which he approximated the views of Augustine), *Basilius the Great*, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, *Ephræm* (the Chrysostom of the Syrians), above all, *John Chrysostom* (the twenty-one orations, “de statu,” delivered when the Antiochians had thrown down the statue of Theodosius I., are specially noteworthy),—*Ambrosius*, *Augustine*, *Leo the Great*, *Cæsarius of Arles*, and *Gregory the Great*. The fourth book of Augustine’s “doctr. christ.” may be considered as a kind of *homiletics*. On the *catechetical* writings comp. § 89, 4; on eccles. law, § 68, 3.

8. CHRISTIAN POETRY. When first Christianity made its appearance, the poetic inspiration of antiquity had already vanished from among the people. But the Gospel possessed energy sufficient to revive the ancient spirit. Despite the decay of taste and language at the time, it evoked a new school of poetry, which will bear comparison with classical poetry in point of depth and ardour, if not in purity and elegance of form. The Latins, to whom Chris-



tianity was chiefly matter of experience, of the heart and inner life, were more distinguished in this branch than the Grecians, who regarded the Gospel rather as an object of knowledge and of speculation. For further information about *Hymns* comp. § 89, 2; about the controversial poetry of *Arius*, § 80, 1. 6. The most celebrated among Greek Christian poets were *Gregory* of Nazianzus (especially the satirical “*Carmen de vita sua*”), *Nonnus* of Panopolis, *Eudocia*, the wife of Theodosius II. (author of a canto on the History of Jesus, consisting of Homeric verses, and of poetic paraphrases of portions of Scripture), and *Paulus Silentiarius* (author of a poetical description of the Church of Sophia, built by Justinian I., and of the Ambon of that church—chiefly of archæological interest). Among Latin Christian poets we mention *Juvencus*, a Spaniard, who flourished about 330 (“*Hist. evangelica*,” in four books, the first Christian epos, which is distinguished for elevation of sentiment, simplicity, and the absence of oratorical turgidity); *Prudentius*, likewise a Spaniard, *ob.* 413, perhaps the ablest among ancient Christian poets (*L. peristephanon*, or fourteen hymns in honour of the martyrs; *Apotheosis*, a poem in honour of Christ’s Divine nature; *Hamartigenia*; *Psychomachia*, contra Symmachum, comp. § 73); *Paulinus*, Bishop of Nola in Campania, *ob.* 431 (thirty poems, of which fifteen are in honour of Felix the Martyr); *Sedulius* (*Mirabilia divina*, being a poetical version of Old and New Testament history, a “*hymnus acrostichus*” on the Life of Jesus); *Prosper Aquitanicus* (*de libero arbitrio c. ingratos*, an indignant expostulation addressed to those who despised grace, comp. § 83, 5); *Avitus*, Bishop of Vienne, *ob.* 523 (*de mundi principio*); and *Venantius Fortunatus*, Bishop of Poitiers, who flourished in the sixth century (*Ll. IV. de vita Martini*, a description of a journey on the Moselle, etc.).

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#### IV. DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES AND HERESIES.

##### § 79. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINES.

During the preceding period, Christian truth had chiefly developed subjectively, and hence assumed various directions. But now the altered state of outward affairs pointed out the necessity, increasingly felt, of arranging the doctrines which had already been formulated, of combining and giving them solemn ecclesiastical sanction. The tendency to scientific development also, which was inherent in Christianity, increasingly asserted its power and influence. Accordingly, the different types of doctrine were no longer confined to particular countries; through the intercourse between the various branches of the Church, opposing views were marshalled in hostile array; the



court, the people, and the monks took part in these controversies, and the Church became the scene of violent contests which endangered its unity and purity. These dangers called for a combined defence of the truth, by which all error should be eliminated as heresy—a result which, through the presence of the Spirit with the Church, was ultimately always accomplished, though not without considerable struggles.

1. The DOGMATIC CONTROVERSIES of that period had their bright and their dark side. Occasionally, indeed, truth was made subservient to personal ambition and to self-seeking; instead of contending only with spiritual weapons, state interference, court intrigues, and popular passions were not unfrequently called into requisition; in the ardour for pure doctrine, holiness of life was sometimes lost sight of; differences, which might have been adjusted if the passions of controversialists had not been at play, became grounds of separation; subordinate points acquired an undue importance, etc. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the destiny of Christianity, to become the religion of the whole world, rendered it necessary that its dogmas should receive the most close, scientific, and consistent examination; that, accordingly, the Church had to engage in certain contests in order to put aside all errors; that Christianity would not have been able so firmly to meet the shock of barbarism, which it had soon to encounter in its contact with those nations which subverted the Roman Empire, if the unity of the Catholic Church had not been so well guarded by strict definitions of doctrine; and, lastly, that if Christian truth had not been so fully and strictly formulated, the admission of heathen nations into the Church, and the partial importation of their pagan modes of thinking, would have become the source of much greater dangers than those which were actually encountered.

2. The HERESIES of the preceding period were, in great measure, *syncretistic* (§ 47); those of the period under review, *revolutionary*,—*i.e.*, in the development of Christian doctrine, they sprung from an exclusive advocacy and from exaggerated views of one particular aspect of the truth, which, by this process, became changed into error; while, on the other hand, orthodoxy sought to view truth under all its aspects, and to harmonise its different bearings. Only echoes of the syncretistic heresies of a former period were still heard (§ 84). But another form of heresy, which as yet appeared only in isolated instances (§ 92), was possible. Catholic doctrine might be represented as an unhealthy excrescence—either unjustly, in which case the Church would be interrupted or disturbed in the exercise of its proper and necessary life-functions; or *justly*, but in such a manner that, in the general charge, truth was not properly distinguished from error, and that, in reality, the attempt was made to remove the one along with the other.

## § 80. THE TRINITARIAN CONTROVERSY (318–381).

COMP. *J. A. Stark*, Versuch e. Gesch. d. Arianism. (Hist. of Arian.) Berl. 1783.—*Ad. Möhler*, Athanas. d. Gr. u. seine Zeit. 2d ed. Mayence 1844. 2 vols.—*F. Chr. Baur*, d. chr. Lehre von d. Dreieinigk. (The Chr. Doctr. of the Trinity). 3 vols. Tübg. 1844.—*J. A. Dorner*, d. Lehre von d. Person Christi (The Dogma about the Person of Christ). 2 vols. 2d ed. Stuttg. 1845, etc.—*H. Ritter*, Gesch. d. chr. Philos. Vol. II.

The doctrine of the Trinity formed the subject of the first—or Arian—controversy. In it the discussion chiefly turned upon the nature and essence of the *Logos*, who in Christ had become incarnate, and about His relation to the Father. Since the controversy between Dionysius of Alexandria and his namesake of Rome (§ 62, 6), the view that the Son was of the same essence and equal with the Father, had gained adherents in Alexandria also, and given rise to a new school (§ 75). But an apprehension—excited by the teaching of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata (§ 62, 7)—lest this doctrine should lead to Monarchianism, influenced many to retain the views known as Subordinationism. The School of *Lucian*, the Antiochian (§ 61, 6; 74), especially furnished able opponents to homoousian principles. *Origen* had held these two apparently antagonistic views (subordination and eternal generation from the substance of the Father), comp. § 62, 5. But now they were no longer combined. One party rejected subordination, maintained the doctrine of eternal generation, and completed their system by admitting the homoousia of Christ; another held subordination views, and carried them as far as heteroousianism. A third party—chiefly followers of *Origen*—attempted to reconcile these antagonisms, by a sort of intermediate view, known under the term of *ὁμοουσία*. During the course of these controversies, which for almost a whole century agitated the Christian world, the Divine Personality of the *Holy Ghost* was established as a logical and theological deduction from orthodox principles. After many contests, the homoousia of the Son and that of the Holy Ghost were ultimately acknowledged as the orthodox view of the Church.

1. FIRST VICTORY OF HOMOOUSIAN PRINCIPLES (318–325). *ARIUS*, a pupil of *Lucian*, and since 313 a presbyter at Alexandria, an acute but not a profound thinker, was, in 318, charged by two presbyters—adherents of Western views—with having promulgated opinions incompatible with the Divinity of the Saviour. Arius had publicly taught that the Son had, before the commencement of time,

but not from all eternity, been created out of nothing by the Will of the Father, in order that the world might be called into existence through Him. He also maintained that, as Christ was the most perfect created reflex of the Father, and had carried into execution the Divine purpose of creation, He might be called *Θεός* and *λόγος*, though not in the proper sense of these terms. ALEXANDER, who at that time filled the see of Alexandria, was devotedly attached to the doctrines of the eternal generation of the Son, and of His equality with the Father. He convoked a *synod* (321), which condemned the views of Arius, and deposed him from his office. But the populace, which looked upon him as an ascetic, and many of the bishops, who shared his opinions, took his part. He also implored the protection of foreign prelates,—among them, that of *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, a former class-fellow, and of the influential *Eusebius of Cæsarea*. The former of these prelates pronounced in his favour, while the latter declared his views at least harmless. Arius spread his opinions among the people by means of hymns adapted to various conditions of life (to millers, sailors, travellers, etc.). The controversy led to a schism which extended over the whole East. In Alexandria passions ran so high, that the heathens made it the subject of ridicule on the stage. *Constantine the Great* received, with much displeasure, tidings of these disputes. He issued an order—of course without success—that such “useless discussions” should be discontinued. But *Hosius*, Bishop of *Cordova*, who came to Alexandria as bearer of this imperial ordinance, learned, during his stay in that city, the real state of matters, and the importance of the controversy. On his return, he convinced the Emperor that this was not a trivial dispute. Constantine now summoned a GENERAL COUNCIL AT NICE (325), which was attended by himself and by 318 bishops. The majority of members, headed by *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, were followers of Origen, and occupied a kind of intermediate position; nor was the party of Arius, which was led by *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, inconsiderable. The Homoousians were in a decided minority; but the enthusiastic eloquence of the youthful Deacon *Athanasius*, whom Alexander had brought with him, and the influence of the Emperor, procured them the victory. The Homoousian formulas were inserted into the Creed, Arius was excommunicated, and his writings condemned. Fear of being deposed, and a desire for peace, induced many to subscribe who were not convinced. Only *Arius* himself, and two Egyptian bishops, *Theonas* and *Secundus*, refused to submit, and were exiled into Illyria. *Eusebius of Nicomedia* and *Theognis of Nice*, who subscribed the creed, but not the formula of condemnation, were also banished (to Gaul).

2. ASCENDANCY OF HOMOIOUSIANISM (328-356).—The concord brought about by subscription to the Nicene Creed was neither real nor lasting. The remonstrances of *Constantia*, the sister of the Emperor, when on her deathbed, and the advice of some of the



leading prelates, induced Constantine to revert to his first opinions regarding this controversy. Arius made a confession of his faith, couched in general terms, and was recalled from exile along with his fellow-sufferers (328). Soon afterwards the Emperor ordered him to be restored to his office (330). But *Athanasius*, who in the meantime had succeeded to the see of Alexandria (328), declared himself unable to comply with this demand. The Emperor threatened to depose the bishop; till, in a personal interview, the latter made so deep an impression, that Constantine yielded. But the enemies of Athanasius were continually representing him to the Emperor as one that fomented discord and rebellion. Ultimately, a *synod convoked at Tyre* (335), and consisting entirely of Arians, was charged with a new investigation of these questions. Athanasius appealed against the sentence of deposition pronounced against him, which, however, was confirmed by another synod, that met at Constantinople; and the Emperor banished him to Treves (336). Despite the protest of the Bishop of Constantinople, *Arius* was now to have been solemnly restored to church-communion in the capital of the empire, when he suddenly died the evening before the day of his restoration (at an age of upwards of 80 years). Soon afterwards Constantine also died; and *Constantine II.*, immediately on his accession, restored Athanasius, who was enthusiastically received by his flock. But *Constantius* favoured the Arians, and his sentiments were shared by the court and capital. In every street and market, in every shop and house, these questions were now discussed. The majority of bishops in the East, headed by *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, in their desire to find an intermediate position, adopted the expression *ὁμοούσιος*; the Arian party was led by *Eusebius of Nicom.*, who since 338 was Bishop of Constantinople (*ob.* 341). Common opposition to the adherents of the Nicene Creed formed a bond of union between these two parties (the *Eusebians*). The West was entirely in favour of the Nicene Creed. In 339 the Eusebians held a council at *Antioch*, which sat for several days. It deposed once more *Athanasius*, and in his room elected *Gregorius*, a Cappadocian. It also drew up successively five creeds, which (in order to satisfy the West) approximated that of Nice as closely as possible, but from which the *ὁμοούσιος* was steadily kept out. But at a *synod held at Milan*, the West refused all the overtures made by the East. The controversy led to a regular schism between the Eastern and the Western Church. To remove it, *Constantius*, at the suggestion of *Constans*, his brother, convoked a general *Council at Sardica* in Illyria (343). But as the Latins admitted Athanasius to a seat and vote, without paying any regard to his deposition by the Council of Antioch, the Eastern bishops immediately withdrew, and held a separate council at *Philippopolis* in Thracia. In Sardica, where important privileges were assigned to *Julius*, Bishop of Rome (*comp.* § 72, 1), the Nicene Creed was confirmed, and Athanasius restored to his see. Even



before that, Gregorius, who, by his violence and acts of oppression, had incurred additional unpopularity, was murdered by the populace of Alexandria. Athanasius was again welcomed with enthusiasm by his flock. But after the death of Constans (350), *Constantius* once more favoured the Arian party. The latter assembled in *council at Sirmium* in Pannonia (351); but forbearing directly to attack Athanasius himself, they confined their opposition, in the first place, to a friend and adherent of the Bishop of Alexandria. In his zeal for Nicene views, MARCELLUS, BISHOP OF ANCYRA, had fallen into Sabellianism. Already, in 336, the Synod of Constantinople had deposed him, and deputed Eusebius of Cæsarea to refute his tenets. But he continued to enjoy the protection of the West, and of the Council of Sardica, till PHOTINUS, Bishop of Sirmium, a pupil of Marcellus, promulgated what undoubtedly were Monarchian views (§ 62). These opinions had been declared heretical, not only by the Council of Antioch, but by that of Milan also (346), the members of which adhered to the Nicene Creed. Photinus was deposed by the Council of Sirmium, and, along with his, the tenets of Marcellus were also condemned. But even this did not satisfy the Eusebians. They prevailed on Constantius to issue an ordinance, enjoining all Western bishops to subscribe the condemnation of Athanasius. Those who resisted were deposed and banished—among them, *Liberius*, Bishop of Rome, *Hosius of Cordova*, *Hilarius of Poitiers*, *Eusebius of Vercelli*, and *Lucifer of Calaris*. Another Cappadocian, of the name of *Georgius*—not less violent than his countryman and predecessor—was to be installed by force as Bishop of Alexandria. Having calmly, and with dignity, finished the celebration of the worship in which he was engaged, Athanasius managed to make his way to the monks in the Egyptian desert (356). Thus victory seemed throughout the Roman Empire to have decided in favour of *Homoiousianism*.

3. HOMOIISM (357-361).—But soon the Eusebians began to dispute among themselves. The extreme party, headed by *Aëtius*, a deacon at Antioch, and *Eunomius*, Bishop of Cyzicus, went so far as to maintain that the Son was *unlike* the Father (*ἀνόμοιος*), from which the party received the name of *Anomoites* or *Exucontians*. The Homoiousians, who were now designated as *Semi-Arians*, prepared to contest this point. They were led by *Basilus*, Bishop of Ancyra, and countenanced by the Emperor Constantius. Ultimately, however, the intrigues of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, the two court bishops, who at heart were Arians, proved successful. With consent of the Emperor, they held a *second council at Sirmium* (357), where it was resolved wholly to discard the unbiblical term *οὐσία*, which had been the cause of all these dissensions, not to enter upon any definitions about the nature of God, which was incomprehensible, and to unite in simply asserting that the Son was similar to the Father (*ὁμοιος*—hence their name *Homoïtes*). Two of the exiled bishops—*Hosius* of

Cordova and *Liberius* of Rome—purchased permission to return to their sees by subscription to this formula. But the other Latin bishops, in a *synod at Agennum*, again declared their adherence to the Nicene Creed; while the Semi-Arians met at *Ancyra* under the presidency of *Basilius*, and re-affirmed the Confession of Antioch. At last the Semi-Arians joined the court party, at a *third synod held at Sirmium* (358), in this formula: τὸν Ὑῖὸν ὁμοῖον τῷ Πατρὶ εἶναι κατὰ πάντα ὡς αἱ ἁγίαὶ γραφαὶ λέγουσιν. The Emperor was so much pleased with this formula, that he resolved to have it adopted by a general council. To prevent a combination between the Homoiousians and the Homoeousians of the West, *Ursacius* and *Valens* persuaded the Emperor to summon two councils instead of one, of which that of *Seleucia* was destined for the East, and that of *Rimini* for the West (359). Both councils rejected the new formula; the one in favour of the creed of Antioch, the other in favour of that of Nice. But *Ursacius* knew by intrigues to bring the bishops to submission. For two years the prelates were detained at *Seleucia* and at *Rimini*, as it were in exile; while their delegates, after travelling about for half a year, were unable to obtain an audience of the Emperor. Thus coerced, they at last subscribed the new formula. Those who refused to submit (*Aetius* and *Eunomius*) were persecuted as disturbing the peace of the Church. *Homoism* now became the acknowledged creed of the empire. But the death of *Constantius* (361) speedily put an end to this temporary prevalence of error.

4. FINAL ASCENDENCY OF THE NICENE CREED (361–381).—*Julian* gave equal rights to all parties, and recalled the exiled bishops, so that in some churches there were two or even three bishops at one and the same time. *Athanasius* also returned to his see. He convoked a *synod at Alexandria* (362) for the purpose of re-arranging ecclesiastical affairs; and, despite the protest of the narrow-minded *Lucifer* of Calaris, with equal moderation and prudence, received into church-fellowship those bishops who had been misled into Arian views, but repented of their error. The success which attended the endeavours of *Athanasius*, determined the Emperor once more to send him into exile, on pretence that he was the occasion of disturbances. *Jovian*, the successor of *Julian*, favoured the Nicene party, and allowed *Athanasius* to return to his see (364); while, at the same time, he also extended toleration to the Arians. But *Valens*, to whom *Valentinian I.*, his brother, committed the government of the East, was a zealous Arian (364–378). He persecuted with equal cruelty both *Athanasians* and *Semi-Arians*, a proceeding which led to an approximation between these two parties. *Athanasius* was obliged to flee; but after the lapse of four months was allowed to return, and to spend the remainder of his life without further molestation. He filled the episcopal see for forty-five years, of which twenty were spent in exile. *Ob.* 373. The persecutions

of Valens were, however, kept in check by the urgent representations of Valentinian, his brother, and by the dignified and energetic resistance of eminent prelates, especially of the three great Cappadocians. The intrigues of the Empress *Justina* in the West, during the minority of her son, Valentinian II., were frustrated through the watchfulness of *Ambrose* of Milan. The soldiers who were to take possession of his church, and to hand it over to the Arians, met with passive but successful resistance, in finding the edifice occupied by a congregation engaged in prayer and the singing of psalms.—*Theodosius I. the Great*, a Spaniard (379-395), who for a short period ruled over the East and West, banished Arianism from the empire. He appointed *Gregory of Nazianzus*, Patriarch of Constantinople. It was intended that this prelate should preside over the SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (381). But as his authority was impugned on the ground that he had changed his see (comp. § 70), he laid down his office, and *Gregory of Nyssa* presided in his stead. The Nicene Creed was enlarged by the addition of a formula affirming the equality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son. From that time the Arians were only allowed to hold their worship outside the city. Somewhat later all their churches in the empire were taken from them.

5. The PNEUMATOMACHOI (362-381).—According to *Arius* and his adherents, the Holy Ghost was the first being created by the Son. But even zealous advocates of the homoousia of the Son were undecided on this doctrine. In the Nicene Creed nothing beyond a καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον was inserted; and *Hilary* of Poitiers hesitated to enter upon fuller particulars, from fear of going beyond the teaching of Scripture. But *Athanasius* (at the Synod of Alex. in 362), *Didymus* the Blind, and the three Cappadocians, consistently carried out their theological principles, and by their authority succeeded in bringing their party to admit also the homoousia of the Holy Spirit. The Semi-Arians who had adopted the Nicene Creed—and among them especially *Macedonius*, formerly Bishop of Constantinople, whom the Homoists had deposed—felt extremely reluctant to adopt this view (*Macedonians*, *Pneumatomachoi*). The second œcum. Council (381) sanctioned the homoousia of the Holy Spirit by adding to the expression εἰς Πν. ἅγιον, the words τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συνεκκινούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον.

6. LITERATURE OF THE CONTROVERSY.—*Arius* himself explained his views in a semi-poetical tractate *Θαλεία* (of which *Athanasius* has preserved fragments). His principles were zealously defended by *Asterius*, a sophist (whose writings have been lost). *Philostorgius*, the historian, attempted to show from history that they were conformable to the views of the apostles and of the early Church. *Eusebius of Cæs.* wrote two tractates in defence of Semi-Arianism, against *Marcellus* (κατὰ Μαρκέλλου and περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς θεολογίας).



The ἀπολογητικός by Eunomius has been lost. Foremost among the opponents of Arianism stands *Athanasius*—Oratt. IV. c. Arianos; hist. Arianorum ad monachos; Epist. de decretis Nicænis; Epist. de Synodis Arimini et Seleuciæ habitis; Ἀπολογητικός πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρειάνους, etc. *Basilius the Great* wrote four books against Eunomius; the Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος; and the Ad Amphiloichium (against the Pneumatomachoi);—*Gregory of Naz.*, five λόγοι θεολογικοί (§ 75, 4); *Gregory of Nyssa*, twelve λόγοι ἀντιρρητικοὶ κατὰ Εὐνομίον;—*Didymus the Blind*, three books de Trinitate;—*Eriphanius* the Ἀγκυρωτός (§ 78, 5);—*Cyril of Alex.*, a Διασωρός περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίας Τριάδος;—*Chrysostom* delivered twelve orations against the Anomoites; *Theodoret* wrote *Dialogi VII. de s. Trinit.* *Ephræm Syrus*, also, frequently controverted in his sermons the views of the Arians. Among Latin writers the most distinguished controversialists were: *Lucifer of Calaris* (“Ad Constantium Imp. Ll. II. pro Athan.,” in which he denounces the Emperor as an apostate, as Antichrist and Satan; the “moriendum pro filio Dei;” the “De non conveniendis cum hæreticis”); *Hilarius of Pictaviium* (“De Trinitate, Ll. XII.,” “de Synodis s. de fide Orientalium;” “Contra Constantium Aug.,” “Contra Auxentium,” § 76, 4); *Phæbadius*, Bishop of Agennum about 359 (“c. Arianos”); *Ambrosius* (“de fide ad Gratianum Aug. Ll. V.”); *Augustinus* (“c. sermonem Arianorum;” “Collatio cum Maximino Arianorum Episc.,” “c. Maximinum”); *Fulgentius of Ruspe* (“c. Arianos,” and three books addressed to Trasimund, the Arian King of the Vandals).

7. LATER DEVELOPMENT OF NICENE VIEWS.—Even the formula adopted by the second Council of Constantinople was not entirely free from all traces of Subordinationianism. At least the expression, εἰς Θεός, as applied to the Father *exclusively*, might give rise to misunderstanding. *Augustine* completely removed any uncertainty still hanging over this doctrine (“de trinitate Ll. XV.”). But as yet the personality of the Holy Ghost, and His relation to the Son, had not been defined with sufficient accuracy. This afterwards gave rise to the schism between the Eastern and the Western Church. In this respect also *Augustine* correctly taught that the Holy Spirit proceeded both from the Father and the Son. Among those who advocated these truths, *Fulgentius of Ruspe* (“de s. trinit.”) deserves special mention. The so-called (pseudo-) *Athanasian Creed*, or *Symbolum Quicunque* (from the word with which it commences), dates probably from the beginning of the sixth century. It originated in Spain, and simply inserted the words, “qui procedit a Patre Filioque.”

## § 81. ORIGENISTIC CONTROVERSIES (394-438).

The controversies about the Trinity were, in due course, followed by discussions about the person of Christ (§ 82). Before these



took place, another question, however, engaged the attention of the Church. Although the Origenistic controversy was a personal dispute rather than a discussion of importance to the Church generally, it served to confirm the impression that Origen had really been a heresiarch.

1. The Monks of THE SCETIAN and of the NITRIAN DESERT.—The most strenuous advocates of Nicene views (*Athanasius*, the three great Cappadocians, Didymus, Hilarius, etc.) had held Origen in great repute. But as the Arians continually appealed to his authority, the more narrow-minded opponents of Arianism, especially those in the West, and the monks of the Scetian Desert in Egypt, headed by *Pachomius*, gradually began to suspect the orthodoxy of Origen. By and by they denounced the speculations of that Father as the source of every heresy, and came to entertain grossly anthropomorphic views of God and of Divine things. *Epiphanius*, Bishop of Salamis (§ 75, 8), was trained in their school. In direct opposition to these monks, others, who inhabited the mountains of *Nitria*, were enthusiastic admirers of Origen, and adopted a lofty spiritualism, coupled with a devout and contemplative mysticism.

2. *Controversy* in PALESTINE and ITALY (394-399).—In Palestine, *JOHANNES*, Bishop of Jerusalem, and the two Latins, *HIERONYMUS* and *RUFINUS*, were ardent admirers of Origen (§ 76, 5. 6). But when, in the year 394, two strangers from the West expressed their astonishment about this, Jerome, anxious to retain his reputation for orthodoxy, immediately prepared to denounce the errors of Origen. Meantime, the Scetian monks had also called the attention of the aged and over-zealous *EPIPHANIUS* to the existence of a nursery of heresy in Palestine. He immediately took ship, and employed the pulpit which *Johannes* had kindly opened to him for delivering a vehement denunciation of Origenistic views. Upon this, *Johannes* preached against anthropomorphism. *Epiphanius* anathematised these views, but insisted that John should pronounce similar sentence against Origenistic principles. On the refusal of the latter, *Epiphanius* left Jerusalem in dudgeon, renounced, with *Hieronymus* and the monks at Bethlehem, church-communion with *Johannes* and *Rufinus*, and even interfered with the episcopal functions of John, by ordaining a presbyter for the monks at Bethlehem. All this gave rise to an angry controversy, which was with difficulty settled through the interference of *Theophilus* of Alexandria, who for that purpose deputed *Isidorus*, one of his presbyters. *Hieronymus* and *Rufinus* made their peace at the steps of the altar (396). The latter soon afterwards returned to the West. He translated the work of Origen *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, leaving out a few of the most objectionable passages; but was so indiscreet as to hint in the preface that even the orthodox Jerome was an admirer of Origen. When informed of this by friends at Rome, Jerome wrote

in unmeasured terms against Origenistic views and against the friend of his youth.—At the same time he made a literal translation of the *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. Rufinus rejoined, and the dispute became the more bitter the longer it continued. *Siricius*, Bishop of Rome, extended his protection to Rufinus; but his successor, *Anastasius*, summoned him to answer for his errors. Instead of appearing in person, Rufinus sent a written defence; but was formally condemned for Origenistic heresy (399). He retired to Aquileja, where he continued to translate the writings of Origen and of other Greek Fathers.

3. *Controversy in ALEXANDRIA and CONSTANTINOPLE (399-438).*—*Theophilus*, Patriarch of Alexandria, a luxurious, imperious, and violent prelate, had till the year 399 favoured the cause of the Nitrian monks, and even, during the Easter of that year, spoken in a harsh and contemptuous manner of the heresy of the Anthropomorphists. Indignant at this, a number of monks armed themselves with sticks and thongs, attacked the Bishop, and obliged him to pronounce an anathema against Origen. Soon afterwards he lost the support of others, formerly his friends. *Isidorus*, an aged and venerable presbyter, and the so-called “four long brethren,” of whom two acted as treasurers to his church, refused to entrust him with the moneys of orphans and other trust funds, and escaped from his vengeance to their colleagues in the mountains of Nitria. Accordingly, so early as the year 399, Theophilus anathematised Origen at an endenic synod held in Alexandria; and in 401 published a furious manifesto against Origenistic views. The honest but narrow-minded *Epiphanius* hastened to express his approbation, and *Hieronymus* translated the document into Latin. Military force was employed to break up the establishments in Nitria, and to expel the monks. Followed by the accusing letters of their bishop, the latter sought protection with *John Chrysostom* at Constantinople; but *Theophilus* rejected with disdain the intercession of that prelate. For the sake of peace, Chrysostom was now anxious to withdraw from the contest. But the monks had meantime found access to the Empress *Eudoxia*, at whose intercession *Arcadius*, the Emperor, summoned Theophilus to appear before a synod to be held at Constantinople, over which Chrysostom was to preside. Theophilus was almost beside himself with rage. By a misrepresentation of the facts of the case, he succeeded in enlisting the aid of *Epiphanius*. Filled with zeal and prejudices, the honest old man hastened to Constantinople, when, on learning the real state of matters, he immediately withdrew with the remark: “I leave to you the court, and dissimulation.” But Theophilus knew how to get on with the court and with dissimulation. During the interval Chrysostom had, by his faithfulness, incurred the displeasure of the Empress. Calculating upon this, Theophilus arrived at Constantinople, accompanied by a large suite; and at the imperial country-seat of *Drys* (Oak), near Chalcedon, organised a

council (*Synodus ad Quercum*)—in 403—which declared Chrysostom guilty of immorality, of heterodox views, and of treason. The Emperor banished the obnoxious preacher, who, after appeasing the popular fury excited by this measure, quietly allowed himself to be carried away. But an earthquake, which took place the following night, and the increasing popular excitement, induced the Empress to send messengers and recall the exile. After an absence of only three days, he was brought back to the capital in triumph. Theophilus fled to Alexandria. Soon afterwards, however, when Chrysostom had again incurred the anger of the Empress for denouncing in a sermon the noisy inauguration of her statue, he expressed himself, on the anniversary of St John, in the following unguarded language: Πάλιν Ἡραδίας μαίνεται, πάλιν ταρασσεται, πάλιν ἐπὶ πίνακι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἰωάννου ζητεῖ λαβεῖν. Theophilus was now certain of success; his party knew how to fan the flame at court. During Easter 404, armed men burst into the church of Chrysostom, and dragged him to Cucusus in Armenia, into exile. He bore undauntedly the fatigues of the journey, the rigour of the climate, and the vicinity of robbers. He kept up continuous pastoral intercourse with his flock, and addressed to them a consolatory tractate. Nor did his zeal for the mission among the Goths flag. In vain *Innocent I.*, Bishop of Rome, and *Honorius*, the Emperor of the West, interceded for him. In 407 he was sent to a still more dreary place of exile—at Pityus, on the shores of the Black Sea. But he succumbed to the fatigues of that journey, and died by the way, uttering his favourite motto: Δόξα τῷ Θεῷ πάντων ἕνεκεν. A large portion of his flock at Constantinople refused to acknowledge the authority of *Arsacius*, his successor; and, despite persecutions, continued as a separate body (by the name of *Johnites*) until Theodosius II., in 438, caused the bones of their loved pastor to be brought to the capital, and solemnly deposited in the imperial burying vaults. Among these personal disputes, the Origenistic controversy had for a time been lost sight of, but was soon afterwards renewed (§ 82, 6).

## § 82. DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

COMP. *Walch*, *Ketzerhist.* (Hist. of Heres.). Vols. V.-IX. *Dorner*, *Person Christi*. Vol. I. *Baur*, *Dreieinigk.* (on the Trinity). I. II.

If, in the discussions about the Trinity, the question of the eternal existence and of the Divine nature of Christ had been agitated, His historical manifestation as the incarnate Son of God, the connection between the Divine nature of the Logos and the human nature of the Son of Mary, and the mutual relation of these two

became now subjects of inquiry. These questions had in part been raised during the Arian controversy. For while the Church had, against Arius, defended the absolute Divinity of Christ, it also maintained, in opposition to *Apollinaris*, His perfect humanity. The discussion now assumed three new phases. In the *Nestorian* controversy, the Church defended the unity of the person of Christ against the views of the Antiochians, whose distinction between the two natures of the Saviour almost amounted to separation into two persons. In the *Monophysite* controversy, the opposite or neo-Alexandrian error, which, in view of the unity of Christ's person, lost sight of the distinctness of His natures, was set aside. Lastly, in the *Monothelite* controversy, an erroneous mode of viewing the union of the two natures—when their distinctness was admitted in words, but denied in fact, by assuming the existence of only one will—was disavowed. Thus the controversies about the Trinity and the person of Christ—both of which sprung up in the East—were closely connected.

1. THE APOLLINARISTIC CONTROVERSY (362–381).—Beryllus and Sabellius had already taught that, at the incarnation, the Logos had assumed only a human soul. *Marcellus* held the same tenet (§ 80, 2); *Arius* also, though opposed to him in other respects, had maintained this view, in order to avoid the inference, that in Christ two creatures were combined. *Athanasius*, on the other hand, held, with *Origen*, that the human soul of Christ had been the necessary bond of connection between the Logos and the body, and the medium through which the Logos acted upon the body. Hence, at the *Synod of Alexandria*, in 362, the perfect humanity of the Lord was declared the orthodox dogma on the subject. *Apollinaris*, Bishop of Laodicæa, a very talented and highly educated man, who had sent a deputy to this Council, although disapproving of the idea of a *σῶμα ἄψυχον*, denied the perfect humanity of Christ. Starting from the view that man was composed of three parts, he maintained that Christ had only assumed a *σῶμα* and a *ψυχὴ ἄλογος*, and that the Divine Logos Himself occupied the place of the *ψυχὴ λογικὴ* (ὁ νοῦς). He imagined that a contrary opinion would render it necessary to assume two personalities in Christ, and that Christ would thus be represented as merely an *ἄνθρωπος ἐνθεός*; he also believed that only on his principles would it be possible to maintain the perfect sinlessness of Jesus. But *Athanasius* and the two *Gregories* regarded these views as incompatible with the full idea of the incarnation and of the atonement. The *second Œcum. Council* (381) rejected the views of *Apollinaris*, who some time before had, along with some adherents, left the communion of the Church.

2. ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT THEOLOGICAL



SCHOOLS (381-428).—The Arian controversy had issued in the general recognition of the perfect Divinity, the Apollinaristic in that of the perfect humanity, of the Saviour. But the relation between these two natures, implied in their union, had not yet been accurately defined. According to *Apollinaris*, the Divinity was so closely united with the (partial) humanity of the Saviour, that in reality there ceased to be two natures. By a “*communicatio idiomatum*,” what was predicated of one nature was transferred to the other, so that the body of Christ was deified, and hence adored; but the predicates of being born, suffering, and dying, were also applied to His Divinity. Although the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL rejected the peculiar tenets of *Apollinaris* about the imperfect humanity of Christ, predilection for what was mystical, inconceivable, and transcendental, led it into kindred views. In opposition to Arianism, these divines laid special emphasis on the Divinity of Christ, and maintained an *ένωσις Ουσιική* of the two natures. According to them, it was only lawful to speak of *two* natures, *before* the union of these two natures, and *in abstracto*,—*after* the incarnation, and *in concreto*, we could only speak of *one* nature, that of the God-man. Hence Mary was generally designated as “the Mother of God,” *Θεοτόκος*. *Athanasius* expressly states: οὐ δύο φύσεις, μίαν προσκυνητὴν καὶ μίαν ἀπρόσκυνητον, ἀλλὰ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην καὶ προσκυνουμένην μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ μιᾷ προσκυνήσει. The Cappadocians spoke indeed of *two* natures (ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο), but held that they were mixed up (σύγκρασις, κατάμιξις), that there was a “*συνδραμεῖν*” of the two natures into one, a μεταποιηθῆναι of the σὰρξ πρὸς τὴν Θεότητα.—In opposition to *Apollinaris*, the SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH insisted on the perfect, immutable, and continuous humanity of Christ, both *during* and *after* its conjunction with His Divinity. These divines only admitted a συναφεία or ένωσις σχετική (in virtue of which the two natures had entered into that particular relationship—σχέσις—by which they co-existed and co-operated). Such expressions as Θεοτόκος, Θεὸς ἐγέννηθεν, Θεὸς ἔπαθεν, they regarded as absurd, if not blasphemous. They acknowledged, indeed, that the σὰρξ of Christ should be adored, but only in respect of its being the organ through which the Logos had accomplished the work of redemption, not as if itself had become endowed with the properties of Divinity. These views were most fully and consistently propounded by *Theodorus of Mops*. He regarded the history of the God-man as typical of the history of redemption. Christ had taken upon Himself our humanity, with its sinful affections and propensities. But He had overcome the latter; and, by continuous contests and victory, elevated His human nature to that absolute perfection which, by the working of His Spirit, we also shall reach, and that in exactly the same manner. He expressly guarded himself against the objection that his system implied a twofold personality in Christ. The Saviour was not ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, but ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο, since, at the incarnation, His human

nature had lost its personality and independence. Each of these schools presented *one* aspect of the truth; satisfactorily to exhibit the truth in its *entirety*, it was necessary to combine them. But instead of uniting them, these views were carried out in the most one-sided manner, till they issued in positive error. Thus two heresies sprung up, against which the *Church* had first to protest, in order afterwards to combine the truths which they had embodied, though in a distorted form. This office was performed by the THEOLOGY OF THE WEST. In opposition to Antiochian views, it ranged itself on the side of the Alexandrians, at one time even to the full extent of its one-sided representations. Thus *Julius of Rome* expressly maintained *μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένου*. But gradually this error was removed. *Augustine*, for example, still uses the expression *mixture*; but, in point of fact, he correctly indicated the relation between the two natures, quite in accordance with what the Church at a later period declared the orthodox view. Again, when the errors of the Alexandrians were under discussion, Western divines took the opposite side, and combined what was true in the two antagonistic schools (*Leo the Great*).—It is remarkable that this discussion originated in the West. But it was so speedily suppressed as to leave no trace behind. *Leporius*, a monk in the south of Gaul, had expressed himself about the union of the two natures in the same manner as the theologians of Antioch. In 426 he went to Africa, was opposed by *Augustine*, and at once recanted.

3. THE NESTORIAN CONTROVERSY (428–444).—In 428 NESTORIUS, a monk of Antioch, and a most eloquent man, was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople. He was honest and pious, but rash, destitute of experience, and harsh towards heretics. The position of the inexperienced monk was sufficiently difficult. He had to contend against the hatred of an unsuccessful rival for his see, with the jealousy of the Patriarch of Alexandria, who besides regarded him as a representative of the School of Antioch, and with the suspicions of *Cælestinus*, Bishop of Rome, whom he had provoked by extending protection to fugitive Pelagians (§ 83, 4). A presbyter whom Nestorius had brought with him, objected to the frequent use of the term *θεοτόκος*, and preached against it. Nestorius took his part both against the people and the monks; and when some of the latter offered the Patriarch personal insults, he caused bodily chastisement to be administered to them, and at a Diocesan Synod condemned the views of his opponents (429). *Cyrillus*, Patriarch of Alexandria, now entered the lists in defence of the teaching of his school. He gained for his views *Cælestinus*, Bishop of Rome, *Memnon*, Bishop of Ephesus, and *Juvenalis*, Bishop of Jerusalem, and at court *Pulcheria*, sister of the Emperor (Theodosius II., 408–450); while the Empress *Eudocia* and the Syrian bishops took the part of Nestorius. All attempts at reconciliation were frustrated by the unyielding disposition of the two patriarchs.

Coëlestinus of Rome called upon Nestorius to recant within ten days (430); and at a synod held in Alexandria (430), Cyril issued twelve *Anathematismoi*, to which Nestorius replied by a similar edict. These measures served to embitter both parties. To settle the question, the Emperor convoked a THIRD ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL AT EPHEBUS IN 431. The Emperor himself was decidedly in favour of Nestorius; the imperial representative at the Council was a personal friend of the Patriarch, and part of the Imperial Guard attended Nestorius to Ephesus. But Cyrill appeared with a large suite of bishops, and a strong bodyguard of servants and sailors, prepared, if necessary, to demonstrate with their fists the soundness of his arguments. At the same time, *Memnon of Ephesus* had excited the clergy, the monks, and the people of Asia Minor on the subject. As the deputies from Rome and the Syrian bishops (the former probably of set purpose) did not appear at the proper time, Cyril, without waiting for their arrival, opened the Council, which consisted of 200 bishops. Nestorianism was condemned, Nestorius excommunicated and deposed, and the *Anathematismoi* of Cyril recognised as a test of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. The deputies from Rome acknowledged the authority of the Council; not so the imperial representative and the Syrians, who immediately, on their arrival, held a counter-council, over which *John of Antioch* presided, and which excommunicated Cyril and Memnon. Nestorius voluntarily retired into a monastery. Meantime, the populace of Constantinople, instigated by Pulcheria, rose in favour of Cyril. The Emperor deposed the three leaders in the dispute—Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon,—and gave his authority to a sort of intermediate formula, drawn up by Theodoret, which admitted the correctness of the term *θεοτόκος*, but also maintained an *ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις*. But Cyril and Memnon continued in their sees. While they signed the formula of Theodoret, John subscribed the condemnation of Nestorius (433). The latter remained deposed and a prey to his enemies. Torn from his asylum and maltreated, he died (440) in misery. But the compromise of the two leaders was rejected by their followers. The Syrian Church was indignant about the manner in which their patriarch had betrayed the cause in the person of Nestorius. *John* proceeded to depose all his opponents—a fate which had almost befallen even the noble-minded Theodoret. But in his case the Patriarch agreed to dispense with a formal condemnation of the person of Nestorius in consideration of an ample rejection of his teaching.—The Egyptians also accused their patriarch of having surrendered orthodox views. But this prelate endeavoured, by increased zeal, to make up for his former compliance. He laboured—not without success—to bring the anathema of the Church upon the leaders of the School of Antioch. *Rabulas*, Bishop of *Edessa*, one of his adherents, dispersed the theological school at Edessa, which at the time was presided over by the celebrated presbyter *Ibas*. After



the death of Rabulas (436) this school again attained its former celebrity. Meantime, *Theodoret* and *Cyril* hurled violent tractates against each other, till, in 444, the death of the Patriarch of Alexandria, put an end to the controversy. *Ibas* translated the writings of *Theodoret* into Syriac, and addressed—in favour of these views—a tractate to *Maris*, Bishop of Hardashir in Syria, which the Nestorians afterwards regarded as a kind of confession of faith. *Thomas Barsumas*, Bishop of Nisibis, spread Nestorianism in the *Persian Church*. In 489, the School of Edessa was again closed. Teachers and students migrated into Persia, where they founded a school in Nisibis, which for a long time enjoyed considerable celebrity. At last, at a synod held in *Seleucia* in 498, the *Persian Church* wholly separated from the orthodox Church in the Roman Empire, and adopted the name of *Chaldean Christians*. Their Patriarch bore the title of *Yazeliçh* (ζαδολικός). From Persia the Nestorian Church spread to India, where its adherents were called *Thomas-Christians*.

4. THE MONOPHYSITE CONTROVERSY. A. EUTYCHIANISM (444–451).—*Cyril* was succeeded by *Dioscurus*, a man of much inferior talent, but of much greater violence and tyranny than even the opponent of Nestorius. In Constantinople, an aged Archimandrite, called *Eutyches*, openly taught that, after His incarnation, Christ had only had *one* nature, and that, since the body of Christ was that of the Deity, it could not have been of the same substance with ours. *Theodoret* wrote against him a tractate, entitled Ἐρανιστῆς ἡτοι πολύμορφος, in which he characterised the teaching of *Eutyches* as a combination of various heresies. *Dioscurus* now interfered, and prevailed on the Emperor *Theodosius II.*, whose Minister of State and wife (*Eudocia*) he had gained, to adopt strict measures against the Syrians, and especially against *Theodoret*, who was forbidden to travel beyond the bounds of his diocese. The Antiochians, on the other hand, laid an accusation against *Eutyches* before the Patriarch *Flavian*, at a synod held in Constantinople (448). *Eutyches* appeared, attended by an imperial guard; but, on his refusal to recant, was excommunicated and deposed. *Eutyches* appealed to an œcumenical council, and at the same time to *LEO THE GREAT* of Rome. *Flavian* also appealed to Rome. *Leo* took the same view as *Flavian*; and in a letter to that prelate, with equal acuteness and precision, defined the doctrine about the two natures in Christ. But the Emperor summoned an œcumenical council to Ephesus (449), over which *Dioscurus* was to preside, at which *Flavian* and his party, however, were not to vote, and from which *Theodoret* was wholly excluded. The Council proceeded in the most arbitrary and violent manner. The deputies from Rome were not allowed to speak; the doctrine of two natures was condemned; *Flavian* and *Theodoret* were deposed. The former met even with bodily violence, and died after the lapse of only three days. *Leo the Great* energetically protested against the decrees of this “ROBBER-SYNOD” (*latrocinium Ephesinum*).



But meantime *Theodosius* had quarrelled with *Eudocia*, dismissed his ministers, and made his peace with *Pulcheria*. Accordingly, the body of *Flavian* was carried in state to Constantinople, and buried with all honours. Further measures were arrested by the death of *Theodosius* in 450. He was succeeded by *Pulcheria*, and her husband *Marcian*. Another ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL (the FOURTH) was now convened at CHALCEDON in 451, which deposed *Dioscurus* and *Eutyches*, and condemned both Nestorianism and Eutychianism. The Synodical Epistle of *Cyril* and the Letter of *Leo* were made the basis of the decrees enacted at Chalcedon, which affirmed, "that Christ was true God and true man; that, according to His divinity, He was begotten from all eternity, and equal to the Father; that, according to His humanity, He was born of Mary the Virgin, and mother of God; and was like us in all things, yet without sin; and that, after His incarnation, the unity of His person consisted of *two natures*, which were *unmixed* and *unchanged*, but also *undivided* and *not separated*."

5. B. IMPERIAL ATTEMPTS TO BRING ABOUT A UNION (451-519).—The Alexandrian theologians left the Council full of indignation about the defeat which they had sustained. They were now called *Monophysites*. Indeed, the whole Church was violently agitated by these questions. In *Palestine*, *Theodosius*, a monk, secretly aided by *Eudocia*, the widow of the Emperor, incited the populace to rebellion. In *Egypt* the commotion was still greater. *Timotheus Aelurus* took possession of the see of Alexandria, and expelled *Proterius*, the orthodox patriarch. Similarly, *Petrus Fullo* intruded himself into the bishopric of *Antioch*. These tumults were only suppressed after much blood had been shed. But the usurper *Basiliscus* published an edict, in which both the Creed of Chalcedon and the Epistle of *Leo* were condemned; Monophysitism was declared the religion of the State (476); and *Fullo* and *Aelurus* were reinstated in their sees. Soon afterwards *Acacius*, the Patriarch of Constant., organised a counter revolution in the interest of the Dyophysite party; *Basiliscus* was deposed; and the Emperor *Zeno*, who had formerly been expelled, again mounted the throne (477). About that time *Aelurus* died; his party chose *Petrus Mongus* (*blæsus*) his successor; but the Court appointed *Johannes Talaja*, a Dyophysite, to the see. But when the latter quarrelled with *Acacius*, that patriarch took the part of *Mongus*, the rival of *Talaja*. The two prelates now agreed as to a project for union, which, being approved by the Emperor *Zeno*, obtained in 482 legal sanction by an edict, called the HENOTICON. Nestorianism and Eutychianism were still condemned; the Anathematismoi of *Cyril* were confirmed; the "Chalcedonense" was abrogated; the Nicæno-Constantinopolitanum alone enjoined as the orthodox creed; and all controverted points were to be carefully avoided. Of course both parties objected to such a union. The strict Monophysites in *Egypt* separated from *Mongus*, and were now designated 'Αζέφαλοι. On the other hand, *Felix*

II. of Rome, as leader of the Dyophysites, renounced all church-communion with Acacius. This *Schism* between the East and the West lasted for thirty-five years. The Acoimetæ (§ 69, 4) were the only party in Constantinople who continued in communion with Rome. The Henoticon was only abolished when Justin I. meditated the reconquest of Italy, since the schism to which it had given rise was prejudicial to his interests. Its adherents were now deposed, and ecclesiastical communion with the West was restored (519). (Comp. also the third part of the *Ecl. History of John, Bishop of Ephesus*, by Cureton. Oxf. 1853.)

6. C. THE DECREES OF JUSTINIAN I. (527–553).—Amid these tumults, Justinian I. began his long and—so far as political matters are concerned—glorious reign (527–565). He considered it his great mission to establish orthodoxy, and to bring back the heretics, especially the numerous Monophysites, to the bosom of the Church. But the good intentions of the Emperor, who was but partially conversant with these intricate questions, were often frustrated by the intrigues of the court theologians and the machinations of the Empress *Theodora*, who was at heart a Monophysite. Justinian first interposed in the THEOPASCHITE CONTROVERSY. *Petrus Fullo* had added to the doxology (the Trishagion or Ter-Sanctus) the expression: Θεὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, which had been inserted into the Liturgy of Constantinople. This expression the *Acoimeter* declared to be heretical; *Hormisdas* of Rome pronounced it, at any rate, liable to misunderstanding, and needless. It obtained, however, the sanction of *Justinian* (533). Encouraged by this first success, *Theodora* managed to procure the appointment of *Anthimus*, a Monophysite, to the see of Constantinople. But when *Agapetus*, Bishop of Rome, brought out the real views of the new patriarch, he was again deposed from his office, to which *Mennas*, a friend of *Agapetus*, succeeded (536). All Monophysite writings were to be burned, and any one who ventured to make copies of them was to have his hands cut off. Still, *Domitian* and *Theodorus Ascidas*, two abbots from Palestine, secret Monophysites and devoted followers of *Origen*, lived at court in great favour. In order to put an end to their influence, *Mennas* again condemned—at a Diocesan Synod held at Constantinople in 541—the arch-heretic and his writings. But the court theologians subscribed this sentence without hesitation, and only concocted the more zealously with *Theodora* measures of reprisal. For some time past Justinian had been concerned about the state of public feeling in Egypt, which was the granary of the empire. He deemed it necessary to do something to allay the excitement among its Monophysite population. *Theodora* persuaded him that the Monophysites would easily be appeased if, along with the writings of *Diodorus*, the father of Nestorianism, the controversial tractates of *Theodore*t against Cyril, and the letter of *Ibas* to Maris (the so-called “tria capitula”), were also condemned.

Accordingly, the Emperor issued in 544 an edict to that effect, and insisted that all bishops should subscribe it. Only those in the East complied. But in the West resistance was offered on all sides, and the so-called **CONTROVERSY OF THE THREE CAPITULA** commenced. Vigilius of Rome, a creature of Theodora, who had secretly promised his co-operation, was afraid to face the storm in the West, and broke his word. Justinian had him brought to Constantinople (547), and there obliged him to make a written declaration—the so-called *Judicatum*—in which he approved the condemnation of the three capitula. The Africans, led by *Reparatus* of Carthage, now excommunicated the successor of Peter, and courageously defended the Fathers whose writings had been attacked (*Fulgentius of Ruspe* wrote “Pro tribus capit.”; *Facundus of Hermiana*, “Defensio III. capit.”; and *Liberatus*, a deacon of Carthage, a “Breviarium causæ Nestorian. et Eutychianorum,” which is a leading authority in the history of these controversies). At length Justinian summoned a **FIFTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL TO CONSTANTINOPLE (553)**, which confirmed all the edicts of the Emperor. *Vigilius* wrote a “*constitutum ad Imp.*,” in which he rejected the teaching of the three capitula, but refused to condemn their writers. A period of imprisonment, however, induced him to yield in 554. He died on his return to his see in 555. *Pelagius*, his successor, formally acknowledged the decrees of Constantinople; and North Africa, North Italy, and Illyria separated from the see of Peter, which had so basely succumbed. Only *Gregory the Great* succeeded—not without much trouble—in gradually healing this schism.

7. D. THE MONOPHYSITE CHURCHES.—Justinian had not attained his object. The *Monophysites* refused to return to the Church so long as the decrees of Chalcedon remained in force. But they suffered even more from endless internal divisions than from the persecutions of the orthodox State Church. First of all, *Julianus* and *Severus*, the two leaders of the party in Alexandria, disputed. The **SEVERIANS** held that the body of Christ had been subject to decay, while the **JULIANISTS** denied it. This discussion was followed by many others.—The Monophysites numbered most adherents in *Egypt*. From dislike to the Greek Catholics, they banished the Greek Liturgy from their churches, and chose a *Coptic* patriarch of their own. They even favoured the conquest of Egypt by the Saracens (640), who, in gratitude for such services, expelled the Catholic patriarch. From Egypt their views spread into *Abyssinia*. *Armenia* had in 536 surrendered to the Persians, when the Monophysites in that country, hitherto oppressed under Byzantine domination, obtained full liberty. In *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* the indefatigable activity of *Jacobus Zanzalus*, a monk (commonly termed *el Baradai*, from the circumstance of his going about in the disguise of a beggar), preserved the existence of the



Monophysite Church during the persecutions of Justinian. From this their leader the Syrian Monophysites were called JACOBITES; while they designated the Catholics as *Melchites* (Royalists). The patriarch of the party resided at Guba in Mesopotamia; his suffragan at Tagrit had the title of *Maphrian*—i. e., fruit-bearing. The Armenian Monophysites were ruled by the Patriarch of Ash-tarag, who took the title of *Catholicos*. The Abyssinian Church was under the direction of a metropolitan, designated as *Abbuna*.

8. THE MONOTHELETE CONTROVERSY (633–680).—Increasing difficulties in the State made union with the Monophysites more and more desirable. Accordingly, the Emperor *Heraclius* (611–641) was advised to attempt a reconciliation of the two parties by means of an intermediate formula, which bore that Christ had accomplished His work of redemption by *one* manifestation of His will as the God-man. Several Catholic bishops sanctioned this formula, which had already been propounded by the Pseudo-Dionysius (§ 77, 1). On this basis, the Patriarchs *Sergius of Constantinople* and *Cyrus of Alexandria*, in 633, agreed to unite, when most of the *Severians* returned to the State Church. *Honorius of Rome* was also in favour of this movement. But the monk *Sophronius*, who soon afterwards became Patriarch of Jerusalem (634), was decidedly opposed to a union which, in his opinion, necessarily opened the way for Monophysite views. Soon afterwards the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens (in 637) deprived him, however, of the means of making opposition. In 638 the Emperor issued an edict—the *ECTHESIS*—designed to put an end to all discussion, and which gave the sanction of law to the Monothelite view. *Maximus, a* monk (§ 77, 2), now entered the lists in defence of discarded orthodoxy. He betook himself to Africa, where, since the times of Justinian, the Confession of Chalcedon had been most zealously upheld. Thence he, along with some African divines, launched controversial tractates. In Rome also a reaction in favour of the old sentiments had, after the death of Honorius (638), taken place. The real aim of these attempts at union—to retain Syria and Egypt—was not attained. In 638 the Saracens took Syria, and in 640 Egypt. Still, for the sake of consistency, the court persevered. But difficulties daily increased. Already Africa and Italy were in open rebellion, both politically and ecclesiastically. At last the Emperor Constans II. (642–668) resolved to abolish the *Ecthesis*. In room of it he published, in 648, another law—the *TYPOS*—by which the *status quo* previous to the Monothelite movement was to be restored; and divines were enjoined neither to propound the dogma of one nor that of two wills. But at the *first Lateran Synod*, held at Rome in 649, *Martin I.* condemned, in the strongest terms, both the *Ecthesis*, the *Typos*, and those who had issued them. These acts of the Synod were transmitted to the Emperor. The Emperor replied by ordering *Olympius*, the Exarch



of Ravenna, to make the bold prelate a prisoner. He did not obey; but his successor sent the Pope in chains to Constantinople, where he was declared guilty of treason, and banished to Cherson. Martin I., who in his exile literally suffered from hunger, died after six months (655). Even more dreadful was the punishment awarded to *Maximus*, who was cruelly scourged, had his tongue torn out, his hand cut off, and was in that state banished into the country of the barbarous Lacians, where he died in 662, at the advanced age of eighty. These barbarous measures seemed for a time successful, and every opposition ceased. But under the reign of *Constantinus Pogonnatus* (668-685) the two parties prepared for another contest. The Emperor resolved to put an end to it by convoking a universal council. Pope *Agatho* held a splendid council at Rome in 679, where it was resolved not to abate one iota from the decrees of the Lateran Synod. Armed with these resolutions, and an autograph letter of the Pope's, the legates from Rome appeared AT THE SIXTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN 680 (called also the *Concil. Trullanum I.* from the peculiar shell-like shape of the hall *Trullus*, in the imperial palace, where it met). As in Chalcedon the Epistle of Leo, so now that of *Agatho*, was made the basis of the decrees. Nay, the Synod went so far as to transmit to the Pope an account of its transactions, and to request him to ratify its decrees. Still the Greeks managed to put some wormwood into the Pope's cup, by carrying it that the Council anathematised Pope *Honorius* along with the other representatives of the Monothelete heresy.—After that, Dyotheletism was universally received as orthodox doctrine. Monotheletism continued only in that portion of Asia which the arm of the State Church was unable to reach. The scattered adherents of these views gathered around the monastery of *S. Maro* on Mount Lebanon, and made its abbot their ecclesiastical chief. They took the name of *Maronites*, and preserved their ecclesiastical and political independence both against the Byzantines and against the Saracens.

§ 83. CONTROVERSIES CONNECTED WITH THE DOCTRINE  
OF REDEMPTION (412-529).

COMP. *Walch*, Hist. d. Ketz. IV. V. *Fr. Wiggers*, pragm. Darstell. des Augustinism. u. Pelagianism. (Pragm. Sketch of Aug. and Pelag.) Berlin 1821, 1833. 2 Volls.; *J. L. Jacobi*, d. L. d. Pel. (The System of Pel.) Leipz. 1842; *G. J. Vosiri*, Hist. de contro. 9, Pel. ejusque rel. moverunt (ed. *G. Voss*). Amst. 1655; *Norisii*, Hist. Pel. Par. 1673; *J. Geffcken*, Hist. Semipel. cont. Gott. 1826; *J. G. Voigt*, de theories Aug., Semipel. et Synerg. Gott. 1829.

Although the controversies about the Trinity and the Person of Christ had originated and were most zealously carried on in the

East, they also exercised considerable influence on the West; and when, ultimately, they issued in favour of orthodoxy, this result was mainly due to the influential advocacy of the see of Rome. But even before the commencement of the controversy about the Person of Christ, a discussion had sprung up in the West, which continued for upwards of a century, but failed to enlist more than a merely passing and indirect interest in the East. This discussion concerned the fundamental doctrines of Sin and of Grace. While *Pelagians* maintained the *efficacy* of *unaided* human liberty, and *semi-Pelagians* the co-operation of Divine grace with human freedom, *Augustine* and his party insisted on the *operation* of Divine grace as *alone* efficacious in the work of salvation. Victory ultimately remained with the party of Augustine.

1. PRELIMINARY HISTORY.—The entire corruption of human nature, and the need of Divine grace in and through Christ, had from the first been generally admitted in the Church. But a considerable period elapsed before it was authoritatively and finally settled whether, and in how far, the moral freedom of man had been weakened or lost through sin, and what was the relation between human activity and Divine grace. In their controversies with the Gnostics and Manichæans the Fathers were led to lay the greatest possible emphasis on the doctrine of human freedom. Some of them went so far as even to deny *innate* sinfulness—an error which was not a little encouraged by the views concerning “Creatianism” then prevailing. This tendency appeared most prominently among the older *Alexandrian* writers.—The *Neo-Alexandrian School*, on the other hand, sought to trace the universal prevalence of sin to the fall of Adam, but failed to carry out this view so far as the principle of *hereditary* or *innate* sinfulness. Accordingly, this school afterwards kept by the statements formerly made by Alexandrian writers, who traced salvation to a *Synergism*, or the co-operation of human freedom with Divine grace. The *theologians of Antioch*, in their anxiety to assign a place to the operation of the human will, while admitting the necessity of Divine grace, reduced the doctrine of original sin to that of original misery. Thus *Chrysostom* allowed that the children which Adam begat after he had become mortal must also have been subject to death; but he failed to perceive that after his sin his descendants must also have been sinful. The first man, he held, had brought into the world sin and misery, which we confirmed and continued by our sins. If, in the exercise of his free will, man only did his part, grace would certainly not be withheld. In short, the East was unanimous in decidedly rejecting anything like Predestinarianism.—It was otherwise in the *West*, where the “*Traducianism*” or “*Generatianism*” of *Tertullian* (*tradux animæ tradux peccati*) prepared the way for the doctrine of original sin, and for the views

of Augustine concerning grace. Even *Tertullian*, proceeding on the fact that from his birth man had an unconquerable inclination towards sin, spoke very distinctly about a "*vitium originis*." *Cyprian*, *Ambrosius*, and *Hilarius* held the same views. Still, even these Fathers were not quite free from Synergistic views. By the side of passages which savour of extreme Predestinarianism, we find others in which great stress is laid on the co-operation of man in conversion. *Augustine* was the first to carry these principles to their fullest consequences, and taught that the operation of God was alone efficacious in salvation (Divine Monergism); while *Pelagius* perverted the Synergism propounded by former authorities into a *Monergism* on the part of *man*, which had not been mooted before him.

2. DOCTRINAL VIEWS OF AUGUSTINE.—During the first period of his Christian experience, and while antagonism to the Manichæan system occupied so prominent a place in his thinking, *Augustine* also regarded faith as a free act of the human will. He deemed it requisite that, to a certain extent, the human will should co-operate in conversion, and hence denied that man was entirely helpless and undeserving of any good. But a deeper experience (§ 76, 2) obliged him to acknowledge the natural inability of man to contribute in any way towards the acquisition of salvation, and to trace both faith and conversion entirely to the grace of God. These views became thoroughly formed, and were completely developed, during the controversy with the Pelagians. The following are the leading outlines of the *doctrinal system of Augustine*. Originally man had been a free agent created in the image of God, capable of, and destined for, immortality, holiness, and blessedness; but also free to sin and to die. In the exercise of his freedom, he had to make a choice. If he had chosen to obey the Lord, the possibility that he might not sin, and hence not die, would have become an impossibility to sin or to die (the "*posse non peccare et mori*" a "*non posse peccare et mori*"). But by the wiles of the enemy he fell, and it became impossible for him not to sin and not to die ("*non posse non peccare*" and "*non mori*"). All the distinguishing features of the Divine image were now lost, and man was only capable of an external, civil righteousness (*justitia civilis*) and of *being redeemed*. But in Adam all mankind have sinned, since he constituted all mankind. By generation the nature of Adam, as it was *after* the fall, with its sin and guilt, with its death and condemnation—but also with its capability of redemption—has passed upon all his posterity. *Divine grace* avails itself of what remains of the image of God in man, which appears in his need and capability of redemption. But grace alone can save man, or give him eternal blessedness. Hence grace is absolutely necessary—it constitutes the commencement, the middle, and the close of the Christian life. It is imparted to man not *because* he believes, but in order *that* he may believe; for faith also is the work of God's grace. Grace, having first *awakened* a man through the *law* to a sense



of his sin and *desire* after salvation, next leads him by the *Gospel* to believe in the Saviour ("gratia præveniens"). Grace then procures pardon of sin by the appropriation of the merits of Christ through faith, and imparts to man the powers of a divine life by bringing him into living communion with Christ (in baptism). Our free-will towards that which is good being thus restored ("gratia operans"), henceforth manifests itself in a devoted life of holy love. But the old man, with his inclination towards sin, is not wholly destroyed even in those who are regenerated. In the contest between the new and the old man, believers are continuously aided by Divine grace ("gratia cooperans"). The last act of grace, which, however, is not accomplished in this life, consists in the entire removal of all sinful inclinations ("concupiscentia"), and in transformation into perfect likeness to Christ by the resurrection and eternal life ("non posse peccare" and "mori").—This thoroughly evangelical view of nature and of grace Augustine developed into the doctrine of an *absolute predestination*. Experience, he argued, showed that *all men* were not converted and saved. But as man could not in any way contribute to his conversion, this must ultimately be traced back, not to the conduct of man, but to an eternal and unconditional decree of God (decretum absolutum), according to which He had resolved, to the praise of His grace, to deliver some of the human family, which lay entirely under sentence of condemnation (the "massa perditionis"), and, to the praise of His justice, to leave the rest to the condemnation which they had deserved. This choice depended alone on the all-wise but secret good pleasure of the Divine will, and not upon our *faith*, which indeed was also a gift of God. It is indeed written: "God wills that *all men* should be saved," but this only means—"all who are predestinated." As the reprobate ("reprobati") are unable in any way to obtain grace, so the elect cannot resist it ("gratia irresistibilis"). Hence continuous perseverance in grace ("donum perseverantiæ") was the only sure evidence of election. Augustine held that even the best among the heathen could not be saved (although he thought that there were various degrees in their punishment), and that children who died *unbaptized* could not go to heaven. The apparent contradiction between this statement and his other assertion, "*contemptus, non defectus sacramenti damnatur*," was removed by an appeal to the eternal decree of God, who suffered not the elect to die without having received this sacrament.

3. PELAGIUS and HIS SYSTEM.—Far different from the inner history of Augustine was that of *Morgan* or *Pelagius*, a British monk of respectable acquirements and of moral earnestness, but without depth of mind or capacity for speculation. At a distance from the struggles and trials of life, having no experience of inward temptations, nor strong tendency to outward and manifest sins, destitute, moreover, of deeper Christian experience, his ideal of religion consisted in a kind of monastic asceticism. His dislike to the views



of Augustine about the total corruption of human nature, and its entire inability to contribute in any way towards conversion or sanctification, was increased by the knowledge that some careless persons had made them an excuse for carnal security and moral indolence. This circumstance confirmed him in the idea that it was much better to preach a moral law, the demands of which, as he thought, men were able to fulfil, provided they were in earnest about it. During his stay at Rome, about the year 410, he commenced to diffuse these views. The following are the *leading outlines of his system*. Man had originally been created liable to physical death; eternal, not physical, death was the consequence and the punishment of sin. The fall of Adam had not caused any change in the moral nature of man, nor did its influence extend to the posterity of Adam. Every man came into the world exactly as God had created our first father, *i.e.*, without either sin or virtue. In the exercise of his yet undiminished freedom, he was left to choose the one or the other. The universal prevalence of sin depended on the power of seduction, of evil example, and of custom; but perfectly sinless persons may, and indeed actually have existed. The grace of God made it *more easy* for man to attain his destiny. Hence grace was not *absolutely* but *relatively* necessary, on account of the general prevalence of sin. Grace consisted in spiritual enlightenment through revelation, in the forgiveness of sins as the manifestation of Divine indulgence, and in the strengthening of our moral powers by bringing the incentives of the law and the promise of eternal life to bear upon them. The grace of God was designed for all men; but man must deserve it by making sincere endeavours after virtue. Christ had become incarnate in order, by His perfect doctrine and example, to give us the most powerful incentive to amend our ways, and thus to redeem us. As by sin we *imitate* Adam, so ought we by virtue to imitate Christ. *Baptism* he held to be necessary (the baptism of *infants* “in remissionem futurorum peccatorum”). Infants who had died without this sacrament enjoyed an inferior degree of blessedness. The same inconsistent adherence to Church views appears in his admission of the received doctrines concerning revelation, miracles, prophecy, the Trinity, and the divinity of Christ. If Pelagius had carried his principles to all their legitimate consequences, he would no doubt have discarded from his system all that is supernatural.

4. THE PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY (412–431).—Since the year 409 *Pelagius* resided at *Rome*, where he made a convert of *Cœlestius*, a man of much greater talent and learning than himself. By their zeal for morality and asceticism the two gained high repute at Rome, and continued to diffuse their principles without let or hindrance. In 411 they went to *Carthage*, whence *Pelagius* passed into Palestine. *Cœlestius* remained at *Carthage*, and became a candidate for the office of presbyter. His errors were now for the first time discussed. *Paulinus*, a deacon from Milan, who happened to be at

Carthage, laid a formal accusation against him; and when he refused to recant, a provincial *synod*, held at Carthage in 412, excommunicated him. In the same year Augustine published his first controversial tractate: “De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum. Ll. III. ad Marcellinum.”—In PALESTINE, Pelagius joined the followers of Origen. *Hieronymus*, whom he had at any rate offended by a disparaging opinion of his literary labours, opposed his views, and declared them a logical sequence of the Origenistic heresy (Ep. ad Ctesiphontem—Dialog. c. Pelag. Ll. III.); and *Paulus Orosius*, a young presbyter from Spain, denounced him at a *synod held at Jerusalem* (415), under the presidency of *Johannes*, the bishop of that see. But the Eastern divines could not be convinced of the dangerous character of these views, which, besides, were somewhat disguised by their author. Another accusation laid by two Gallican bishops before the *Synod of Diospolis* (415), held under the presidency of *Eulogius*, Bishop of Cæsarea, ended in the same manner. Upon this, *Augustine* (“de gestis Pelagii”) showed to the divines of Palestine that they had been deceived by Pelagius. *Orosius* also published a controversial tractate (“*Apologeticus c. Pel.*”); while, on the other side, *Theodorus* of Mops. wrote five (now lost) letters (probably directed against Jerome). The Africans now took part in the controversy. Two synods—held at *Mileve* and at *Carthage* (416)—renewed the former condemnation of these doctrines, and laid their charges before *Innocent I.* of Rome, who approved of the conduct of the African Church. *Pelagius* now transmitted a confession, in which his views were carefully disguised, while *Cœlestius* appeared personally at Rome. But *Innocent* had died before his arrival (416). *Zosimus*, his successor—perhaps a Greek divine, at any rate an indifferent theologian—having been gained by *Cœlestius*, addressed bitter reproaches to the African Church, against which the latter energetically protested. Soon afterwards, however, the Emperor *Honorius* issued (in 418) a “*sacrum scriptum*” against the Pelagians, while a *General Synod*, held at *Carthage* in 418, condemned their views in even stronger terms than before. These circumstances induced *Zosimus* also to condemn them (“*epistola tractoria*”). Eighteen Italian bishops—among them *Julianus of Eclanum*, the ablest defender of Pelagianism—refused to sign this document, and were banished. They requested and obtained an asylum from *Nestorius*, Bishop of Constant. But this connection was fatal both to the bishop and his proteges. *Cœlestinus*, Bishop of Rome, took the part of the opponents of *Nestorius* in the controversy about the person of Christ (§ 82, 3); while the Eastern Church, at the ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS in 431, condemned, along with *Nestorius*, also *Pelagius* and *Cœlestius*, without, however, entering upon a definition of the doctrine in question. To this result the efforts of *Marius Mercator*, a learned layman from the West, who resided at Constantinople, had greatly contributed. He had composed two

"Commonitoria" against Pelagius and Cœlestius, and a controversial tractate against Julianus of Eclanum. Nor had Augustine been idle during the interval. In 413 he wrote "De spiritu et litera ad Marcellinum;" in 415, "De natura et gratia" against Pelagius, and "De perfectione justitiæ hominis" against Cœlestius; in 416, "De gestis Pelagii;" in 418, "De gratia Dei et de peccato originali Ll. II. c. Pelag. et Cœl.;" in 410, "De nuptiis et concupiscentia Ll. II." (in answer to the objection that his system cast contempt upon the Divine institution of marriage); in 420, "C. duas epistolas Pelagianorum ad Bonifacium I." (composed by Julianus and his friends in defence of their views); in 421, "Ll. VI. c. Julianum;" and somewhat later an "Opus imperfectum c. secundam Juliani responsionem."

5. THE SEMI-PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY (427-529).—Gross Pelagianism had been refuted, but extreme inferences from the principles of Augustine in reference to the doctrine of Predestination excited fresh discussions. The monks at *Hadrumentum*, in North Africa, had gone on evolving sequences from this doctrine, until some had fallen into perplexity and despair, some into security and unconcern, while others deemed it requisite to avoid these and other consequences by ascribing to human activity a certain amount of merit in the acquisition of salvation. Under these difficulties, the abbot of that monastery addressed himself to *Augustine*, who endeavoured to remove the scruples and mistakes of the monks in two tractates (a. 427): "De gratia et libero arbitrio" and "De correptione et gratia." But about the same time an entire school of divines in Southern Gaul protested against the doctrine of Predestination, and maintained the necessity of asserting that human freedom to a certain degree co-operated with Divine grace, so that sometimes the one, sometimes the other, initiated conversion. This school was headed by *Johannes Cassianus* (ob. 432), a pupil and friend of Chrysostom, and the founder and president of the monastery at Massilia. His adherents were called *Massilians* or *Semi-Pelagians*. Cassianus himself had, in the 13th of his "Collationes Patrum" (§ 78, 6), controverted the views of Augustine, without, however, naming that Father. The ablest of his pupils was *Vincentius Lirinensis* (from the monastery of Lirinum), who, in his "Commonitorium pro catholicæ fide antiquitate et universitate," laid down the principle, that Catholic doctrine consisted of all "quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum sit." Tried by this test, of course the teaching of Augustine was not Catholic. The second book of his tractate—which has been lost—controverted Augustinianism, and was, probably on that account, suppressed. *Hilarius* and *Prosper Aquitanicus*—two laymen in Gaul (§ 78, 8)—devoted adherents of Augustine, wrote to inform him of these proceedings. The Bishop of Hippo now composed two tractates against the Massilians ("De prædestinatione Sanctorum" and "De dono perseverantiæ"). Death put an end to further controversy on his part (430). But *Hilarius* and



*Prosper* took up the cause. When *Cælestinus*, Bishop of Rome, to whom they applied for redress (in 431), gave a reply in terms which might mean anything or nothing, *Prosper* himself entered the lists by an able tractate, "*De gratia Dei et libero arbitrio contra Collatorem*," in which, however, he involuntarily smoothed off the extreme points in the system of Augustine. This remark applies even in higher degree to the able work "*De vocatione gentium*," which perhaps was composed by *Leo the Great*, afterwards a pope, but at that time only a deacon. The other party (*Arnobius* the younger?) published a remarkable tractate, entitled "*Prædestinatus*," in which a supposed follower of Augustine expresses his views about predestination, carrying them to a most absurd length, of course in a manner never intended by the Bishop of Hippo. (Book I. gives a description of ninety heresies, of which Predestinarianism is the last; Book II. furnishes, by way of proof, this pretended tractate by a Predestinarian; and Book III. contains a refutation of it.) A Semi-Pelag. *synod*, which met at *Arles* in 475, obliged *Lucidus*, a presbyter and a zealous advocate of the doctrine of Predestination, to recant; and *Faustus*, Bishop of *Rhegium*, transmitted to him, in name of that Council, a controversial tractate, "*De gratia Dei et humanæ mentis libero arbitrio*." In the same year a *synod* held at *Lugdunum* (in 475) sanctioned Semi-Pelagianism. Although the tractate of *Faustus* was moderate, and, so to speak, intermediate between extreme views on both sides, it caused very great commotion among a community of Scythian monks at Constantinople (520). Through *Possessor*, Bishop of Carthage, they complained to *Hormisdas*, who, however, replied in general and indefinite terms. The African divines in Sardinia, whom the Vandals had banished from their sees, now took up the cause. They held a council in 523; and, in their name, *Fulgentius of Ruspe* composed a very able defence of Augustinian views ("*De veritate prædestinationis et gratiæ Dei* Ll. III."), which made an impression even in Gaul. At the same time, *Avitus of Vienne* and *Cæsarius of Arles*, two excellent Gallican bishops, undertook the advocacy of moderate Augustinianism. At the *Synod of Arausio* (Oranges), in 529, these views were generally acknowledged as orthodox truth. Augustine's principles about original sin, the entire worthlessness of all human works, and the absolute necessity of *grace*, were admitted to the fullest extent; faith was declared to be the effect of grace alone, while the predestination of the "reprobate" was defined as merely foreknowledge, and predestination to sin entirely rejected as blasphemous. A *synod* held at *Valence* (529) in the same year confirmed the decrees of *Oranges*, which also received the approbation of *Boniface II.* of Rome in 530.

## § 84. OLD AND NEW SECTS.

The *Montanists* (Tertullianists) and *Novatians* continued to exist till the fifth or sixth century. During the fifth century *Manichæism*



still counted numerous adherents both in Italy and in North Africa. Gnostic and Manichæan tendencies reappeared in Spain under the name of *Priscillianism*, and (towards the close of this period) in Armenia under that of *Paulicianism* (§ 101, 1).

1. MANICHÆISM.—The most prominent representative of this heresy in the West was *Faustus of Mileve*, an African, who composed a number of controversial tractates against Catholic doctrine. *Augustine*, who had at first been misled by him, wrote against him the 33 books “c. Faustum,” the most comprehensive of his numerous works against the Manichæans.—Since the reign of *Valentian I.*, the emperors frequently issued strict edicts, decreeing punishment upon the members of that sect. In Africa also they were persecuted by the Vandals. *Huneric* (since 477) transported whole shiploads of them to the continent of Europe. At the time of *Leo the Great* (ob. 461) the party numbered many adherents in Rome. On inquiry, it turned out that they held antinomian principles, and secretly indulged their lusts. But, notwithstanding the rigour employed against them, the sect had many secret adherents even during the middle ages.

2. PRISCILLIANISM (380–563). Comp. *J. II. B. Lübkert*, de hæresi Priscill. Han. 1840; *J. M. Mandernach*, Gesch. des Priscillianism. Trier 1851.—*Marcus*, an Egyptian, is said, in the fourth century, to have brought the germs of Gnostico-Manichæan views to Spain. *Priscillian*, a wealthy and educated layman, adopted these principles, and elaborated them into a dualistic system, in which the “emanation theory” occupied a prominent place. Marriage and the use of flesh were interdicted; but it is said that, under the guise of a strict asceticism, the sect secretly cherished antinomian views, and indulged in licentious orgies. At any rate, it sanctioned both lying and perjury, hypocrisy and dissimulation, for the purpose of spreading and protecting its principles.—Gradually Priscillianism extended over the whole of Spain, where even some of the bishops became converts to it. The glowing embers were fanned into a flame by the intemperate zeal of *Idacius*, Bishop of Emerida. A synod held at *Saragossa* in 380 excommunicated the sect, and commissioned *Ithacius*, Bishop of Sossuba, a very violent and also an immoral man, to carry its decrees into execution. The latter gained over *Maximus*, the usurper (the murderer of Gratian), who, to obtain their possessions, applied the torture to some of the sect, and caused Priscillian and some of his adherents to be beheaded at Treves (385). This was the first instance in which heretics were punished with death. *Martin*, the noble-minded Bishop of *Tours*, to whom the Emperor had promised to employ mild measures, hastened to Treves, and renounced communion with *Ithacius* and all those bishops who had consented to the sentence of death. *Ambrosius* also, and other bishops, expressed their disapprobation. Under these circumstances

Maximus adopted more moderate measures. But the glory of martyrdom heightened the enthusiasm of the sect, and their principles rapidly spread among the barbarians who, since 409, invaded Spain. In a "Commonitorium de errore Priscillianist." addressed to *Augustine* (in 415), *Paulus Orosius* earnestly implored the assistance of that Father; but other cares and controversies prevented him from energetically taking part in this discussion. Greater success attended the endeavours of *Leo the Great*, whose aid was invoked thirty years later by *Turribius*, Bishop of Astorga. In accordance with the instructions of that Pontiff, a "Concilium Hispanicum" in 447, and at a subsequent period, the *Council of Braga* in 563, adopted efficient measures for the suppression of this heresy. After that professed Priscillianism seems to have disappeared, but the principles of the sect continued in secret tradition for many centuries.

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## V. WORSHIP, LIFE, DISCIPLINE, AND MANNERS.

### § 85. WORSHIP.

No sooner had the exercise of Christian worship been sanctioned by law than it displayed great variety, richness, and beauty in its peculiar rites. But as yet doctrinal controversies absorbed public attention too much, to leave time or space for submitting ritual questions to the ordeal of discussion and examination. Hence the special manner of conducting public worship was in each case very much left to be regulated by the spirit of the times, and by national idiosyncrasies. Still, the common spiritual feeling which pervaded all branches of the Church gave to this ecclesiastical development a great uniform direction, and the differences which at first obtained gradually disappeared. Only, such were the national differences between the East and the West, that even the continual efforts made after catholic unity could not efface these characteristics from public worship.

The right relation between DOCTRINE and WORSHIP doubtless is, that the latter should be regulated and determined by the former. Such was the case at the commencement of this period. But afterwards the relationship was reversed; and the unevangelical views so generally entertained may, in no small measure, be traced to this aberration. The change took place principally during the time of

*Cyril of Alex.* It is quite natural that, when the principles of that school about the close interconnection between the Divine and the human prevailed, they should also have been embodied in public worship. But as yet these views were one-sided, and liable to be perverted into error. The labours of Leo and of Theodoret were indeed so far successful as to exclude from *Dogmatics* the *monophysite* element. But already it had struck its roots so deeply in public *worship*, that its presence was not even recognised, far less removed. During the following periods it gradually increased (in the worship of saints, of images, of relics—in pilgrimages, the sacrifice of the mass, etc.), and exercised the most pernicious influence on the development of the doctrines which, as yet, had not been accurately defined (for example, those about the Church, the priesthood, the sacraments, especially that of the Lord's Supper, etc.).

#### § 86. TIMES OF PUBLIC WORSHIP AND FESTIVALS.

COMP. *G. B. Eisenschmidt*, *Gesch. d. Sonn- und Festtage* (Hist. of the Lord's Day and of Feast Days). Leipz. 1793; *J. G. Müller*, *Gesch. d. christ. Feste*. Berl. 1843; *Fr. Strauss*, *d. evang. Kirchenjahr* (The Eccles. Year of Evang. Ch.). Berl. 1850; *E. Ranke*, *d. kirchl. Perikopensystem*. Berl. 1847.—*M. A. Nickel* (Rom. Cath.), *d. heil. Zeiten u. Feste in d. kath. K.* (Sacred Seasons and Fest. in the Cath. Ch.) Mayence 1836. 6 vols.

The idea of a twofold cycle in commemoration of the great facts of salvation—once *a week* and once *a year*—had been entertained even during the previous period (§ 53). But gradually the idea of this *weekly cycle* gave way before a richer and fuller development of that of the *Christian year*. From the first an essential difference prevailed in this respect between the East and the West; the former embodied rather the Jewish-Christian, the latter the Gentile-Christian tendency. But during the fourth century many of these divergences were removed, and the three great cycles of Christian festivals were celebrated in the same manner by both Churches. During the fifth and sixth centuries, however, the former differences again reappeared. The Eastern Church increasingly yielded to its early inclination for Jewish-Christian forms of worship; while the Western Church, in conformity with its Gentile-Christian tendency, adopted the natural year as a basis for the ecclesiastical. Hence the ecclesiastical year of the West obtained fuller organisation, and became more closely intertwined with popular life. But even in the West, the increasing tendency towards the worship of saints prevented the full carrying out of the idea of the Christian ecclesiastical year.



1. **THE WEEKLY CYCLE.** So early as the year 321 Constantine the Great enacted a law, that neither public business nor work of any kind should be done on the LORD'S DAY. Somewhat later he interdicted military exercises on that day. His successors extended this inhibition to public spectacles. Besides Sunday, the Jewish SABBATH also was, for a long time, observed in the East by meeting for worship, by the intermission of fasts, and by prayer in the standing posture; fasting was only allowed on the Sabbath of the Great Week. Wednesday and Friday, the "*dies stationum*," were kept in the East as fast days. In the West, the fast on Wednesdays was abrogated, and in its room that on the Jewish Sabbath introduced.

2. **HORÆ and QUATEMBER.** During the fifth century the number of fixed *hours for prayer* (the 3d, 6th, and 9th during the day, comp. Dan. vi. 11, 4; Acts ii. 15, iii. 1, x. 9) increased to eight (*horæ canonicæ*: Matutina at 3 o'clock in the morning, Prima at 6, Tertia at 9, Sexta at 12, Nona at 3, Vespers at 6, Completoria at 9, and Mesonyction or Vigils at 12). But in order to obtain the sacred number 7 (after Ps. cxix. 164), the two horæ of the night were generally combined into one. The horæ were, in all their strictness, observed only by monks and clerics.—In accordance with this arrangement of prayer, once every three hours, the year was divided in the West into terms of three months (*Quatember*), each marked by a fast. These periods were (according to Joel ii.) to be signalled by repentance, fasting, and almsgiving. The arrangement in question was completed by *Leo the Great* (ob. 461). The Quatembers fell at the commencement of Quadragesima, during the week after Pentecost, and in the middle of the seventh and of the tenth month (September and December). They were observed by a strict fast on the Wednesday, the Friday and the Saturday, and by a Sabbath vigil.

3. **THE CALCULATION OF EASTER.** The *Council of Nice* (325) decided in favour of the Roman mode of Easter observance, as opposed to that of Asia Minor (§ 53, 1). The adherents of the latter formed a separate sect (*Quartodecimani*). The Council decided that the first day of full moon after the spring equinox should be regarded as the 14th of Nisan, and that the Feast of the Resurrection should be celebrated on the Sunday following, yet so as to avoid that it should coincide with the Jewish Passover. The annual astronomical calculation of the feast was entrusted to the Bishop of Alexandria, in which city astronomical study was extensively cultivated. This prelate issued an annual circular (*liber paschalis*)—commonly at Epiphany—in which he intimated to the other churches, the result of his calculations and generally also took occasion to discuss some question that was mooted at the time. The Roman mode of calculation differed in some respects from that common in Alexandria. At Rome they calculated according to a cycle of 84, and not of 19 years; the 18th, and not the 21st of March, was regarded the day of the spring equinox; and if the full



moon happened on a Saturday, Easter was celebrated, not the day afterwards, but eight days after it. At last, in 525 *Dionysius Exiguus* brought about a permanent agreement between Rome and Alexandria in the celebration of Easter.

4. THE EASTER CYCLE OF FESTIVALS. With the commencement of *Quadragesima* the whole appearance of public life underwent a change. Public amusements were prohibited, criminal investigations arrested, and the noise of traffic in streets and markets ceased as far as possible. In the East, fasting was intermitted on Sundays and Saturdays; in the West, only on Sundays. On this account, *Gregory the Great* fixed the Wednesday of the seventh week before Easter as the commencement of *Quadragesima*. This day was called "*Caput jejunii*," and "*Dies cinerum*"—Ash Wednesday—from the practice of sprinkling ashes on the heads of the faithful, in remembrance of Gen. iii. 19. On the *Tuesday* before that fast, or *Carnival* (*Caro vale*), the people were wont, by extravagant festivities, to make up for the coming fasts. About the same time the Easter cycle was enlarged in the West, so as to embrace two additional weeks, and commenced on the ninth Sunday before Easter (*Septuagesima*). The Hallelujah of the mass then ceased, marriages were no more consecrated (*tempus clausum*), and monks and priests already commenced to fast. *Quadragesima* attained, as it were, its climax during the last or the so-called *Great Week*, which commenced on Palm Sunday, and closed with the *Great Sabbath*, the favourite time for administering baptism. The *Thursday* when the Lord's Supper had been instituted, and the *Friday* on which the Saviour had been crucified, were more particularly observed. Public worship celebrated during the night (*Easter vigil*) formed a transition from these fasts to the rejoicings at Easter. This solemnity was deepened by the prevalence of an old tradition, that Christ would again return during that night. The morning of Easter was ushered in with the joyful salutation, "The Lord is risen;" to which response was made, "Yea, truly He is risen." The festivities of Easter closed only on the following Sunday (*pascha clausum*). On that day those who had been baptized on the *Great Sabbath* wore for the last time their white garments. Hence this Sunday was called "*Dominica in albis*," or also "*Quasimodogeniti*," from the first words in 1 Pet. ii. 2—among the Greeks, *καὶνὴ κυριακὴ*. The rejoicings of Easter extended over the whole term of *Quinquagesima*, or the period between Easter and Pentecost. A solemn vigil preceded both *Ascension-day* and *Pentecost*, and the latter closed with a *Pentecost-octava* (celebrated by the Greeks as the *κυριακὴ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτυρησάντων*, and by the Latins—at a much later period—as the Feast of the Holy Trinity).—These festive "*Octave*" were kept in imitation of the "solemn assembly" at the Feast of Tabernacles, Lev. xxiii. 36.

5. THE CHRISTMAS CYCLE OF FESTIVALS. The first mention

of *Christmas* observance (*natalis Christi*) occurs in the Western Church about 360. Twenty or thirty years afterwards, it was also introduced in the East. We account for the late introduction of this festival by the circumstance that the ancient Church failed to set value on the day of Christ's birth, and placed it rather in the background as compared with the day of His death (§ 57). But Chrysostom already designates it as the *μητρόπολις πασῶν τῶν ἐορτῶν*. From the first, the 25th December was commonly regarded as the day on which Christ was born.<sup>1</sup> The Christian festival was fixed for that day, not on account of, but despite, the heathen *Saturnalia* (in remembrance of the Golden Age, from the 17th–24th December), the *Sigillaria* (on the 24th December, when children received presents of dolls and figures made of earthenware or wax—*sigilla*), and the *Brumalia* (on the 25th December, *dies natalis invicti solis*, the Feast of the Winter Solstice). At the same time it was regarded as far from an accidental concurrence that Christ, the Eternal Sun, had appeared on that day. Christmas commenced also with a *Vigil*, and terminated with an *Octava*, which during the sixth century became the “*festum circumcisionis*.” In contrast with the excesses of the heathen at the *New Year*, the ancient Church set this day apart for humiliation and fasting. The *Feast of Epiphany* was introduced in the West in the fourth century, when it obtained its peculiar Gentile-Christian import as a commemoration of the admission of Gentiles into the Church (Luke ii. 21). (Referring to Ps. lxxii. 10, Tertullian had represented the Magi as kings; the number *three* indicated threefold gifts. In 800 A.D. Beda gave their names: Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar.) In other places this feast was also supposed to commemorate the first miracle of Christ at the marriage in Cana.—Since the sixth century, the period preceding Christmas was observed as “*the Advent*.” In the Latin Church this season commenced on the fourth Sunday before Christmas; in the Greek, on the 14th November, and comprehended six Sundays and a fast of forty days—a practice which was also introduced in some of the Western churches.

6. The last festival—introduced at a late period—was THAT OF THE TRANSFIGURATION, which the Latin Church only adopted in the fifteenth century.—For *Saints' days*, and *feasts in honour of the Virgin*, comp. § 87.

7. THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR. In the EAST, the symbolical relation between the natural and the ecclesiastical year was ignored, except so far as implied in the attempt to give to the Jewish feasts a Christian adaptation. To some extent, indeed, Western ideas had been imported in reference to the great festivals, such as Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, but not in connection with the ordinary Sun and feast-days. At first the ecclesiastical year in the East commenced with Easter, afterwards with Quadragesima or with

<sup>1</sup> Comp. however *Gieseler* I. 2, p. 288.

Epiphany, and ultimately in September, as under the Old Dispensation. The year was divided into four parts, according to the "lectio continua" of the Gospels, and the Sundays obtained corresponding names. The *κυριακὴ πρώτη τοῦ Ματθαίου* took place immediately after Pentecost.—The LATIN ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR commenced in Advent, and was divided into a "Semestre Domini" and a "Semestre ecclesiæ." But the idea underlying this arrangement was only carried out in reference to the "Semestre Domini" (Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, with the Sundays which they included, indicating the commencement, the development, and the completion of the history of *redemption*). In reference to the "Semestre ecclesiæ," only the commencement of a symbolical arrangement was made. Thus the "*Feast of Peter and Paul*," on the 29th June, represented the foundation of the Church by the apostles; the feast of *Laurentius*, the martyr, on the 10th August, the contest awaiting the "Church militant;" and the *Feast of Michael* the archangel, on the 29th September, the complete success of the "Church triumphant." That these feasts were intended to form the basis of three cycles of festivals, we gather from the circumstance that the Sundays after Pentecost had been arranged as *Dominicæ post Apostolos, post Laurentii, post Angelos*. But the idea was not developed; the frequency of saints' days not only made this arrangement impossible, but rendered it even necessary to encroach on the "Semestre Domini." The principle of attempting to Christianise the worship of the heathen was authoritatively sanctioned by Gregory the Great, who in 601 instructed the Anglo-Saxon missionaries to transform the heathen temples into churches, and the pagan into saints' festivals or martyr-days, "*ut duræ mentes gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus eleventur*." Saints now took the places of the old gods, and the ecclesiastical was made in every respect to correspond with the natural year, only in a Christianised form.

#### § 87. THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS, OF RELICS, AND OF IMAGES.

Since persecutions, and with them martyrdom, had ceased, an extraordinary asceticism could alone entitle to the honours of canonisation. In awarding this distinction, popular opinion carried the day. Thus the number of saints increased every year; saints who had long been forgotten were discovered by means of visions, while, in the absence of historical reminiscences, tradition supplied names and facts in rich abundance. The more men felt the lukewarmness and worldliness of their own religious experience, as compared with the strength of faith displayed by the first witnesses for the truth, the higher did the *martyrs* rise in popular veneration. Altars and churches were erected over their graves (*memoriæ*),



or else their bones deposited in the churches (*translationes*). Newly erected churches were consecrated by their names, and persons called after them in baptism. The days of their martyrdom were observed as festivals, introduced by vigils, and celebrated by agapes and oblations at their graves. Ecclesiastical orators extolled them in enthusiastic language, and poets sung of them in their hymns. Nothing could equal the zeal with which their bones were searched out, or the enthusiasm with which men gazed on them, or pressed forward to touch them. Every province, nay, every town, had its tutelary saint (*Patronus*). In the East, the *Invocation of Saints* originated with the three great *Cappadocians*; in the West, with *Ambrosius*. These Fathers maintained that the saints participated in the omnipotence and omniscience of the Deity. *Augustine* alone held that the angels were the medium through which the saints learned the invocations of the devout. In the various liturgies, the former practice of praying FOR the saints was now converted into entreaty for their *intercession*. The common people regarded this worship as taking the place of that of heroes and of the Manes. But theological writers earnestly insisted on the distinction between “adoratio” and “invocatio,” λατρεία and δουλεία, of which the former was due to God alone. The *worship of Mary* arose at a period subsequent to that of the martyrs, and chiefly in connection with the Nestorian controversy. Soon, however, it acquired much greater importance than that of the saints. Faint traces of a *worship of angels* occur even in Justin and Origen; but this species of service was neglected for that of the saints. The *zeal for pilgrimages* was greatly quickened after the visit of the Empress-mother *Helena* (in 326) to the holy places in Palestine, where she erected splendid churches. Some of the most eminent Fathers, however, disapproved of these tendencies. The *worship of images* commenced only during the time of Cyril of Alexandria. It was specially cultivated in the East. Western divines—and even *Gregory the Great*—admitted pictures only for decoration, for popular instruction, and for quickening the devotional feelings. The worship of *relics*, on the other hand, spread more extensively in the West than in the East.

1. SAINTS' DAYS. So early as the fourth century, the octava of Pentecost was celebrated in the East as “the Festival of all the Martyrs” (§ 86, 4). In the West, *Pope Boniface IV.* instituted, in 610, a “*festum omnium Sanctorum*” for the Pantheon, which the Emperor *Phocas* had presented to the Holy See, and which



was transformed into a church of the most blessed Virgin and of all the martyrs. But this festival (on November 1st), was not generally observed till the ninth century. The large number of canonised saints rendered it possible to dedicate every day in the calendar to one or more saints. Generally, the anniversary of their death was selected for that purpose; in the case of *John the Baptist* alone an exception was made in favour of his birth-day (*natalis S. Joannis*). From its relation to Christmas (Luke i. 26), this festival was fixed for the 24th June; and the contrast of the season in which these two feasts occurred, reminded the Church even in this respect of John iii. 30. So early as the fifth century, the 29th August was also observed as a *festum decollationis S. Joannis*. The second day of Christmas was the Feast of *St Stephen*, the proto-martyr (the first-gathered fruit of the Incarnation); the *third* day was devoted to the memory of the disciple whom Jesus loved; the *fourth*, to that of the infants at Bethlehem (*festum innocentum*), as the “flores” or “*primitiæ martyrum*.” The Feast of the *Maccabees*—in commemoration of the woman and her seven sons who suffered under Antiochus Epiphanes—was already celebrated in the fourth, and only discontinued in the thirteenth century. Among the festivals in honour of the apostles, that “*of Peter and Paul*”—in memory of their martyrdom at Rome (29th June)—was generally observed. Besides this, two other “*festæ cathedræ Petri*” were observed at Rome—one on the 18th January, in commemoration of Peter’s accession to the “*Cathedra Romana*,” the other on the 22d February, in remembrance of his occupation of the “*Cathedra Antiochena*.” For some time the saints’ days were so arranged that those devoted to the patriarchs were fixed before Christmas, those of later saints of the Old Testament dispensation during Quadragesima, those of the apostles and first preachers after Pentecost; then followed the martyrs, after them the later confessors, and, lastly, the “*Virgines*,” as the type of the Church in a state of perfection.

2. THE WORSHIP OF MARY. The Virgin, “blessed among women,” and who by the Holy Spirit had predicted: “From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed,” was from the first regarded as the highest ideal of maidenhood. Hence the veneration which the early Church paid to virginity, centred in that of her person. Side by side with the contrast between Adam and Christ, Tertullian placed that between Eve and Mary. In the fourth century, the “*perpetua virginitas b. Mariæ*” was already an article of faith. *Ambrosius* applied Ezek. xlv. 2 to her, and spoke of her having given birth “*utero clauso*;” while the second Trullan Council (692) declared ἀλόχευτον τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου θεῖον τόκον εἶναι. If *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Basilus*, and *Chrysostom* had still found cause of exception in her, *Augustine* no longer numbered her among sinners: “*Unde enim scimus, quid ei plus gratiæ*

collatum fuerit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum?" But for a considerable period no further progress was made towards actual worship of the Virgin. This was partly due to the circumstance, that she had not shared the glory of martyrdom, and partly to the idolatrous and heathenish worship paid her by the *Collyridians*—a female sect in Arabia dating from the fourth century—who offered to her bread-cakes (in imitation of the heathen worship of Ceres). *Epiphanius*, who opposed that sect, maintained: τὴν δὲ Μαρίαν οὐδεὶς προσκυνεῖσθω, οὔτε ἄγγελοι χάρουσι δοξολογίαν τοιαύτην. On the *Antidicomarianites*, comp. § 92. But during the Nestorian controversy Mariolatry became again more general in the Church. In the fifth century, the 25th March was celebrated as the *Feast of the Annunciation*. In the West, the *Feast of Purification* (according to Luke ii. 22) was observed on the 2d February. It was also called *Feast of Candlemas*, from the solemn offering of candles then made. When, in 542, the empire was visited with earthquakes and pestilence, Justinian instituted the "festum occursus," with special reference to the meeting with Simeon and Anna (Luke ii. 25). From a desire to have a series of feasts in honour of the Virgin corresponding to those in commemoration of Christ, the Feast "of the *Ascension of Mary*" was introduced at the close of the sixth, and during the seventh century that of the *Birth of Mary*. These festivals were celebrated on the 15th August and the 8th September. The former was founded on a legend—first broached by Gregory of Tours, *ob.* 595—to the effect that, immediately on her decease, angels had raised the "Mother of God," and carried her to heaven.

3. THE WORSHIP OF ANGELS. So early as the second century, the idea of tutelary angels for nations, towns, and individuals occurs, based on Deut. xxxii. 8 (according to the version of the LXX.); Dan. x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1; Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15. *Ambrosius* already insisted on the invocation of angels. But when the Phrygian sect of "*Angelici*" carried this practice to idolatrous adoration of angels, the Council of Laodicea (in the fourth century) condemned their views, and *Epiphanius* numbered the sect among heretics. Pretended apparitions of *Michael* the archangel led, in the fifth century, to the institution of the "*Feast of Michael*"—on the 29th September—which was celebrated in honour of all the angels, and designed to express the idea of the Church triumphant.

4. THE WORSHIP OF IMAGES (comp. § 57, 1). The dislike and the jealousy of art which characterised the early Church had not wholly disappeared even in the fourth century. *Eusebius of Caesarea* speaks of a statue at Paneas (§ 27, 2), and other representations of Christ and of the apostles, as an ἐθνικὴ συνηθεία. He seriously reproved *Constantia*, the Emperor's sister, for expressing a desire to possess a likeness of Christ, and called her attention to the second

commandment. *Asterius*, Bishop of Amasa in Pontus (*ob.* 410), censured the custom of rich persons wearing on their dresses sewed pictures representing events in Gospel history, and recommended such persons rather to bear Christ in their hearts. *Epiphanius*, in his zeal, tore in pieces a painted curtain that hung in a village church in Palestine, and suggested that the body of a poor person should be wrapt in it. But gradually the Grecian love of art and the popular feeling carried the victory over legal rigorism and abstract spiritualism. In this respect also the age of Cyril became the period of transition. Already in the fifth century, miracles were said to be performed by certain pictures of Christ, of the apostles, and of "the Mother of God." This gave rise to a real worship of images, by lighting before them tapers, kissing them, bowing, prostration, burning incense before them, etc. Soon every church and church-book, every palace and cottage, was filled with pictures of Christ and of saints, commonly drawn by monks. Countless miracles occurred in connection with them. This delusion, however, spread not so rapidly in the West as in the East. Thus *Augustine* complained of the worship of images, and insisted that Christ should be sought in the Bible, and not in images; and although *Gregory the Great* reproved the iconoclastic zeal of *Serenus*, Bishop of Massilia, himself would tolerate pictures in churches "ad instruendas solummodo mentes nescientium." The Nestorians, who were entirely opposed to the use of pictures, denounced Cyril as the originator of this new idolatry.

5. THE WORSHIP OF RELICS. The worship of relics originated partly in a natural feeling of loving veneration towards moral heroes, partly in the honours which the early Church was wont to pay the martyrs. The religious services celebrated on the graves of martyrs, the erection of memorials to them, and the depositing of their bones in churches, may be regarded as the commencement of this practice. By and by no altar or church was reared that possessed not its own relic. Gradually, as the small number of known martyrs no longer sufficed to supply the increasing number of churches with relics, their bones were distributed. Places where relics hitherto unknown lay, were miraculously pointed out in dreams and visions. The catacombs now became mines of relics, of which the genuineness was proved by signs and wonders. So early as 386, *Theodosius I.* was obliged to interdict the traffic in relics. Among them were reckoned not only bones, but garments, utensils, and especially the instruments with which the martyrs had been tortured. Their application restored the sick, exorcised devils, raised the dead, averted the plague, detected crimes, etc. The persons thus benefited were in the habit of expressing their gratitude by setting up commemorative tablets, or offering silver and gold casts of the diseased member which had been miraculously healed. In defence of this species of veneration, some appealed to 2 Kings



xiii. 21; Sir. xlv. 14; Acts xix. 12.—According to a legend—which was generally credited in the fifth century—*Helena* had, in 326, discovered the true *cross of Christ*, as well as those of the two malefactors. This story was first attested by Ambrosius, Rufinus, and Chrysostom; Eusebius and the Bordeaux pilgrim of the year 333 know nothing of it. The true cross was recognised from the others through a miraculous cure (raising of the dead) performed by means of it. The devout Empress presented one half of the cross to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and sent the other half along with the nails to her son, who inserted the wood in a statue of his own, and set the nails in his diadem and in the reins of his horse. Pious pilgrims were allowed to carry with them splinters of that portion of the wood which was left at Jerusalem, and thus *particles of the true cross* were carried into and worshipped in all lands. At a comparatively late period, it was said that, in honour of the *discovery of the cross*, a *σταυρώσιμος ἡμέρα* had been celebrated (on the 14th September) in the East so early as the fourth century. From the time of *Gregory the Great*, a *festum inventionis S. Crucis* was kept throughout the West on the 3d May. The *Feast of the Elevation of the Cross* was instituted by the Emperor *Heraclius* (14th Sept.) to commemorate the defeat of the Persians, who were obliged to restore the holy cross (629), which they had taken away. This festival was also introduced in the West.

6. PILGRIMAGES. These also originated in a natural desire to visit sacred localities. Many were eager to follow the example set them by *Helena* in 326. Even the conquest of Palestine by the Saracens in the seventh century could not arrest the zeal of pilgrims. Not only the sacred localities in Palestine, but Mount Sinai, the tombs of Peter and Paul at Rome (*limina Apostolorum*), the grave of St Martin of Tours (*ob.* 397), and even the place where Job, the type of Christ, had suffered (in Arabia), were favourite places of pilgrimage.—This rage for pilgrimages, especially on the part of monks and of women, was most strenuously opposed by *Gregory of Nyssa*, who, in a letter on the subject, in the strongest language indicated the danger accruing both to genuine religion and to morality from this practice. Even *Jerome* moralised: “*Et de Hierosolymis et de Britannia æqualiter patet aula cœlestis.*” *Chrysostom* and *Augustine* also objected to the excessive merit attached to such acts of devotion.

## § 88. ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

The Church had not at this period definitely settled either the number or the import of the *Sacraments* (*μυστήρια*). The term was indiscriminately applied both to the doctrines of salvation in so far as they transcended the intellect of man, and to those rites of worship through which, in a manner incomprehensible, believers par-



took in and appropriated redemption. From the first, it was generally admitted that *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper* were the principal sacramental means of grace. But so early as the third century, anointing and laying on of hands was distinguished from baptism, regarded as a special sacrament—that of *Confirmation* (χρίσμα)—and in the West administered separately from the initiatory Christian rite (§ 54). The idea of a special order of Christian priesthood as of Divine institution (§ 51), led theologians to regard *Ordination* as a sacrament (§ 70, 3). When the Pelagians charged *Augustine* that his views of original sin and of concupiscence implied that the Divine ordinance of marriage was in itself sinful, he rejoined by characterising the *ecclesiastical solemnisation of marriage* (§ 91, 2) as a sacrament, appealing in proof to Eph. v. 32. Thus marriage was represented as nature sanctified by grace. The *Pseudo-Dionysius* enumerated (in the sixth cent.) six sacraments, viz.: Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, the Anointing of priests, that of monks, and that of the dead (τῶν κεκοιμημένων). As to *extreme unction*, comp. § 91, 3.

1. THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM. During this period it was still common to delay baptism, either from indifference, from superstition, or from doctrinal prejudices. These motives also operated against the practice of *infant-baptism*, which had long been recognised, not only as lawful, but as necessary. *Gregory* of Nyssa wrote: “Πρὸς τοὺς βραδύνοντας εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα;”—the other Fathers equally opposed this abuse. In accordance with the view of *Tertullian*, baptized laymen, but not women, were allowed to administer baptism in case of *extreme necessity* (in periculo mortis). The practice of having *God-parents* became general; and the Code of Justinian treated this relationship as a spiritual affinity, and an impediment to marriage. The following were the ceremonies common at baptism. The catechumens, who had kept their heads *veiled*, *unveiled* them on the day of baptism—the former to shut out any object that might distract, and also to symbolise spiritual self-retirement. *Exorcism* was pronounced over the candidates for baptism; next, the officiating priest *breathed* on them (John xx. 22), touched their ears, saying: *Ephphata!* (Mark vii. 34), and made the *sign of the cross* on their forehead and breast. In Africa *salt* (Mark ix. 50) was given them; in Italy a piece of money, as symbol of the talent of baptismal grace (Luke xix. 12, etc.). The assumption in baptism of a new name indicated entrance into a new life. The person baptized *renounced* the devil, turning at the same time toward the west, and saying: Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾶ καὶ πασῇ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου, and again to the east, with the words: Συντάσσομαι σοι Χριστέ. The practice of sprinkling was confined to the “bap-

tismus Clinicorum." The person baptized was three times *immersed*; in the Spanish Church only once, to mark even in this their antagonism to Arian views.

2. Hitherto the DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER (comp. § 55) had not been discussed in synods, and the views of individual Fathers on the subject were exceedingly vague and undetermined. All of them spoke of it as of a very sacred and awful mystery, and felt convinced that the elements of bread and wine became, in a supernatural manner, connected with the body and blood of Christ. Some regarded this connection as *spiritual*, and in the light of a *dynamic* influence; others viewed it in a *realistic* manner, and as an actual communication of these substances to the elements; but most theologians had not fully decided either for one or other of these views. Almost all described the miracle which took place in this sacrament as a μεταβολή, transfiguration—an expression, however, which they also employed in connection with the baptismal water and the anointing oil. The school of Origen—especially *Eusebius* of Cæsarea and the *Pseudo-Dionysius*, also *Athanasius* and *Gregory Nazianzen*, though in a less decided manner—adopted the spiritualistic view. In the West, it was advocated by *Augustine* and his school, and even by *Leo the Great*. The principles of Augustine on Predestination led almost of necessity to this, since only believers, *i.e.*, the elect, could partake of this heavenly food. Not unfrequently, however, that Father also made use of language which savours of the opposite view. Among the advocates of the realistic interpretation, some took the *dyophysite* (consubstantiation), others the *monophysite* (transubstantiation) view of the sacrament. The former, first broached by *Irenæus* (§ 56, 3), occurs (with a tendency towards transubstantiation, more or less decided) in the writings of *Cyril of Jerus.*, of *Chrysostom*, of *Hilarius of Pict.*, and of *Ambrosius*. Cyril designates the bread and wine as ούσσωμος καὶ σύναιμος, and as χριστόφοροι. The view of *Gregory of Nyssa* was somewhat peculiar. He held, that as during the terrestrial life of Christ food and drink, by assimilation, became the substance of His body, so the bread and wine were, by an act of Divine Omnipotence, in the consecration, changed into the *glorified* corporeity of Christ, which became assimilated with our body when we partook of the Lord's Supper. The divergences on this question appeared more distinctly after the Nestorian Controversy, although *Theodoret* and *Pope Gelasius* (ob. 496) were the only theologians who fully applied their general dyophysite views in reference to this sacrament. The former says: μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, and the latter: Esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. . . Hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum (in regard to the Person of Christ), quod in ejus imagine (as to the Lord's Supper) profitemur. But, in all probability, the mass of the people had long before learned to regard this μεταβολή as a genuine change of sub-

stance. The popular view next passed into the prayer-books. We find it in the Gallican and Syrian liturgies of the fifth century, in language which cannot be misunderstood. Even after the Council of Chalcedon had sanctioned dyophysite views as orthodox, the tendency to resolve the human in Christ into the Divine still continued; and towards the close of this period the doctrine of transubstantiation was generally entertained.

3. THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. Comp. § 55, 4. Even during the fourth century the body of Christ presented by consecration in the Lord's Supper, had been designated a sacrifice, though only in the sense of being a representation of the one sacrifice of Christ. But gradually this view of a sacramental feast in remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ gave place to that which made the Eucharist an unbloody, but real *repetition* of this sacrifice. The change in question was much promoted by the ancient custom of connecting with this sacrament intercession for the living and the dead, and *more especially* by that of celebrating the memory of the latter by oblations and partaking of the Lord's Supper, in order thus to express that communion in the Lord lasted beyond death and the grave (§ 57). Such *intercessions* would naturally appear much more powerful, if the sacrifice of Christ, which alone could give them efficacy, was on every such occasion really repeated and re-enacted. Other causes also contributed to this result. Among them we reckon the rhetorical figures and the language of preachers, who applied to the representation terms which really characterised the one sacrifice of Christ alone; the notion about a regular priesthood, which soon led to that of sacrifices; the spread of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the tendency to regard the sacrament as of magical efficacy. The idea that the Lord's Supper was a sacrifice became completely established after the introduction of the doctrine of PURGATORY as a place of punishment—before the resurrection—where venial sins, which had not been atoned for during life, might be expiated. This doctrine, which was not received in the East, was first propounded by *Augustine*, although not without some misgivings, and without any reference to the sacrifice of the Eucharist. But *Cæsarius of Arles* and *Gregory the Great* carried it to all its consequences. The “*oblaciones pro defunctis*,” which had long been in use, now assumed the character of “*masses for their souls* ;” the object being no longer that the living should partake of the body and blood of Christ, and thereby indicate their communion with the departed, but that the atoning sacrifice should be repeated for the spiritual benefit of the deceased—*i. e.*, in order that the sufferings of purgatory might thereby be alleviated and abridged. Similarly, men had also recourse to the atoning efficacy of the eucharistic sacrifice for the removal of earthly ills, sufferings, and accidents, in so far as these were regarded as punishments of sin. For these purposes, it was deemed sufficient if the



sacrificing priest alone partook of the Eucharist (*missæ solitariae*, *private masses*). At last the flock ceased to partake of the communion at ordinary diets of worship, and only joined in it at certain festivals.

4. THE DISPENSATION OF THE SUPPER. After the general introduction of infant-baptism, the strict distinction between the “*missa catechumenorum*” and the “*missa fidelium*” (§ 55, 1) ceased. In the Eastern and North African branches of the Church, *Infant-Communion* remained in use; in the West it was interdicted, in accordance with 1 Cor. xi. 28, 29. The “*communio sub una*” (scil. specie) was regarded as Manichæan heresy. In Northern Africa it was in exceptional cases allowed in the case of children, because a little girl had, from dislike to wine, on one occasion spit it out. So early as the sixth century, the communion was taken only once a year in the East; but in the West the Councils insisted, even in the fifth century, that it should be taken every Lord’s day, and that those who failed to partake of it at least on the three great festivals should be excommunicated. The *elements* were still prepared and offered by the members of the Church,—the bread being that in common use, hence generally *leavened*. This practice continued in the East; it was otherwise in the West, where unleavened bread was used in the Eucharist. The *colour of the wine* was regarded as matter of indifference; at a later period white wine was preferred, because the red left some colouring matter in the cup. It was, however, deemed necessary to mix the wine with water, either in allusion to John xix. 34, or to the two natures in Christ. Only the Armenian Monophysites used undiluted wine. The bread was broken. It was a common practice in the East to carry to the sick bread dipped in wine, instead of bringing the elements separately. At a later period, in churches also both elements were given together in a spoon. The consecrated elements were called *Eulogia*, in allusion to 1 Cor. x. 16. What of the elements remained unused was distributed among the clergy. At a later period, only so much as was requisite for the communion was consecrated, and what of the oblations had been left, without being consecrated, was blessed and divided among the communicants (*ἀντίδορα*). The old practice of sending consecrated elements to distant churches or bishops, in token of church communion, was in the fourth century interdicted by the Council of Laodicea.

#### § 89. ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

In public worship it was prohibited to READ from any non-canonical book (§ 56). Until the fifth century, the common practice was to read continuously through the Bible (*lectio continua*). In the Latin Church it was customary always to read two portions of Scripture



—one from the Gospels, the other from the Apostles or Prophets. The Apostolical Constit. prescribed three portions (Proph., Apost., Evang.); similarly the Gallican and the Spanish Church; the Syrian four (Praxapostolus, etc.). As the idea of an ecclesiastical year was developed, the *lectio continua* gave place to a *lectio propria*—i. e., to a selection of *Lessons* adapted to each festival. These selections were in the West called *Lectionaria*. Among them, that termed “*Comes*,” or “*Liber comitis*” (of which tradition assigned the arrangement to Jerome), was, after some modification and enlargement, generally adopted throughout the West. In the East, where the *lectio continua* remained much longer in use, the *lectionaria* were only introduced during the eighth century. Commonly the *Lector* read from the desk; but the *Gospel* was, by way of distinction, frequently read by the deacon. From similar motives, candles were often lit at that part of the service.—The text of the SERMON was generally taken from the section of the Bible that had been read. Preaching was considered the special work of the bishop, who might, however, devolve it upon a presbyter or a deacon. Monks were only allowed to preach in the streets, in market-places, or from the tops of roofs, columns, or trees. The bishop delivered the sermon from his episcopal *ῥόνος*; frequently, however, he stood at the end of the chancel, in order to make himself better heard. Augustine and Chrysostom, for this purpose, generally preached from the reading-desk. In the East, where the sermon often lasted for hours, and the preacher strained after theatrical effect, great prominence was given to the homiletic part of worship. The practice of expressing *approbation*—especially in Greece—by waving of handkerchiefs and clapping of hands, must have proved very disturbing. In the West, the sermon consisted commonly of a brief and unadorned address, which popular preachers delivered *ex-tempore*. The practice of reading sermons was of very rare occurrence; even the reciting of a discourse committed to memory was not popular. After the example of Constantine, his successors in the empire not unfrequently delivered sermons, although not in the churches.—The service of SONG consisted mainly of psalms, hymns, and doxologies. The Gnostics (§ 49, 9), Arians (§ 80, 1), Apollinarians, and Donatists, often succeeded in spreading their opinions by means of hymns. To meet these insidious attacks, the Church felt it desirable to introduce orthodox instead of these heretical productions. The *Council of Laodicea* (360) indeed interdicted the use of *ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί* in churches, probably to prevent

the spread of heterodox compositions. But this prohibition was not obeyed in the West; and when the *rivalry* of the Arians at Constantinople obliged Chrysostom to allow processions at night, he introduced hymns in these services. The practice of going in PROCESSIONS commenced at an earlier period than that of Chrysostom, and was first introduced at funerals and marriages. Since the fourth century processions were also held at the installation of bishops or of relics, at feasts of thanksgiving, and especially during seasons of public danger or calamity. Through the influence of *Mamertus*, Bishop of Vienne (450), and *Gregory the Great*, processions became a regular ceremony which recurred at stated times, when the Gospels, costly crucifixes and banners, torches and burning candles, relics, pictures of the Virgin and of saints, were carried about, and psalms or hymns sung. The religious services on these occasions were called *Litanies*. They consisted of prayers, and of the invocation of saints and angels, to which the people made response, “*Ora pro nobis!*”

1. USE OF THE SCRIPTURES. The doubts formerly entertained about the authenticity of certain portions of the New Testament (§ 56, 2) gradually ceased. The *Council of Laodicea* omitted from the CANON only the Book of Revelation, manifestly from its dislike to and dread of Millenarianism (§ 62, 8). The *Council of Hippo* (393) settled the canon, which has since been received, including the Old Testament Apocrypha in it.—The inconvenient practice of “*Scriptio continua*,” hitherto common in the copies of the Bible, was abolished by *Euthalius*, a deacon of Alexandria, who introduced a new plan, according to which every line contained only so much as could—without, of course, interfering with the sense—be read without a pause. An attempt, previously made, to arrange the various books into chapters had, however, failed to produce uniformity.—At the request of *Damasus*, Bishop of Rome, *Hieronymus* emendated the corrupted text of the “*Itala*” (§ 56, 3), and then prepared a Latin TRANSLATION from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which, along with the emendated version of the New Testament, was generally adopted by the Western Church, and bears the name of the *Vulgata*. *Philoxenus*, a monophysite bishop, translated (in 508) the New Testament for the use of the Syrian churches; but his version followed in too slavish a manner the letter of the original. The Fathers, more especially Chrysostom, insisted that the laity should diligently PERUSE THE SCRIPTURES. Still the belief spread, that study of the Bible was mainly the business of the clergy and of monks. The *second Trull. Council* (692) denounced severe punishments against all who presumed to interpret the Scriptures otherwise than the Fathers had done.

2. **HYMNOLOGY.** To supplant the hymns of Harmonius and Bardesanes, the Syrian Gnostics, which had in so many cases served to promote error, Ephraëm Syrus (*ob.* 378) composed a number of orthodox hymns, which soon became very popular. He, *Isaac the Great* (in the fifth cent.), and *Jacob of Sarug* (in the sixth cent.), were the three most celebrated ecclesiastical poets of the Syrian Church. Their compositions were allowed to be used in public worship. *Gregory of Nazianzus*, and *Synesius* of Ptolemais, wrote orthodox hymns in the *Greek* language; but the interdict of the Council of Laodicea prevented their introduction into public worship. But the most effective hymns were those composed by members of the *Latin* Church. With *Hilarius* of Pictavium (*ob.* 368) commenced a series of religious poets (embracing *Ambrosius*, *Augustinus Cœlius Sedulius* from Ireland, *Ennodius*, Bishop of Pavia, *Prudentius*, a Spaniard, *Fortunatus* of Pictavium, *Gregory the Great*), who have left a number of hymns, remarkable alike for their beauty, their depth and devoutness, their power and simplicity. Comp. *H. A. Daniel* thes. hymnolog. 4 vols. Halle 1841, etc. *F. J. Mone*, lat. Hymnen. Freib. 1853.

3. **PSALMODY AND HYMNODY.** The former practice of congregational psalm-singing (in *symphony*) gradually ceased, when regular clerical "Cantores" (§ 51, 1) began to be employed. Indeed, the Council of Laodicea prohibited it entirely, although their ordinance failed to secure general obedience. The practice of *antiphonous* or alternate singing was much in vogue. Notwithstanding the increasing attempts of the clergy to exclude the people from participating in the services of the Church, the laity continued for a long time the practice of *hypophonous* chants, which consisted of *responses* to the intonation, the reading, and the prayers of the clergy, and of the so-called *Acroteleutia*, or responses to the psalms sung by the clergy. The practice of chanting the prayers, lessons, and consecrations, dates from the sixth century. The earliest church-music was simple and inartificial. But the rivalry of heretics obliged the Church to pay greater attention to the requirements of art. *Chrysostom* already inveighed against the secular and theatrical melodies introduced in churches. The practice of *instrumental accompaniment* was longer and more tenaciously resisted, and even singing in parts was not allowed at that period. The Western Church bestowed great attention on the cultivation of psalmody. *Sylvester*, Bishop of Rome, instituted in 330 a school for the training of professional church-musicians. *Ambrosius* of Milan introduced a new kind of psalmody (*Cantus Ambrosianus*), which, for melody, modulation, aptness, and simplicity, far surpassed any that had formerly been known. *Augustine* speaks in enthusiastic terms of the impression which it had made upon him, but at the same time expresses a fear lest the sweetness of the music should captivate the senses, and weaken the influence of the word on the mind. His



apprehension proved well-grounded; and in the sixth cent. the "Cantus Ambrosianus" had almost entirely lost its ecclesiastical character. Under these circumstances, *Gregory the Great* introduced a new style of church music (the *Cantus Romanus*, firmus, choralis), for which he devised a special kind of notation called *neumæ* (either from *πνεῦμα* to indicate the tone, or from *νεῦμα* to designate the notation of tones),—a curious compound of points, strokes, and little hooks. The Gregorian music was symphonious, slow, and measured, without rhythm or time. While in this respect it resembled the church music anciently in use, the greater art which it displayed, and the richer modulations it contained, indicate also considerable progress. Although destitute of the liveliness and freshness characteristic of the Ambrosian, it introduced in its place a style more solemn and dignified, and better adapted for worship. It was a more serious objection that the Gregorian music could only be performed by a well-trained clerical choir (hence *cantus choralis*), for whose instruction *Gregory* accordingly founded a great *Singing School at Rome*. Thus the people were deprived of the part they had formerly taken in the public services of the Church. Comp. *J. N. Forkel*, allg. Gesch. d. Musik. 2 vols. Leipz. 1790. *R. G. Kieseewetter*, Gesch. d. abendl. Musik. Leipz. 1834. *Fr. Brendel*, Gesch. d. Musik in Ital., Deutschl. und Frankr. Leipz. 1855. *J. E. Häuser*, Gesch. d. chr. Kirchengesangs (Hist. of Chr. Ch. Mus.). Quedl. 1834. *Dr Burney*, Hist. of Music; *D. Antony*, Arch. Lehrb. d. Greg. K. Ges. Münster 1829.

4. THE LITURGY. All the numerous liturgies which appeared since the fourth cent. were framed after the common type of the liturgy in the Apostolical Constitutions (§ 55, 1). The following are the principal orthodox liturgies of that period:—1. That of *Jerusalem*, ascribed to the Apostle James; 2. That of *Alexandria*, assigned to the Apostle Mark (§ 29); 3. That of *Byzantium*, framed by S. Basilus, and condensed and recast by Chrysostom, which by and by was generally adopted in the orthodox churches of the East. The following are the oldest and principal liturgies used in the West:—1. The *Gallican Masses*, dating from the fifth cent. (edit. by Mone, Frkf. 1850); 2. The *Milan Liturgy*, ascribed to Barnabas, but probably introduced by Ambrosius; 3. That of *Rome*, or of S. Peter, elaborated successively by Popes *Leo the Great* (ob. 461), *Gelasius I.* (ob. 496), and *Gregory the Gr.* (ob. 604), which was gradually introduced throughout the West. It consisted of the *Sacramentarium* (or mass-prayers), the *Antiphonarium* (or hymn-book), the *Lectiionarium*, and the "*Ordo Romanus*" (or Directions for the Celebration of the Mass). These were, at a later period, combined together in the *Missale Romanum*.—In the *Greek Liturgy*, vespers, matins, and the principal worship of the day, were intended to form three parts of a great religious drama, representing the entire course of the history of redemption, from the creation to the ascension of the



Lord. The principal events of this history were also symbolised by the lighting and extinguishing of tapers, by locking and opening the doors of the sanctuary, by burning incense and by other oblations, by the successive putting on of the various priestly robes, by processions and gestures of the clergy, by certain rites in connection with the sacramental elements, etc. The *text* of the liturgy (the intonations, responses, prayers, reading, singing), which accompanied these ceremonies, was considered of secondary importance, and only formed a running commentary to the great drama enacted.—The liturgy of the *Latin Church*, on the other hand, was more *dogmatic* than *dramatic* in its character. It was intended rather to exhibit how the sinner shared in the benefits of salvation, than objectively to present the story of grace. Conscious of his guilt and need, the sinner approached the altar of the Lord, where he sought and found consolation and instruction, pardon and grace. Hence, in the Latin Liturgy, the *text* constituted the main part of the service; the symbolical part being entirely subordinate, and only designed to afford an outward representation of the truths conveyed. The liturgy consisted of certain fixed portions which recurred whenever mass was celebrated, and of others which were adapted to the calendar and to the peculiar character of each festival. The most important, indeed the central part in the liturgy, was the *Canon of the Mass*, which consisted of the formulas employed in the consecration of the Eucharist, and of the sacrificial prayers connected with it.—Among liturgical monuments, considerable interest attaches to the so-called *Diptycha* (from *δίς* and *πτύσσω*, bis plicare), or writing tablets covered with wax. They were a kind of official registers containing the names of those persons who were to be objects of special liturgical intercession. They were divided into *δίπτυχα ἐπισκόπων*, which contained the names of the foreign bishops with whom church fellowship was maintained; *δίπτυχα ζώντων*, or registers of the members of a particular church, and of those who made offerings; and lastly, *δίπτ. νεκρῶν*.

5. SYMBOLICAL RITES. During the whole of this period it was still the custom to give the *brotherly kiss*. When entering the church, it was the practice to kiss the door or the threshold; before reading the liturgy, the priest kissed the altar, similarly the lector the gospel. Relics and images were also kissed. When making confession of sin, it was customary to strike one's breast. Every ecclesiastical rite was accompanied by the *sign of the cross*, which was also frequently made at home on any solemn occasion. The practice of *washing one's hands*, when entering church, dates from a very early period; but *sprinkling with holy water* was not introduced till the ninth cent. The custom of *lighting candles* in churches is of very ancient date; that of *burning incense* originated in the fourth cent. Before that period, it was supposed to attract evil spirits who fed upon the incense, although afterwards it was represented as the

most potent means of exorcising them. The practice of *consecrating churches*, and of holding an annual festival in commemoration of it, is mentioned in the writings of *Eusebius*. At the time of *Ambrosius*, the possession of some relic was a necessary condition for this ceremony. Comp. also (*Mussard and Middleton*) *conformitez d. cerem. mod. avec l. anc.* Amst. 1744; *G. C. Hamberger*, *enarr. rit. etc.* Gott. 1751; and *J. J. Blunt*, *Vestiges of Anc. Manners and Customs*, London 1823.

## § 90. PLACES OF WORSHIP AND WORKS OF ART.

COMP. *C. Schnaase*, *Gesch. d. bildenden Künste* (Hist. of Art). Düsseld. 1844. 3 vols. *Fr Kugler*, *Handb. d. Kunst-Gesch.* 3d ed. Stuttg. 1855. *Bellermann, Münter*, and *Kinkel* (§ 57). *L. Stieglitz*, *Gesch. d. Baukunst* (Hist. of Archit.). 2d ed. Nürnberg. 1837. *Fr. Kugler*, *Gesch. d. Baukunst*. Stuttg. 1855. *J. Kreuser*, *d. chr. Kirchenbau*. Bonn 1851. 2 vols. *A. H. Springer*, *die Baukunst d. chr. M. A.* (Arch. of the Middle Ages). Bonn 1854. *C. Schiller*, *Ueberblick d. Entwicklungsganges d. Kirchenarchit.* (Survey of the Progress of Develop. in Eccl. Arch.). Braunsch. 1856.—*Fr. Kugler*, *Handb. d. Gesch. d. Malerei* (Mem. of the Hist. of Paint.). 2d ed. Berl. 1847. *N. Sorg*, *Gesch. d. chr. Malerei*. Regensb. 1853.—(*Bunsen*) *d. Basiliken d. chr. Rom*. Munich 1843; *A. F. Zestermann*, *d. ant. u. chr. Basiliken*. Leipz. 1847.

The form in which heathen temples—destined only to hold the statues of the gods—were constructed, was in every respect unsuited to the purposes of Christian churches. But the *forensic basilica* or public market, and judgment hall of the Romans, afforded an excellent model for Christian churches. Not only might their form (with some modifications) be adopted, but even their name, provided it were understood as applying to Christ, the eternal King. The basilica presented the general appearance of an elongated quadrangle, running from east to west, longitudinally divided by colonnades into three spaces or *naves*, but so that the middle nave was at least twice as broad as either of the side naves. The central nave terminated in a semicircular niche (κόγχη, ἀψίς, concha, absida), which bulged out from the eastern or narrow back wall. This niche was separated from the central nave by a kind of railing (κιγκλίδες, cancelli) and a curtain (καταπέτασμα, velum), and was also called βῆμα (from βαίνω), because it was a few steps elevated above the central nave. Since the fifth century the pillars of the nave were not continued to the eastern wall. Thus a *vertical nave* was formed, which was also raised and connected with the βῆμα. This vertical nave, the central nave, and the niche at the eastern end, gave to the

ground-plan of the church the significant appearance of a cross. At the entrance, to the west, there was a vestibule which ran along the entire breadth of the naves. The church consisted, therefore, of three divisions. The BEMA was allotted to the clergy. Close by the wall, and in the deepest recess of the niche, stood the elevated seat of the bishop (θρόνος, cathedra). On either side of it were the lower seats (σύνθρονοι) of the presbyters, while the altar itself occupied the centre of the niche or stood immediately in front of it. The bema was also called ἄγιον, ἄδυτον, ἱερατεῖον, sacarium, sanctuary, from its being occupied by the clergy and by the altar ; —the name of *Choir* appears only in the middle ages. The bones of martyrs were commonly kept in a subterranean crypt underneath the apsis or bema (the so-called memoria, confessio).—The baptized laity assembled in the threefold—in rare cases, fivefold—NAVE, of which the name was partly derived from its oblong shape, but chiefly from the symbolical connection between a ship and the church. The worshippers were arranged according to sex, age, and rank. In the East a separate and elevated space along the naves (the ὑπερῶα) was allocated to females. In the central nave and near the chancel stood the reading-desk or ambon.—The VESTIBULE (πρόναος, vestibulum)—called also the νάρθηξ or ferula, from its elongated form—was allotted to catechumens or penitents. In the space *before* the vestibule (αἶθριον, αὐλή, atrium, area, which was not roofed till a later period of history) a *basin* was placed for washing the hands. The vestibule and side-naves rose only to the height of the columns ; they were shut in by ceiled woodwork and covered with a simple, sloping roof. But the central and the cross naves were carried up by walls which rested upon the columns, and rose far above the side-roofs. They were covered with a bilateral obtuse-angled roof, sloping down towards the side-naves. The columns were joined together by arches, to render them sufficiently strong to support the wall resting on them. The walls of the central and of the vertical nave, which rose above the side-roofs, were pierced by windows.—At a later period the *Byzantine cupola* was frequently substituted for the former flat roof of churches. The ground-plan of the basilica still remained the same as before ; but above the central nave of the church, upon immense pillars connected together by arches, the principal cupola rose like a firmament, often to a stupendous height,—a number of smaller or semi-cupolas being generally connected with it. The great *Church of St. Sophia* at Constantinople presented the *chef d'œuvre* of this style of architec-



ture. It was so magnificent that, when it was completed (537), Justinian I. exclaimed: *Νενίκηκά σε Σαλομών.*

1. Several **SIDE-BUILDINGS** (*ἐξέδραι*) stood within the wall that enclosed the principal ecclesiastical edifice, and were connected with it. Of these the *baptistries* (*βαπτιστήρια, φωτιστήρια, κολυμβήδρα*, piscina, John v. 2; ix. 7) were the most important. After the model of the Roman baths, they were built in the shape of a rotunda; the baptismal basin stood in the middle, and was surrounded by a colonnade. Frequently a large antechamber was provided, in which the catechumens were wont to receive religious instruction. When infant-baptism became general, separate baptistries were no longer necessary, and instead of them *fountains* were placed in the churches (toward the north, at the principal entrance). In large churches, the treasures, vessels, robes, books, archives, etc., were kept in separate buildings. The *πρωχοιτροφεία, ὀρφανοτροφεία, γηροκομεία, βρεφοτροφεία* (foundling hospitals), *νοσοκομεία, ξενοδοχεῖα*, were buildings used for charitable purposes. The *burying-place* (*κοιμητήριον*, cimiterium, dormitorium, area) was also commonly within the wall enclosing the church. When bells came into use, *towers* were reared beside (*not on*) the churches, frequently even apart from them.

2. **ECCLESIASTICAL FURNITURE.**—The principal object in the church was the *altar*, which, since the fifth cent., was generally constructed of stone, and covered with silver or gold plates. Behind the altar, which was free on all sides, stood the officiating priest facing the congregation. In the West the introduction of “*missæ solitariae*” rendered it necessary to have more than one altar in a church; in the Greek Church this was prohibited. *Portable altars* (for missionaries, during war, etc.) came in use, when it began to be deemed necessary to have the altar consecrated. For this purpose the Latins used a consecrated *stone slab*, the Greeks a consecrated *altar-cloth* (*ἀντιμήνησιον*). This *altar-cloth* (*palla*) was regarded an essential requisite, and the “*denudatio altaris*” as a sinful desecration. On liturgical grounds the “*palla*” was removed on the Friday and Saturday of the High Week. Different from this cloth was the *corporale* used for covering the oblations. Upon the altar stood the *ciborium*, a canopy resting on four little pillars, to which, by golden chainlets, a doveshaped vessel was attached, which contained the consecrated elements used in administering the communion to the sick. At a later period the “*ciborium*” was replaced by the towershaped *tabernaculum*. The *thuribulum* was used for burning incense, the *crucifixes* (cruces, stationarii) and *banners* (*vexilla*) in processions. Seats for the people were ranged in the nave, but not in the narthex or vestibule. The *reading-desk* (*pulpitum, ἄμβων* from *ἀναβαίνω*) stood in the central nave near the chancel. Tradition designates *Paulinus*, Bishop of Nola in Campania (*ob.* 431), or else Pope *Sabinianus* (*ob.* 605), as the inventor of *bells* (Nolæ,



campanæ, campanulæ—so called because mostly made of Campanian brass, which was considered the best). Bells were introduced in the West in the seventh, and in the East in the ninth cent. Before that the hours of worship were announced first by *cursores*, then by the sound of trumpets, or by loud knocking on boards, etc.

3. THE FINE ARTS.—According to the rules of the Greek Church, only the face, the hands, and the feet were allowed to be represented naked; but this restriction applied not to the West. An attempt was made to compensate by bright colouring, precious materials, and gorgeous costumes for the manifest want of artistic taste. From the *εἰκόνες ἀχειροποίητοι* artists copied the stereotyped features in their representations of Christ, of the Virgin, and of the Saints. The *nimbus* or halo (in the form of rays, of a diadem, or of a circle) was first introduced in the pictures of the Saviour. *Fresco painting* was principally used for adorning the catacombs (fourth to sixth cent.), *Mosaic painting* (Musivum) for decorating the level walls of the basilicæ, the cupolas and niches. Liturgical books were illustrated by *miniature paintings*. These different styles of painting were stiff and unnatural, although elevated, majestic, and unimpassioned in their character.—The ancient Church regarded *statuary* as too heathenish and sensuous for religious purposes; and the Greek Church ultimately prohibited its use in churches, excluding even *crucifixes*. But in the West this objection was not entertained, although even there Christian statues were of rare occurrence. Less scruple seems to have been felt in regard to *bas-reliefs* and *haut-reliefs*, especially in sarcophagi and in ecclesiastical vessels.

#### § 91. LIFE, DISCIPLINE, AND MANNERS.

COMP. C. Schmidt (§ 58).

When Christianity became the religion of the State, a large number of unconverted and worldly persons made a profession of Christianity for the sake of the temporal advantages which it entailed. This influx of the world into the Church necessarily exercised a most detrimental influence; and the earnestness, power, devotedness, and purity, by which the ancient heathen world had been conquered, greatly declined in consequence. The world and the Church became more assimilated and conformed to one another; discipline became lax and powerless; and the general decline of public morals made rapid progress. The hot discussions, the dissensions, and divisions among the bishops and the clergy, led to corresponding effects among the people. Party spirit and bitterness characterised the adherents of different views; the demoralisation of the court exercised its pernicious influence on the capital and the

provinces; while the inroads of the barbarians increased the general decay. Even in the case of those who sought other than merely earthly things, work-righteousness and bigotry too often took the place of genuine piety; while the great mass consoled themselves with the idea that everybody could not be a monk. But, despite all this, the Gospel still acted as a leaven on the community. Already had its spirit penetrated not only public life, the administration of justice and legislation, but also family life and popular customs. The claims of humanity and the rights of men were acknowledged; gladiatorial games or immoral spectacles ceased; the contracting influences of national selfishness gave way to higher motives and views. Polygamy was interdicted; the sanctity of marriage was preserved; woman came to occupy her proper place; and the vices of ancient heathenism were at least no longer regarded as the healthy and natural conditions of public life. Even those who, with the outward profession of Christianity, remained heathen in mind and heart, were obliged to conform to the practices and demands of the Church, and to submit to its discipline and customs. If the more gloomy aspects of this age are sufficiently appalling, brighter sides were not wanting, nor elevated souls, who with genuine piety combined deep moral earnestness and self-denial.

1. ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE. *Comp. J. Morini*, Comm. hist. de disc. in Admin. Sacr. Pœnit. Paris 1651. *H. Klee* (Rom. Cath.), d. Beichte. Hist. krit. Unters. (Confession, a Hist. and Crit. Inq.). Frkf. 1828. *J. Stäudlin*, Beleucht. d. Buches von *Klee* (Crit. of the Works of Klee). Leipz. 1830. *G. E. Steitz*, d. röm. Bussacram. (The Rom. Sacr. of Pen.). Frkf. 1854.— Ecclesiastical discipline, or excommunication with its four stages through which penitents had to pass (§ 58, 2), was only exercised towards those who were guilty of open sins which had occasioned general scandal. To remedy this defect, it was, even in the third century, the custom to appoint a special *priest for penance* (πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας, presb. pœnitentiarius), whose duty it was to direct the exercises of penitents guilty of secret sins, which they voluntarily confessed to him under the seal of secrecy. But when a female penitent of this class was seduced by a deacon of the Church of Constantinople, the Patriarch *Nectarius* abolished the office. The practice continued, however, in the West, till *Leo the Great* introduced such changes in the mode of dealing with penitents, that in the *Western Church* also the office of penance-priest ceased to be of importance. He prohibited bishops from demanding public confession for secret sins, and, in place of it, introduced private confession, which every priest was entitled to hear. Even *Jerome* still denounced as a piece of pharisaical arrogance the assumption,

that the *power of the keys* (Matt. xvi. 19) implied any judicial authority; and although *Leo the Great* already regarded it as of Divine arrangement, “*ut indulgentia Dei nisi supplicationibus sacerdotum nequeat obtineri*,” and guaranteed their efficacy, he does not venture to claim any *judicial* power for the Church. Besides, the private confession which he introduced was merely designed for those mortal sins which, having been publicly committed, would, according to former canons, have required public penance.—But the practice of private confession, as a regular and necessary preparation for the communion, was wholly unknown at that period.—The so-called “*libelli pœnitentiales*” indicated the manner of dealing with penitents, and the taxes payable in each case. The oldest of these compositions, so far as the Greek Church is concerned, was compiled by *Johannes Jejunator*, Patriarch of Constantinople (ob. 595), and bore the title, Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξομολογουμένων.

2. CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE. The excessive value attached to virginity led to low views of marriage. These were in some measure counterbalanced by the notion that, by priestly consecration, marriage became a sacrament (§ 88)—an idea which was fully developed and obtained ecclesiastical sanction during the middle ages. The State regarded marriage between a free person and a slave as merely concubinage; but the Church acknowledged the validity of such unions. Not only consanguinity and affinity (through marriage), but adoption into a family, and even the spiritual relationship with god-parents through baptism or confirmation (§ 88, 1), were considered valid *impediments to marriage*. *Augustine* sanctioned the marriage of cousins; *Gregory the Great* interdicted it on physiological grounds, and only allowed marriage in the third or fourth degree of consanguinity. Gradually this prohibition was extended even to the seventh degree, till, in 1216, *Innocent III.* again limited it to relationship in the fourth degree. *Mixed marriages* (with heathens, Jews, heretics) were held sufficient ground for penance; the second Trullan Council (692) entirely prohibited them. *Second marriages* were not prohibited, though they were visited with penance for one or two years; but many canonists regarded a *third* or a *fourth* marriage as entirely invalid. Adultery was universally admitted as forming a sufficient ground for *divorce*; many divines ranked unnatural lusts, murder, and apostasy in the same category. In 416 the Council of Mileve (in Africa) interdicted persons who had been divorced—even the innocent party—from *again marrying*; and *Pope Innocent I.* gave to this prohibition the character of a general law. Former scruples about heathenish customs at marriages (§ 58, 1)—such as the use of a marriage-ring, the veiling of brides, the wearing of garlands, carrying of torches, having bridesmen or παράνυμφοι—were no longer entertained.

3. SICKNESS, DEATH, AND BURIAL. The practice of anointing



the sick (Mark vi. 13; James v. 14), as a means of miraculous *bodily* cure, prevailed so late as the fifth cent. In a decretal dating from the year 416, *Innocent I.* first represented this custom as a sacrament intended for the *spiritual* benefit of the sick. But centuries intervened before it was generally introduced as *the sacrament of extreme unction* (unctio infirmorum, unctio extrema, εὐχέλαιον). Indeed, historical evidence in favour of it ascends not higher than the eighth century: but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the Areopagite numbers the *anointing of the dead* among the sacraments (§ 88). The practice of *closing* the eyes of the dead, was intended to convey the idea of sleep in the hope of a blessed awaking. The *fraternal kiss* betokened that Christian communion lasted beyond the grave; but the practice of decorating the head with a *garland*, in token of victory, was not in general use. Synods had repeatedly to prohibit the custom of pouring the consecrated elements into the mouth of dead persons, or of laying them in the coffin; violent outbursts of grief, the rending of garments, putting on of sackcloth and ashes, the employment of mourning women, the carrying of cypress branches, etc., were considered as heathen customs, implying that those left behind had not learned to cherish the hope of immortality. Similarly, burial feasts celebrated at night were disapproved, although it was customary, by *daylight*, to carry torches, lamps, and palm or olive branches in the funeral procession. *Julian* and the Vandals interdicted this practice. During the fourth and fifth centuries the *catacombs* were the favourite place of burial; where these were wanting, special *cemeteries* were set apart, generally in the vicinity of churches (§ 90, 1). Emperors and bishops alone enjoyed the privilege of being buried in churches. In the fourth cent. *agapes* and the Eucharist were still celebrated at the grave. Afterwards *mourning feasts* were substituted for these solemnities, which were gradually discontinued on account of the abuses to which they led. The rites of burial closed with the Lord's Prayer and the priestly benediction.

## § 92. HERETICAL REFORMERS:

COMP. *Walch*, Ketzehist. Vol. III.; *Dr Gilly*, Vigilantius and his Times. London 1844.

In the fourth century a spirit of opposition to prevailing ecclesiastical views and tendencies sprung up. At first it was neither general, sustained, lasting in its consequences, nor even healthy. While contending against the worldly spirit that had intruded into the Church, some fell into the opposite extreme of fanatical severity; while others, in their protest against real or supposed superstition and work-righteousness, occasionally ended in cold rationalism. The former remark applies more especially



to the *Donatists* (§ 93), and to the sect of the *Audians*, founded in 340 by *Udo* or *Audius*, a layman from Syria, who, on the ground that the Church and its ministers should return to apostolic poverty and humility, abstained from all fellowship with the members of the degenerate Church. *Audius* entertained also grossly anthropomorphic views, and shared the opinions of the *Quartodecimani*. Another sect of the same class, the *APOSTOLICI*, in Asia Minor, declared marriage and property to be sinful. In the opposite class of more rationalistic opponents to ecclesiastical notions, we reckon the *ANTIDICOMARIANITES* in Arabia, *HELVIDIUS* of Rome (380), and *BONOSUS*, Bishop of Sardica (390), who all opposed the "perpetua virginitas" of Mary (§ 87, 2). *AERIUS*, a presbyter of Sebaste in Armenia, was the first, in 360, to protest against the prevailing type of religion. He disapproved of prayers and oblations for the dead, controverted the obligation and the meritoriousness of fasts, and denied that bishops were of superior rank to presbyters. For these opinions he incurred the displeasure of *Eustathius*, his bishop (§ 69, 5). Persecuted from place to place, his adherents sought refuge in caves and woods. Substantially similar were the views of *JOVINIAN*, a monk of Rome, who in 389 opposed, in a systematic manner and on dogmatic grounds, the ecclesiastical system of his time, especially monasticism, asceticism, celibacy, and fasts. *Sarmatio* and *Barbatianus*, two monks of Milan (about 396)—perhaps pupils of *Jovinian*—shared his views. The opposition of *VIGILANTIUS* (400) to the worship of relics, the invocation of saints, miracle-mongering, vigils, the celibacy of priests, and the prevailing externalism in religion generally, was so violent as to pass all bounds of prudence and moderation. But the spirit in which the Church defended its views and practices was scarcely less bitter than that displayed by its opponents. *Epiphanius* wrote against the *Audians*, the *Apostolici*, the *Antidicomarianites*, and the *Aerians*; *Ambrosius* refuted *Bonosus* and the followers of *Jovinian*; *Hieronymus* poured a torrent of the bitterest language upon *Helvidius*, *Jovinian*, and *Vigilantius*; *Augustine* alone showed a more becoming spirit in opposing the tendencies of *Jovinian*, which in their ultimate conclusions pointed in the same direction as his own views about the doctrine of grace.

### § 93. SCHISMS.

The *Novatian* and the *Meletian* (Egyptian) schisms (§ 60, 3. 4) continued even at this period. In connection with the Arian controversy three other schisms occurred in the orthodox Church, among

which the *Meletian schism in Antioch* was the most important. But by far the most extensive and dangerous was the *Donatist schism* in Northern Africa. On the *Johnite schism* in Constantinople, comp. § 81, 3. During this period the frequent divergences in doctrine (§ 80, 6), government (§ 72), worship (§ 85), and discipline between the Eastern and the Western Church, prepared the way for their final separation (§ 97). Thus the imperial device for bringing about a union between those who took different sides in the Monophysite controversy led to a schism between the East and the West, which lasted for thirty-five years (§ 82, 5); while want of firmness on the part of Pope *Vigilius* divided the West for fifty years into two parties (§ 82, 6). The schism between the East and the West, occasioned by the Monothelite union (§ 82, 8), was not of long continuance. But soon afterwards the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches commenced. The fifth and the sixth Œcumenical Councils had not entered on questions connected with church government, worship, or discipline. This omission was supplied by the *Second Trullan Council*, held at Constantinople in 692, which on that account was called the *Concilium quinisextum*. Some of the canons of this Synod laid the foundation of the later disruption in the Catholic Church.

#### 1. SCHISMS IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY.—

I. THE MELETIAN SCHISM AT ANTIOCH, 361–413. In 360 the Arians of Antioch chose *Meletius* of Sebaste, formerly an Eusebian, but afterwards an adherent of the Nicene Confession, their bishop. But his inaugural discourse convinced them of their mistake about his views, and they deposed him after the lapse of only a few days. Meletius was next chosen bishop of the homousian congregation at Antioch. The appointment of one who had been an Arian was, however, resisted by a part of the people, headed by *Paulinus*, a presbyter. *Athanasius* and the Synod of Alexandria, A.D. 362 (§ 80, 4), used every influence to heal this schism. But *Lucifer of Calaris*, whom the Synod for this purpose deputed to Antioch, took the part of the opposition, and ordained Paulinus counter-bishop. The schism was only healed when, in 413, *Alexander*, the Meletian bishop, an excellent man, resigned of his own accord, in order to restore harmony.—II. On his return to Alexandria, *Lucifer* protested against any recognition of those Arians and semi-Arians who had renounced their errors. He founded a sect called the LUCIFERITES, which entertained the views about ecclesiastical purity formerly advocated by Novatian. The party continued till the fifth century. Comp. *Hieronym.* dial. adv. Luciferit.—III. The schism of DAMASUS AND URSINUS at Rome was occasioned

by the unfaithfulness of *Liberius*, Bishop of Rome (§ 80, 2. 3), in consequence of whose conduct a small number of steady adherents of the Nicene Creed at Rome separated from the Church. At the death of *Liberius* (366), they chose *Ursinus* as his successor; while the other party elected *Damasus*. The latter laid siege to the church of *Ursinus*, and 137 dead bodies covered its precincts before it could be taken. *Valentinian I.* banished *Ursinus*; and *Gratian* even published an edict which constituted *Damasus* both a party and a judge, in adjudicating upon all the bishops implicated in this schism.

2. THE DONATIST SCHISM, 311-415 (comp. *A. Roux*, de Aug. adversario Donat. 1838; *F. Ribbeck*, Donatus u. Aug. Elbert. 1857).—Montanist views were still widely entertained in North Africa. Accordingly, when the Diocletian persecution broke out, many came forward, needlessly and of their own accord, to seek the honour of martyrdom. *Mensurius*, Bishop of Carthage, and *Cæcilianus*, his archdeacon, were opposed to this species of fanaticism. When asked to deliver up the sacred writings, they had in their stead handed to the magistrates some heretical tractates. This sufficed for their opponents to denounce them as *traditores*. When *Mensurius* died in 311, his party chose *Cæcilian* his successor, and, to foil the intrigues of their opponents, had him hurriedly consecrated by *Felix*, Bishop of *Aptunga*. Nothing daunted, the other party, which was headed by *Lucilla*, a wealthy and bigoted widow, denounced *Felix* as a traitor, and on that ground declared the consecration invalid, and elected *Majorinus*, a lector, counter-bishop. Soon afterwards (in 313) this office devolved on *Donatus*, whom his adherents have called *the Great*,—a man of undoubted energy. From Carthage the schism gradually spread over North Africa. The peasants, who were burdened with excessive taxation and heavy soccage, took the part of the Donatists. From the first, *Constantine the Great* declared against the Donatists. To their complaints the Emperor replied by committing the investigation of this controversy both to a clerical commission at Rome (313), under the presidency of *Melchades*, Bishop of that see, and to the Synod of Arles (314). The decision of these two bodies was equally unfavourable to the Donatists, who appealed from them to the Emperor *personally*. The case was heard at Milan, after which *Constantine* confirmed the finding of the Synod (316). These decisions were followed by severe measures (such as depriving them of churches), which, however, only served to increase their fanaticism. Milder means proved equally ineffectual. Under the reign of *Constans* affairs took a more serious turn. Fanatical ascetics, belonging to the dregs of the population, took the name of “*milites Christi*,” “*Agonistici*,” and went begging about the country (*circumcelliones*), exciting the peasants to revolt, preaching liberty and fraternity, and committing pillage, murder, and incendiarism. The religious movement had now assumed the



appearance of a political rising. While an imperial army suppressed this rebellion, pecuniary relief from the imperial treasury was offered to those Donatists who were suffering from extreme want. But Donatus rejected the money with scorn, and the rebellion broke out anew. Very severe measures were then adopted against the rebels, and every Donatist church was closed or taken away. Under the reign of *Julian*, these churches were restored to their former owners, and the bishops who had been banished were recalled. The Donatists were now allowed to retaliate, as opportunity offered, upon the Catholics. But the successors of *Julian* again enacted severe laws against the sectaries, who had meantime split into several parties. *Optatus*, Bishop of *Mileve*, wrote against them, towards the close of the fourth century, a treatise: *De schismate Donatistarum*. Since the year 400, *Augustine* was indefatigable in his endeavours to heal this schism, and the Donatists were invited to return into the Church on very gentle terms. The circumstance that many of the more moderate closed with these overtures, only increased the fanaticism of the others. They refused the repeated offer of *Augustine* to meet them in public discussion. At first *Augustine* had maintained that any constraint in matters of belief was improper. But their unyielding stubbornness, and the dangerous tendency of their fanaticism, at last induced him so far to modify his opinion about the unlawfulness of constraint in matters of belief, as to declare that even force might be employed to restore these wanderers to the Church and to salvation ("cogite intrare." Luke xiv. 23). A synod, held at *Carthage* in 405, applied to the Emperor *Honorius* to take measures against those who continued their obstinate resistance. Accordingly, fines were imposed, churches taken away, and clergymen exiled. As *Augustine* still insisted on a public discussion, the Donatists were obliged by the Emperor to accede. The *Collatio cum Donatistis*, held at *Carthage* in 411, lasted for three days, and was attended by 279 Donatist and 286 Catholic bishops. It was chiefly conducted by *Petilian* and *Primian*, who were opposed by *Augustine* and by *Aurelian* of *Carthage*. The imperial commissioners assigned the palm to the Catholic party. The Donatists appealed in vain. In 414 the Emperor deprived them of their civil rights, and in 415 forbade their religious meetings under pain of death. The *Vandals*, who conquered *Africa* in 429, equally persecuted Catholics and Donatists. Their common sufferings tended to bring the two parties again together.—The *Donatists* laid it down as a fundamental principle, that a sacramental action (such as baptism or ordination) was invalid if performed by a person who either was, or deserved to be, excommunicated. Like the *Novatians*, they insisted on absolute purity in the Church, although they allowed that penitents might be re-admitted to the communion of the Church. Their own churches they regarded as pure, while they denounced the Catholics as schismatics, who had



no fellowship with Christ, and whose sacraments were therefore invalid and null. On this ground, they rebaptized their proselytes. The part which the State took against them, and the prevailing confusion between the visible and the invisible Church, led them to broach the view that State and Church—the kingdom of God and that of the world—had nothing in common, and that the State should not in any way take notice of religious questions.

3. As the CONCILIUM QUINISEXTUM in 692 was intended to be œcumenical, the Pope sent legates to it, who signed its decrees. But the Greeks had not forgotten or forgiven the success achieved at the last œcumenical council by the see of Rome (§ 82, 8). On this ground six decrees, diametrically opposed to the practice of Rome, were introduced, along with a number of others against which no objection could be raised. Thus, 1) In enumerating the authentic sources of church law, almost all the Latin councils and the decretals of the popes were omitted. The validity of all the eighty-five canons apost. was also acknowledged, while the see of Rome only admitted that of the first fifty;—2) The Romish practice of insisting on the celibacy of presbyters and deacons was denounced as unwarrantable and inhuman. Comp. § 70, 3;—3) Fasting on Saturdays during Quadragesima was prohibited. Comp. § 86, 3. —4) The 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which settled that the Patriarch of Constantinople held the same rank with his colleague of Rome, was re-enacted (§ 71);—5) The prohibition of eating blood and things strangled was declared to apply to Christians also (contrary to the views of the Church of Rome);—6) All representations of Christ under the figure of a lamb (which were quite common in the West) were strictly prohibited.—When Pope *Sergius* forbade the promulgation of these decrees in the churches of the West, the Emperor *Justinian II.* commanded to seize this prelate, and send him prisoner to Constantinople. But the army rebelled in favour of the Pope, and soon afterwards Justinian himself was dethroned (695).

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## VI. THE CHURCH BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

### § 94. CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE EAST.

During this period missionary work was almost exclusively carried on by the Western Church. Its practical spirit and aims specially fitted it for such labours, while the contiguity of the barbarous nations which invaded the empire (§ 106) afforded ample scope and opportunity for them. On the other hand, instances of regular and organised missionary activity were of rare occurrence in the East.

But other and indirect means also offered of spreading the Gospel beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, especially by means of *fugitive Christians*, of *prisoners of war*, of *political embassies*, and particularly of *commercial intercourse* with the far East and South. The anchorites, monks, and Stylites who had settled on the borders of the empire, or in the deserts beyond them, frequently produced a deep impression on the barbarians around, who flocked to see them, and listened to the sermons or witnessed the deeds of these fantastic saints.

1. THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH. In 316 one *Meropius* of Tyre, and all his ship's crew, were murdered while engaged in exploring the countries south of Egypt. His two nephews, *Fruementius* and *Aedesius*, alone escaped the slaughter. Having gained the favour of the Abyssinian king, they were entrusted with the education of *Aizanas*, the heir to the crown. *Fruementius* was afterwards consecrated by Athanasius, Bishop of those countries. *Aizanas* was baptized, and the church rapidly extended from Abyssinia to Ethiopia and Nubia. The Bible was translated (it is said by *Fruementius*) into the vernacular (the Geez). This community, like its mother-church in Egypt, adopted Monophysite views (§ 82, 7). Many Jewish and former customs of the country were retained, such as the observance of the Sabbath along with that of the Lord's day, the prohibition of certain kinds of meat, and circumcision—even in the case of females. Comp. also *Letroune*, Christian. en Egypte, en Nubie, et en Abyssinie. Paris 1832.

2. THE PERSIAN CHURCH. In Persia the Gospel had struck root since the third century. During the fourth cent. and after it, the Church was exposed to protracted and terrible persecutions, which continued partly through the intrigues of the fanatical Magi, and partly in consequence of the wars between Persia and the Roman Empire, which, as being waged against a Christian power, entailed on the native Christians suspicions of secret sympathy with the enemy. The first great persecution took place under the reign of *Shapur* (*Sapores*) II. in 343. It lasted for thirty-five years, during which it is said no less than 16,000 priests, monks, and nuns were executed, while the number of martyrs among the laity exceeded all computation. This persecution ceased only a short time before the death of *Shapur*, when that monarch proclaimed general toleration. During a period of forty years rest, the Persian Church began to flourish anew, when the fanatical zeal of *Abdas*, Bishop of *Susa*, who ordered a heathen temple to be pulled down (in 418) occasioned a fresh persecution, which attained its highest pitch under the reign of *Behram V.* (*Varanes*), (since 420.) For thirty years the most cruel modes of death were devised against Christians. At last the generous conduct of *Acacius*, Bishop of *Amida* in Mesopotamia, who

disposed of the property of his church, and with the money redeemed a large number of Persian prisoners of war, whom he sent back to their own country, induced the king to put a stop to this persecution. When the *Nestorians* were expelled from the Roman Empire they found protection and toleration in Persia; but in 465, under the reign of King *Firuz* (Pherozes), they instigated another persecution against the Catholics. In 498 the whole Persian Church declared in favour of Nestorianism (§ 82, 3). From that period it enjoyed rest, and for centuries flourished, giving proof of its vigour both by learned labours (the School of Nisibis) and by successful missionary exertions among the tribes of Asia. Meantime the wars with the Byzantines continued; and in 616 *Cosru II.* (*Chosroes*) penetrated as far as Chalcedon, committing fresh cruelties against the (Cath.) Christians who inhabited the conquered provinces. At last the Emperor *Heraclius* took courage and met his foe. In 628 the Persians were totally routed (§ 87, 5), and in 651 the Khalifs took possession of Persia. Comp. also *Nealé's Hist.* of the Eastern Church; *Elisæus' Hist.* of Vartan, transl. by *Neumann*.

3. THE ARMENIAN CHURCH. So early as the time of Tertullian, flourishing communities of Christians existed in Armenia. But *Tiridates III.* (since 286) violently persecuted these Christians. Under his reign the Apostle of Armenia, *Gregorius Illuminator*, the son of a Parthian prince, carried on his labours with much success. When only two years of age, his nurse had rescued him from the destruction inflicted upon all his kindred. Subsequently he had been carried to Cappadocia, where he was educated a Christian. *Gregorius* even gained the king himself, and made the whole country professedly Christian. At his death, the Church which he had founded enjoyed a state of great prosperity. He was successively followed in the patriarchal office by his grandson *Husig*, his great-grandson *Nerses*, and by *Isaac the Great*, a still further descendant, whose administration fell in troublous times, when the Byzantine, the Persian, and other princes contended for the possession of the country. *S. Mesrop*, the colleague and (since 440) the successor of *Isaac*, constructed an Armenian alphabet, and translated the Bible into the vernacular. Under the patriarchate of his successor *Joseph*, the famous religious war with Persia broke out, for the purpose of obliging the Armenians to return to the religion of Zoroaster. The bloody battle fought by the river Dechmud, in 451, terminated in favour of the Persians. The Armenians, however, maintained their profession of Christianity, despite the persecutions to which they were exposed. In 651 this country also became subject to the rule of the Khalifs.—The Armenian Church remained free from Nestorian errors; but it adopted Monophysite tenets, which were imported from that portion of Armenia which was under Byzantine sway. At a *synod* held at *Feyin* in 527, the Confession of Chalcedon was rejected.—*Gregorius Illuminator* had awakened in Armenia a



desire for literary and scientific pursuits, and when Mesrop furnished an alphabet, the golden age of Armenian literature commenced (in the fifth cent.). Almost all the classics and the Greek and Syrian Fathers were translated into Armenian, and numerous original authors inaugurated a native literature. Thus *Agathangelos* wrote the history of the conversion of Armenia; *Moses of Chorene*, a history of his country; *Esnig*, an able controversial tractate ("the Destruction of the Heretics") directed against the heathen, the Persians, the Marcionites, the Manicheans, etc.

4. The **IBERIANS** (who inhabited what is now called Georgia and Grusia) received the Gospel through the instrumentality of *Nunia*, an Armenian female slave, by whose prayers some miraculous cures had been performed. From Iberia the truth spread among the **LAZIAN**s (a tribe inhabiting the modern Colchis), and to their neighbours the **ABASGIAN**s. Even in the **EAST INDIES**, *Theophilus of Diu* (an island at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf) found isolated Christian churches so early as the middle of the fourth cent. Sent by his fellow-citizens as a hostage to Constantinople, he was there educated an Arian priest. When afterwards he returned to his own country, he successfully laboured as a missionary in the East Indies. From Persia, Nestorianism spread in the Indian Church (§ 82, 3). In the sixth cent., Cosmas Indicopleustes still found three Christian congregations in the East Indies. The labours of *Theophilus* extended also to **ARABIA**, where, through his preaching, the King of the *Homerites*, in Yemen, became a convert. But when, in the sixth cent., *Dhu-Nowas* (Dunaan), a Jew, mounted the throne of Yemen, a fearful persecution of Christians immediately commenced. At last Eleesban, King of Abyssinia, interposed to put a stop to these cruelties; the Jewish ruler was killed, and Christians reigned over Yemen, until in 616 *Cosru II.* made it a province of Persia. Anchorites, monks, and Stylites laboured successfully among the *nomadic* tribes of Arabia.

#### § 95. THE MOHAMMEDAN COUNTER-MISSIONS.

COMP. *G. Weil*, Mohammed d. Prophet, Leben u. Lehre (Life and Teach. of Moh. the Proph.). Stuttg. 1843;—*J. Döllinger*, Moham. Religion nach ihr. innern Entw. u. ihr. Einfl. auf d. Leben d. Völker (The Relig. of Moh. in its Intern. Develop. and External Infl. on the Nations). Regensb. 1838; *A. Möhler*, d. Verh. d. Islam zum Christth. (Rel. between Isl. and Christ.) Regensb. 1839;—*W. Irving*, Mahomed; *Prideaux*, Life of Mahomet; *Sale*, Koran; *Forster*, Mahometanism Unveiled; *J. v. Hammer-Purgstall*, Mah. d. Prophet.

In 611, *Abul Kasem Mohammed* of Mecca laid claim to the office of a prophet, and instituted a new religion, composed of Jewish, of Christian, and of Arab heathen elements, in which sensual happiness and



strict Monotheism were sought to be combined. His labours, however, only acquired importance after he had been obliged to flee from Mecca to Yatjreb (Medina)—the *Hejrah*, 15th July 622. In 630 he took Mecca, consecrated the old heathen Caaba as the great temple for the new religion (*Islam*, hence *Moslemim*), and composed the *Koràn*, consisting of 114 Suras, which *Abu-Bekr*, his father-in-law, collected. Before he died, all Arabia had adopted his creed, and was subject to his sway. As he persuaded his adherents that the spread of their new religion by force of arms was the most sacred duty, and inspired them with wild enthusiasm, his successors were able to take one province after another from the empire, and at the same time to introduce Mohammedanism in room of Christianity. Within a short period (633–651) Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia were conquered; North Africa in 707; and, lastly, Spain in 711. But the farther progress of the Infidels was in the mean time arrested. Twice they laid siege to Constantinople (669–676 and 717–718) without success; while the victory which Charles Martell gained over them at Tours (in 732) effectually arrested their march westwards. Their influence had, however, operated most detrimentally upon the Church in Asia, and the three patriarchal sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were completely subject to their will. Although Christians were allowed to reside in the conquered provinces on payment of a capitation-tax, fear and the desire after the worldly advantages held out by a change of faith, gained for Islamism a large number of proselytes.

1. Rigid Monotheism constitutes the *fundamental idea* of ISLAMISM. Abraham, Moses, and Jesus were considered divinely-commissioned prophets; Mohammed, the last and greatest of prophets, whom both Moses and Christ had predicted, was commissioned to restore to pristine purity their doctrine, which both the Jews and the Christians had corrupted. At the end of time, Christ would return, destroy Antichrist, and establish Islamism as the universal religion. The doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation were included among the alleged perversions of the teaching of Jesus. Special stress was laid on the doctrine of Divine Providence, which was prominently brought forward, and distorted into the most extreme fatalism. The Moslem required not an atonement; belief in one God, and in Mohammed as His prophet, was sufficient to ensure the Divine favour, while good works would procure an inexhaustible fulness of everlasting happiness, consisting in the highest sensual enjoyments. In its constitution Mohammedanism contemplated a kind of theocracy, in which the Prophet, and the Khalifs, his successors, were to act as the vicegerents of the Deity upon earth. Hence

State and Church were regarded as absolutely identical. The rites of religion consisted of prayers, fasting, and ablutions. Along with the Koràn, the *Sunna*, or traditionary sayings of the Prophet, are regarded as of Divine authority. The sect of the *Shiites* differs from that of the *Sunnites*, in that the former recognise not the authority of the first three Khalifs and of the traditional sayings of the Prophet handed down by them. The *Ssufi's* are a mystical sect which originated at a later period. The *Wechabites* (a sect dating from the twelfth century) form, so to speak, the Puritans of Islamism.

2. SERVICE PERFORMED BY MOHAMMEDANISM IN THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD. Obviously Islamism was the instrument of judgment upon the degenerate polity and Church of the East. But it also served some positive purpose, which appears from its relation to heathenism. It was the special mission of Mohammedanism to put an end to idolatry (Polytheism). Neither the Prophet nor his successors tolerated heathenism. Accordingly, a great number of wild tribes in Asia and Africa were converted from the most degrading and demoralising idolatry to the worship of *one* God, and raised to a certain stage of civilisation and morality, which they would have been unable to attain if left to themselves. As they were thereby brought nearer to Christianity, Mohammedanism proved, in its own way, "a schoolmaster to Christ." Perhaps its rigid Monotheism may also have been intended to form a kind of breakwater against both African Fetish-worship and Asiatic Pantheism. But Islamism contains the germs of its own destruction. Its confusion of religion and politics, of State and Church, tends to fetter both, and thus to render them incapable of development, renovation, or transformation. Herein *lay* the strength, herein *lies* also the weakness of Islamism.

# THIRD PERIOD

## OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

### IN ITS ANTIQUE AND CLASSICAL FORM.

FROM A.D. 692-1453.

#### I. MOVEMENTS IN THE EASTERN CHURCH IN CONJUNCTION WITH SIMILAR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.

##### § 96. ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY IN THE EAST (726-842).

COMP. *J. Maimbourg* (a Jesuit), *histoire de l'hérésie des Iconoclastes*. Par. 1679. 2 Voll. 12; *Fr. Schlosser*, *Gesch. der bilderstürmenden Kaiser* (Hist. of the Iconocl. Emper.). Frkf. 1812; *J. Marx* (Rom. Cath.), *der Bilderstreit der byzant. Kaiser* (The Iconocl. Contr. of the Byz. Emp.). Trier 1839.

At the commencement of the eighth century, image-worship (§ 87, 4) had attained its highest pitch in the *East*. But even its most zealous advocates were obliged to admit that certain abuses were connected with it. Thus, for example, images were selected to be god-parents; part of the colouring with which they had been painted was scratched off and mixed with the sacramental wine; the consecrated bread was first laid upon images, that so the faithful might receive from the hands of these saints the body of the Lord, etc. Under these circumstances, a vigorous emperor, whom both personal feelings and political considerations disposed against this kind of worship, resolved to employ all the resources which a strong will placed at his disposal to put a stop to this widely-spread idolatry. The contest between the two opposing parties (the *εἰκονοκλάσται* and the *εἰκονολάτραι*) lasted for more than a century, and was chiefly carried on by the emperors and the army on the one side, and by the monks and the people on the other. On two occasions the worship of images was almost entirely and for ever abolished; but both times was it restored by an empress.—The Church of *Rome* had in this respect not gone so far as that of the East, at least in practice;

but in theory it entertained the same opinions, and in the contest between the two parties Rome leant the whole weight of its authority to those who upheld image-worship. On the views of the Frankish Church on this question, comp. § 122.

1. LEO III., THE ISAURIAN (717-741), one of the most vigorous of Byzantine emperors, having in 718 repelled the attack of the Saracens upon Constantinople, deemed it necessary to adopt further measures to arrest the spread of Mohammedanism. The worship of images, which Jews and Moslems equally abhorred, and to which himself was opposed, appeared to him one of the principal obstacles to the conversion of the infidels. Accordingly he issued in 726 an edict, which, in the first place, only ordained that the images should be placed higher up on the walls of churches, in order to prevent the people from kissing them. But all peaceable measures against this favourite mode of worship were frustrated by the determined resistance which the aged *Germanus*, Patriarch of Constantinople, the populace, and the monks offered. In Palestine, where, under the protection of the Saracens, he could defy the vengeance of the Emperor, *Johannes Damascenus*, the ablest theologian of that age, published three tractates, in which he defended in enthusiastic terms the worship of images. Amidst the popular excitement caused by this controversy, one *Cosmas* got himself proclaimed Emperor, and advanced with a fleet against Constantinople. But Leo defeated and executed his rival; and in a second edict (of date 730) ordered the entire removal of images from every church. The military who were charged with the execution of this ordinance were guilty of many fanatical excesses, and the popular tumults excited by these measures were not quelled without much bloodshed. At Rome, however, the Emperor was powerless. In his letters, *Pope Gregory II.* spoke of him as if he had been a silly, naughty boy; while, in a *synod held at Rome* in 732, *Gregory III.* pronounced an anathema against all opponents of image-worship. The fleet which the Emperor had collected, with a view of chastising the bold prelate, was destroyed by a storm. Leo avenged himself by depriving the Pope of the revenues which he derived from Lower Italy, and by taking Illyria from the see of Rome and assigning it to that of Constantinople.

2. CONSTANTINUS V. (741-775), the son and successor of Leo, whom the monks in their hatred nicknamed *Copronymus* and *Cabalinus*, a ruler and general as distinguished as his father, was, if possible, even more firmly resolved to put down the worship of images. He defeated *Artabasdu*s, his brother-in-law, who, with the assistance of the party of image-worshippers, had raised the standard of revolt, severely chastised and deprived him of his eyes. As the popular tumults still continued, an *œcumenical Synod* was summoned to give ecclesiastical sanction to the principles of the Emperor. Accord-



ingly, about 350 bishops assembled at *Constantinople* (754). But this Synod was not attended by a single patriarch, since the see of Constantinople happened to be vacant at the time, and Rome, which had anathematised all opponents of images, refused to send legates; while Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were under the domination of the Saracens. The Council excommunicated those who made any image of Christ, declaring that the *Eucharist* was the only true image of Christ, and pronounced the most sweeping condemnation against every kind of reverence paid to images. These decrees were mercilessly enforced, and deeds of the most cruel violence enacted. Thousands of monks were scourged, incarcerated, transported, driven round the circus for the amusement of the populace with nuns in their arms, or obliged to marry; many had their eyes put out, their ears or noses cut off, and monasteries were converted into barracks or stables. Images of saints were not even tolerated in private houses. *Stephen II.* of Rome protested against the decrees of the Council, and *Stephen III.* issued a dreadful anathema against all opponents of images (in a Lateran synod, A.D. 769). But in the Byzantine Empire both monasticism and image-worship were almost extirpated.

3. LEO IV. CHAZARUS (775–780), the son of Constantine, shared the views of his father, but wanted his energy. His consort IRENE was, however, a zealous image-worshipper. When Leo discovered this, he would have taken energetic measures, but a sudden death arrested his interference. Irene now made full use of the opportunity afforded by the minority of *Constantine VI.*, her son, to restore image-worship. She convoked another council at Constantinople (786), which was attended by deputies from Pope *Hadrian I.* (the other patriarchs, who were under Saracen dominion, ventured not to take part in its deliberations). But the Imperial Guard broke into their place of meeting, and dispersed the Council. The following year (787), Irene convoked at Nice another, the SEVENTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL. Its eighth and last meeting was held in the Imperial Palace at Constantinople,—the Imperial Guard having, in the meantime, been removed from the capital. The Council annulled the decrees of 754, sanctioned homage to images, and approved of prostration or inclination before pictures as a token of love and respect paid to the subject represented, which must not be confounded with that adoration (*λατρεία*) which was due to God alone.

4. The emperors who now succeeded shared these views. But as victory attended not their arms, the army, which still held opposite sentiments, proclaimed their general *Leo V., the Armenian* (813–820), Emperor. This ruler, though a decided enemy of image-worship, would still have adopted moderate and cautious measures, but was baffled by the soldiers, who gave full reins to their fanaticism. The party which advocated image-worship was led by *Theodorus Studita*,

Abbot of the Monastery of Studion, a man of unfeigned piety and invincible firmness, the ablest and most ingenious defender of these sentiments, who even in exile was indefatigable in promoting the cause he had at heart (*ob.* 826). Leo was killed by conspirators. *Michael II. Balbus* (820-829), his successor, at least allowed the worship of images in private. But *Theophilus*, his son (829-842), made it the aim of his life wholly to extirpate all such practices. Once more a woman, *THEODORA*, the Dowager Empress, who, after the death of *Theophilus*, and during the minority of his son, administered the government, convoked a *synod at Constantinople* (842), which again introduced the worship of images into churches. Since that period, opposition to this practice gradually ceased in the Eastern Church, and the day on which the Synod of 842 had enacted the decree in its favour (the 19th Feb.) has since been celebrated as the "*Feast of Orthodoxy*."

#### § 97. SCHISM BETWEEN THE GREEK AND THE ROMAN CHURCH, AND ATTEMPTS AT UNION (857-1453).

COMP. *Leo Allatius*, de eccl. occid. et orient. perpetua consensione. Colon. 1699. 4. (The author, who was a Greek convert to the Romish Church, died 1669); *L. Maimbourg* (a Jesuit), Hist. du schisme des Grecs. Par. 1677. 4; *J. G. Pitzipios*, l'égl. Orientale, exposé hist. de sa separation et de sa réunion avec celle de Rome. 4 Voll. Par. 1855; *Neale*, Eastern Church.

At the *second Trullan Council* in 692 the first steps had been taken towards the Great Schism, which divided the Christian world into two parties (§ 93, 3); in 867 *Photius* gave it a dogmatic basis by condemning certain doctrines promulgated at Rome, while in 1053 *Michael Cerularius* completed the separation between the two churches. The difficulties and dangers which increasingly beset the Byzantine rulers induced them to make frequent attempts to bring about a union. But the negotiations which ensued either were unsuccessful, or the proposed union, though agreed upon in words, was not carried into execution. These fruitless endeavours only ceased when the Byzantine Empire fell not to rise again (A.D. 1453). The obstacles in the way of healing this schism consisted not in any importance attaching to diversity of ceremonial observances, which might, as at previous periods, have continued without interrupting ecclesiastical fellowship, nor even in differences of doctrine (with regard to the expression "filioque," § 80, 6), which might easily have been removed. The real difficulty lay in the claim to primacy in the Church, set up by the see of Rome, and which the Greeks could only resist by separating from all fellowship with the Papacy.

1. COMMENCEMENT OF THE SCHISM (867).—During the minority of *Michael III.*, surnamed the Drunkard, the son of *Theodora* (§ 96, 4), the government was administered by *Bardas*, the uncle of that prince (and brother of the Empress). *Ignatius*, who at the time was Patriarch of Constantinople, and himself a descendant of the imperial family, had sharply censured the dissoluteness of the court, and in 857 even refused to admit to the communion the all-powerful *Bardas*, who lived in incestuous union with his daughter-in-law. For this offence the prelate was deposed and exiled. *Photius*, the most learned man of his age, and hitherto Prefect of the Imperial Guard, was named his successor, to the intense disgust of the friends of *Ignatius*, who rejected with scorn all advances and proposals of peace. *Photius* now convened (in 859) a synod, which confirmed the deposition of *Ignatius*, and even excommunicated him. But no consideration could induce this prelate to forego his claims. Anxious to procure in his own favour the influential verdict of Rome, *Photius* gave to Pope *Nicholas I.* a false representation of the circumstances of the case, at the same time intimating his accession, and requesting fraternal acknowledgment and intercession. The pontiff replied that he must first investigate the case; and for this purpose deputed two legates, *Rhodoald* of Porto, and *Zacharius* of Anagni. Gained by bribes, the representatives of Rome gave, at a council at Constantinople (861), their consent to the deposition of *Ignatius*. But when more impartial witnesses informed *Nicholas* of the real state of matters he excommunicated his own legates, and declared *Ignatius* rightful Patriarch of Constantinople. The opposition thus excited against Rome in Constantinople became intense, when shortly afterwards *Bulgaria* renounced allegiance to the Byzantine Church and owned that of the Pope (§ 102, 3). *Photius* sent an encyclical letter (in 867) inviting the patriarchs of the East to a council, and accusing the Church of Rome of various heresies: such as its ordinance of fasting on Saturdays; its permission of the use of milk, of butter, and of cheese during the first week of Quadragesima; its injunction of clerical celibacy; its refusal to acknowledge the validity of the chrism if administered by presbyters; and its introduction of the expression “*filioque*” (§ 80, 6), which implied the existence of two supreme principles, and hence a dualism. These heresies, it was asserted, the Pope now intended to introduce into *Bulgaria*. The Council convened in 867. Three monks, who were prompted by *Photius*, figured as the representatives of the patriarchs whose sees were in Saracen countries. The Pope was excommunicated and deposed, and this sentence intimated to the Western churches. Such measures were far from indifferent to the Pope, who vindicated himself before the Frankish clergy, and called upon them to rebut the charges of the Greeks. They readily complied. Among the tracts written on that side of the question, that of *Ratramnus*, a monk at Corbey, was by far the ablest. But the aspect of affairs soon



changed. The same year in which the synod had met (867) the Emperor Michael was assassinated, and *Basilius the Macedonian*, his murderer and successor, joined the party of Ignatius, and requested Pope *Hadrian II.* to institute a new inquiry. A synod held at *Constantinople* in 869 (called by the *Latins* the *eighth Œcumenical Council*) condemned Photius, and restored Ignatius. The council itself pronounced no decision about Bulgaria, but submitted the claims of the rival sees to the pretended representatives of the Saracen Patriarchs as impartial arbiters. They of course decided in favour of the Byzantine Patriarch, and all remonstrances on the part of the Popes proved fruitless. In his adversity *Photius* comported himself in a manner which commanded general respect. For several years he was imprisoned in a monastery, deprived of all intercourse with others, and even of his books. Still he made his peace with Ignatius. *Basilius* entrusted him with the education of his children, and after the death of Ignatius in 877 again elevated him to the see of *Constantinople*. But the anathema of an œcumenical council, which still rested upon him, could only be removed by another œcumenical council, to which Pope *John VIII.* acceded on obtaining promise of having Bulgaria restored to his see. But at the *Council of Constantinople* in 879 (called by the *Greeks* the *eighth Œcumenical*) the legates of the Pope were completely deceived. The question about Bulgaria was not even mooted, the council of 869 was anathematised, and a ban pronounced against those who should venture to make any addition to the creed. The Pope revenged himself by anathematising the Patriarch, his council, and all his adherents. Although *Leo the Philosopher*, the successor of *Basilius*, in 886 deposed Photius, it was only in order to give the see to an imperial prince. Photius was confined to a monastery, where he died in 891.

2. The Emperor, *Leo the Philosopher*, had been thrice married, without having any issue. His fourth wife he only wedded after he had convinced himself that the same objection attached not to her. The Patriarch, *Nicholas Mysticus*, who refused to consecrate this marriage (§ 90, 2), was deposed. A synod held at *Constantinople* in 906, conducted under the direction of the legates of Pope *Sergius III.*, approved both of the Emperor's marriage and of the deposition of the Patriarch. But, on his deathbed, *Leo* repented this arbitrary measure; *Alexander*, his brother and successor, restored the Patriarch *Nicholas*; and Pope *John X.* consented to be represented at a synod held in *Constant.* in 920, when the resolutions of the Council of 906 were condemned, and a fourth marriage declared to be unlawful. But, in return for this compliance, the synod did not make any concessions to the Pope. Emperor *Basilius II.* entered upon fresh negotiations. For an immense sum of money, Pope *John XIX.* agreed, in 1024, to acknowledge the Bishop of *Constantinople* as œcumenical Patriarch of the East, and to yield every claim of the *Cathedra Petri* upon supremacy over the Eastern Church. But



the transaction became known before it was completed; the West resounded with denunciations of this second Judas of Rome, and the Pope was obliged to break off the treaty.

3. COMPLETION OF THE SCHISM IN 1054. However frequent the anathemas which Rome and Byzantium had fulminated against each other, they had only been directed against patriarchs, popes, bishops, or their adherents as individuals, not against the churches which they represented. But matters now assumed a different appearance. At that time, the Emperor *Constantius Monomachus*, bent on certain warlike undertakings, anxiously sought the friendship of the Pope. His endeavours were frustrated by the interference of MICHAEL CERULARIUS, Patriarch of Constantinople, and *Leo of Achrida*, the metropolitan of Bulgaria who, in 1053, addressed a letter to *Johannes*, Bishop of *Trani* in Apulia, in which they charged the Latins with the most grievous heresies, and conjured the Western bishops to renounce their errors. To the accusations formerly brought by Photius, others were now added, such as that the Western Church allowed the use of blood, and of things strangled; that it prohibited singing the Hallelujah in Lent; above all, that it used unleavened bread in the Eucharist (§ 88, 4)—a heresy to which the name of *Azymite* was given. This letter fell into the hands of Cardinal HUMBERT, who translated and laid it before Pope *Leo IX*. A bitter epistolary altercation ensued. The Emperor made every effort to restore peace. At his request, the Pope sent three legates (among them the disputatious *Humbert*) to Constantinople. These envoys only fanned instead of extinguishing the flame. The Emperor obliged, indeed, the abbot of Studium, *Nicholas Pectoratus*, to burn, in presence of the legates, a controversial tractate which he had written, but neither threats nor force could induce the patriarch to yield, supported as he was both by the people and the clergy. At last, the legates placed on the altar of the Church of Sophia a formal writ of excommunication, to which Michael and the other Eastern Patriarchs in 1054 replied in a similar strain.

4. ATTEMPTS AT RE-UNION. The *Crusades*, instead of removing, only increased the estrangement between the two churches. Repeated negotiations proved unavailing. At a *synod* held at *Bari* (in the Neapolitan territory) in 1098, *Anselm of Canterbury*, who at the time lived an exile in Italy, convinced the Greeks who were present, that the Latin view about the procession of the Holy Ghost was correct. For the same purpose, *Petrus Chrysolanus*, Archbishop of Milan, delivered, in 1113, a long oration before the Emperor at Constantinople; while, in 1135, *Anselm of Havelberg* held a disputation on this subject with *Nicetas* of Nicomedia. The aversion and dislike of the Greeks was greatly deepened by the founding of a  
 261 *Latin Empire* at Constantinople (1204-1261). MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, who drove the Latins from Constantinople, sought, from political motives, to put an end to the schism. But in these efforts

he was opposed by *Joseph*, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and by his librarian, the learned JOHANNES BECCUS. While languishing in prison, Beccus became however convinced that the differences between the two churches were unimportant, and that a reconciliation would be possible. This change of views procured his elevation to the patriarchate. Meantime, the negotiations had so far advanced, that a *General Council* (called by the Latins the fourteenth) was summoned to meet at LYONS in 1274. The imperial legates acknowledged the primacy of the Pope, and subscribed the Romish Confession of Faith. In return, the Eastern Church was allowed to continue its use of the Nicene Creed without any addition thereto, and the peculiar ecclesiastical forms which it had hitherto observed. Beccus wrote several tractates in defence of this union. But the accession of another Emperor led to his removal; Joseph was restored, and the union of Lyons entirely forgotten.

5. The continual advances of the *Turks* naturally impressed the Eastern Emperors with the necessity of securing the sympathy and assistance of the West, through reconciliation and union with the papacy. But these efforts were frustrated by the powerful opposition of the monks, supported as it was by the popular clamour. The Patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch, were also hostile to such measures, not only from ancient jealousy of the pretensions of the see of Rome, but because the political schemes of their Saracen masters obliged them to oppose the wishes of the Greek Emperors. At last the Emperor ANDRONICUS III. PALÆOLOGUS gained over the Abbot BARLAAM, who had hitherto been the leader of the Anti-Romish party. At the head of an Imperial Embassy, Barlaam went to Avignon, where at that time Pope *Benedict XII.* resided (1339). But the negotiations led to no result, as the Pope insisted on absolute submission, both in respect of doctrine and government, and would not even consent to order a new inquiry, though it were only for the sake of appearances. Barlaam joined the Latin Church (comp. § 99, 1), and died as bishop of Gieræce in 1348.—But as the difficulties of the Byzantine Emperors continually increased, JOHANNES V. PALÆOLOGUS made fresh advances. He joined the Latin Church in 1369, but neither did he prevail on his subjects to follow his example, nor the Pope on the Western rulers to send assistance against the Turks.

6. Apparently greater success attended the attempt to bring about a union made by the Emperor JOHANNES VII. PALÆOLOGUS. He had gained for his views *Metrophanes*, Patriarch of Constantinople, and BESSARION, Archbishop of *Nice*, a man of great adroitness and learning, but a thorough infidel. Accompanied by this prelate and by many other bishops, the Emperor appeared in person at the papal *Council of Ferrara* in 1438. Pope *Eugen IV.*, afraid lest the Greeks might join the reformatory *Council at Basle*, seemed willing to make concessions. When the pestilence broke out

at Ferrara, the Council was transferred to FLORENCE, where in 1439 the union of the two churches was really accomplished. The supremacy of the Pope was acknowledged; existing differences in the rites of the two churches were to be mutually tolerated; dogmatic divergences were accounted for on the ground of misunderstanding; and both churches solemnly declared to be orthodox. But another doctrinal difficulty, besides that about the procession of the Holy Ghost, had meantime sprung up. While the Greeks admitted that there was a *purgatory* in which venial sins were expiated, and from which souls might be delivered by masses, intercessions, alms, and good works (§ 88, 3), they objected to the idea of material *flames* in purgatory. Besides, while the Latins held that those who died unbaptised, or under mortal sin, were immediately consigned to eternal perdition, and that the pious (after the expiation of venial sins) immediately entered paradise, the Greeks maintained that both eternal punishment and eternal bliss only commenced after the final judgment. On this point the Greeks now yielded, and the re-union was concluded amid embraces and hymns of joy. In reality, matters, however, continued as they had been. A powerful party, headed by *Eugenicus*, Archbishop of *Ephesus*, had been merely out-voted at Florence; it now commenced an agitation throughout the East against a union which existed only on paper. *Metrophanes* was nicknamed *Μητροφόνος*; and in 1443 the other three patriarchs of the East held a *Synod at Jerusalem*, in which they anathematised all who adhered to this union. *Bessarion* joined the Church of Rome, became Cardinal and Bishop of Tuscoli, and was twice on the point of being made Pope. He died in 1472.—But the period had arrived when the Christian Empire of the East should fall. On the 29th May 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks. The last Emperor, *Constantine XI.*, fell while vainly defending his throne against tremendous odds.

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## II.—INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT IN THE EASTERN CHURCH.

### § 98. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES.

COMP. *Heeren*, *Gesch. d. class. Liter. im M. A.* 2 vols. Gött. 1822; *W. Gass*, *Beiträge zur kirchl. Literatur u. Dogmengesch. d. griech. M. A.* (Contrib. to the Eccles. Liter. and to the Hist. of Dogm. in the Gr. Ch. during the Middle Ages). 2 vols. Bresl. 1844, 1849. Comp. also *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires*, by *G. Finlay, LL.D.*, Edinb. and London; *Smith's Biographical Dict.*, and *Wharton's Append. to Cave*.



Antagonism to image-worship (726-842) had at first been combined with hostility to science and art generally. Hence, during that part of the middle ages, the Greek Church numbered fewer learned men and writers than at any other period. But, about the middle of the ninth century, the Byzantine Church seemed suddenly to rouse itself to new activity, and attained a stage which at one time it had appeared incapable of again reaching. It is even more remarkable that it not only maintained this high position uninterruptedly during six centuries, but that the ardour for theological study seemed to increase in proportion as political prospects became more dark and threatening. All at once those Greeks, who were at the eve of intellectual as well as of political decay, seem to have remembered the rich heirloom which their heathen ancestors had left them. These treasures were now brought forth from musty libraries where they had lain concealed, and studied with a diligence, enthusiasm, and consciousness of their value, which commands admiration. The Greeks had, however, long before, lost the capacity of producing original works; their energy was therefore expended on reproducing, annotating, or explaining. But even thus the revival of classical lore exercised comparatively little influence on a theology, which had become ossified amid traditionalism and Aristotelian formulas. Where these bonds were broken, classical studies only re-introduced the ancient heathen views of men and matters.

1. It appears that the patronage which the Khalifs, since the close of the eighth century, bestowed on the study of the ancient literature of Greece, fired the zeal of the Eastern *literati*, and led to the REVIVAL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES. Of course, if a trace of national feeling were left in the Byzantine rulers, they could not lag behind their Moslem rivals. This circumstance, however, does not entirely account for the altered state of matters. No doubt Providence itself designed it, that these, the noblest fruits of ancient heathenism, which had already served such good purpose in training and preparing the Christian Fathers for their task, should now become the basis of modern literature and science.—To *Bardas*, the guardian and colleague of Michael III. (§ 97, 1), however infamous his conduct had been in other respects, belongs the merit of founding schools, and employing teachers for the prosecution of classical studies. *Basilius the Macedonian*, although himself destitute of learning, respected and promoted scientific culture. *Photius* was chosen tutor to the children of that Emperor, and imbued them with a zeal for study, which in turn was transmitted to their descendants. *Leo the Philosopher*, the son, and *Constantinus Porphyrogenneta*, the grandson of Basilius, were both distinguished for their attainments. When the dynasty of



the Macedonians was succeeded by that of the *Comnenes* (since 1057), scientific pursuits were prosecuted with even greater ardour. Some of the princesses of that race (such as Eudocia and Anna Comnena) distinguished themselves in literature. *Psellus* proved to this family what *Photius* had been to that of the Macedonians. *Thessalonica* became a second Athens, and rivalled Constantinople in the pursuit of classical study. During the sixty years when Byzantium was the seat of a Latin Empire, the barbarism and ignorance of the Crusaders threatened to destroy the civilisation fostered by the *Comnenes*; but when, in 1261, the *Palæologi* again ascended the throne of the East, the former pursuits were resumed with renewed ardour. In 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks, when a large number of Greek *literati* sought refuge in Italy, transferring to the West the treasures they had guarded with such care.

2. ARISTOTLE AND PLATO. With the revival of classical studies, the treatises of *Plato*, which were regarded as more classical, or at least as more purely Grecian than those of *Aristotle*, came again into high repute. But as Aristotle was still considered the great authority in the church (§ 77)—a position assigned to him chiefly through the efforts of *Johannes Damascenus*—Platonism continued an object of some distrust to theologians, a feeling increased by the circumstance that so many admirers of classical literature had lapsed into practical heathenism. The controversy which now ensued attained its highest pitch during the fifteenth century, when *Gemistus Pletho* used every effort to dethrone Aristotle from the place which till then he had occupied in the esteem of the learned. He insisted that all should acknowledge the supremacy of “the divine Plato,” and confidently predicted that speedily the time would come when both Christianity and Mahomedanism would give place to the universal sway of a “religion of pure humanity.” These views were shared by his numerous pupils, among whom *Bessarion* (§ 97, 6) was the most distinguished. On the other hand, *George of Trebizond* and his pupils were equally enthusiastic in their admiration of Aristotle. Numerous representatives of these two schools settled in Italy, where they continued their controversies with increased bitterness. *Comp. Gass ut supra*, vol. i.

3. SCHOLASTICISM AND MYSTICISM. The application of the Aristotelian method to the study of dogmatics, which *Johannes Philoponus* first introduced, and *Johannes Damascenus* brought into general vogue, gave rise to a peculiar mode of treating this science, which, though wanting in the depth, variety, and acuteness that characterised the *scholasticism* of the middle ages, resembled it in many respects. But at the same time another and very different tendency made its appearance. *Mysticism*, of which the traces are already found in the writings of the pseudo-Areopagite (§ 78, 5), was peculiarly adapted to the discipline and retirement of the monasteries. Among its numerous represen-

tatives, *Nicholas Cabasilas* was the most distinguished. Those mystics opposed neither the teaching nor the rites of the Church. On the contrary, they delighted in dwelling on all that had a symbolical bearing, and connecting it with the idea of a sacrament. No ground, therefore, existed for collision between the Dialecticians and the Mystics.

4. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCES. *Johannes Damascenus* had, at the commencement of this period, grouped into a system according to the dialectic forms of Aristotle, the conclusions of former DOCTRINAL disquisitions. His "Ecdosis" is the first and only complete work on Dogmatics that emanated from the ancient Greek Church. Despite the failure of attempts at union with the Latin Church, which indeed only issued in wider estrangement on controverted points, the frequent contact with the Latin was not without its beneficial influence on the Greek Church. The Eastern divines profited by the scholasticism of their brethren in the West so far as to apply this more full and scientific method to the treatment of doctrines on which the two churches were agreed. CONTROVERSIAL TRACTATES were still directed against the Nestorians, the Monophysites, and the Monothelites, while the pen of polemics found fresh employment against the Gnostic and Manichean sects, which at this period again made their appearance, as also against the schismatics of the West, and those who advocated a re-union with them. The altered circumstances of the times also led to a revival of the study of APOLOGETICS. Not only was *Islamism* making rapid strides, but the protection accorded by the Saracens to the *synagogue* rendered it necessary to defend Christianity against the attacks of the Jews. But the prevailing scholastic and traditional theology proved incapable of coping with the storms which the judicial providence of God had allowed to rise. Lastly, the revival of classical study, and the reappearance in its train of heathen ideas, obliged theologians to be again on their guard against ancient superstitions (*Nicholas of Methone*). Independent EXEGETICAL researches were now no longer prosecuted; but the "Catenæ" of *Æcumenius*, of *Theophylact*, and *Euthymius Zygadenus*, are valuable. The study of ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY was entirely neglected. *Nicephorus Callisti* was the only writer who devoted his attention to this study (in the fourteenth cent.). But his *Eccl. Hist.*, written without taste or ability, adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject. Of much greater value, even in regard of *Eccl. Hist.*, are the numerous "Scriptores historiæ Byzantinæ." To this list we add the name of *Simeon Metaphrastes*, celebrated in his day as a writer of legends.

5. JOHANNES DAMASCENUS was by far the ablest theologian of the eighth century. For a considerable time he was employed in the service of the Saracens, and died in 760 as Abbot of the Monastery of S. Sabas at Jerusalem. His admirers gave him the title of *Chrysorrhœas*; the Iconoclasts, who at the Council of Constantinople

in 754 pronounced a threefold anathema upon him, the Saracen bye-name of *Mansur*. His principal work, the *Πηγὴ γνώσεως*, procured him an imperishable fame, and has been regarded as an authority in the Greek Church. Section I. forms a dialectic, and Section II. a historical introduction to Part III., in which the various dogmas as propounded by the Councils and the Fathers—especially the three great Cappadocians—are systematically arranged and presented. The *ἱερὰ παράλληλα*, by the same author, consist of a collection of “loci classici,” taken from the writings of the Fathers on doctrinal and ethical subjects, and arranged in alphabetical order. He also wrote controversial tractates against various heretics, and composed a number of hymns (best ed. by *le Quien*. Par. 1712. 2 vols. fol.).—Among the numerous works of PHOTIUS (§ 97, 1), the “Bibliotheca” is the most valuable. It contains notices of and extracts from 279 Christian and heathen works, of which the greater part have not otherwise been preserved (best ed. by *Im. Becker*. Berol. 1824. 2 vols. 4). Besides his controversial tractates against the Latins and the Paulicians, the *Amphilochia* (or replies to above 300 theological questions submitted to him by Bishop Amphilochius) also deserve notice, and his *Nomocanon* (§ 68, 3), which has ever since formed the basis of the canon law of the Greek Church. The series of distinguished writers who flourished under the *Comnene dynasty* commenced with MICHAEL CONSTANTINUS PSELLUS, teacher of philosophy at Constantinople (*ob.* 1020), a man whose acquirements were equally varied and deep. Some of his numerous tractates were devoted to theological subjects, though he acquired not fame in that department. His cotemporary, *Theophylact*, Archbishop of Achrida, in Bulgaria, has left us very able commentaries, or rather “Catenæ.” EUTHYMIUS ZYGADENUS, a monk of Constantinople, at the commencement of the twelfth cent., composed, by request of the Emperor *Alexius Comnenus*, a work intended to refute all heresies (“Dogmatic Panoply of the Orthodox Faith,” in twenty-four books). Although highly praised at the time, it is a mere compilation, whose sole merit lies in its refutation of the heretics of that particular period. The exegetical compilations by the same author are more valuable. EUSTATHIUS, Archbishop of Thessalonica, was the most prominent divine of the twelfth cent. He has long been famed as the commentator of Homer and Pindar; but the recent edition of his theological *Opuscula* (ed. Tafel. Frcf. 1839, 4), proves that he deserves even higher acknowledgment as a Christian, a divine, a prelate, and a reformer of the ecclesiastical and monkish abuses of his time (§ 100, 4). At the same period flourished NICHOLAS, Bishop of METHONE in Messenia, who replied to the attacks of Proclus the Neoplatonist, in a tractate which forms one of the ablest theological works of that age. His views on the doctrine of redemption deserve special mention as resembling those of Anselm of Canterbury. NICETAS ACOMINATUS or *Choniates*, a statesman



(*ob.* 1204), was another distinguished writer of that period. His "Treasury of Orthodoxy," in twenty-seven books, contains a vindication of orthodox doctrine, and a refutation of heretics, much more able and original than the work of Euthymius on the same subject. Comp. *Ullmann*, "Nic. of Methone, Euthym. Zygabenus and Nicetas Choniates," in the "Studien u. Krit." for 1833, P. III.—During the reign of the *Palæologi* (1250–1450), theologians were chiefly engaged in advocating or opposing the attempts made at reunion with the Latin Church. NICHOLAS CABASILAS, Archbishop of Thessalonica, in the fourteenth cent., one of the most eminent mystics in the Church, deserves special mention. His principal work, "About the Life in Christ," has only lately been rescued from oblivion by *W. Gass* *ut supra*, vol. II. His mysticism, which is remarkable for its depth and fervour, breathes a spirit of antagonism to the prevailing tendency towards work-righteousness. Still, his "Expositio Missæ" proves that he shared the predilection of Greek Mystics for the Liturgy. At a somewhat later period (about 1400) flourished SIMEON, Archbishop of THESSALONICA, a prelate equally famed for classical and patristic lore, and for the manner in which he administered the affairs of the Church. His great work, "De fide, ritibus et mysteriis ecclesiasticis," is of great importance for the study of Greek Mediævalism. Lastly, we may mention *Gregorius Scholarius*, who as monk bore the name of GENNADIUS, the first Patriarch of Constantinople after the capture of that city by the Turks. At the Council of Florence he objected to the proposed union; in the philosophical controversy then raging, he advocated the traditional claims of Aristotle against Plato. At the request of Sultan *Mohammed II.*, he composed and handed to that monarch a "Professio Fidei." Comp. *Gass ut supra*, vol. I.

#### § 99. DOGMATIC CONTROVERSIES DURING THE TWELFTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

With the taste for intellectual pursuits, that for theological speculations and discussions also revived. During the reign of *Manuel Comnenus*, 1143–1180, the question was raised, whether Christ had offered Himself a sacrifice for the sins of the world to the Father and to the Holy Ghost only, or also to the Logos, *i.e.*, to Himself. At a synod held at *Constantinople* in 1156, the latter view was declared to be the orthodox. Ten years later, a controversy arose as to whether the saying of Christ, "My Father is greater than I," referred to His Divine nature, to His human, or to the union of these two natures. The question was discussed by persons of all classes, and that with an earnestness and ardour which recalls the kindred controversies in the fourth cent. (§ 80, 2). At last



the view of the Emperor, that the expression referred to the God-man, carried at the *Synod of Constantinople* in 1166. Those who refused to submit, had their property confiscated or were exiled. A third controversy sprung up when the Emperor Manuel objected to the formula of solemn abjuration, "*of the God of Mohammed,*" which was exacted from Moslem converts. In vain the bishops proved that the God of Mohammed was not the true God; the formula had to be altered.—Two centuries later, the *Hesychastic* controversy broke out, which bore on the existence and reality of an uncreated Divine Light.

THE HESYCHASTIC CONTROVERSY (1341-1351). The monks who inhabited the cloisters on Mount Athos in Thessalia were deeply imbued with the mysticism of the Pseudo-Areopagite. Following the directions given three centuries before by *Simeon*, Abbot of the Mamas monastery at Constantinople, these monks used artificial means to bring themselves into a state of ecstatic vision, which the Areopagite had recommended as the highest stage of genuine mysticism. For this purpose, each cowered alone in a corner of his cell, his chin pressed against his chest, his eyes immovably fixed on the pit of his stomach, and restraining his breath as much as possible. By and by they fell into a state of melancholy, and their sight became dim; but by persisting, these sensations gave place to ineffable delight, till at last each saw himself wrapt in a bright halo of glory. They called themselves "Quietists" (*ἡσυχάζοντες*), and maintained that the halo which shone around them was the same uncreated Divine Light that on Mount Tabor had surrounded the person of the Saviour. *Barlaam* (§ 97, 5), who had just returned from his unsuccessful attempt at bringing about a union with the Latin Church, designated these monks as "*navel-souls*" (*ὀμφαλόψυχοι*), and charged them and their defender *Gregorius Palamas*, afterwards Archbishop of Thessalonica, with Ditheism. But at a *Council held at Constantinople* (in 1341), the members of which were hostile to the efforts made by Barlaam for a union with the West, the doctrine of an uncreated Divine Light was approved, and a distinction made between this Divine *ἐνέργεια* and the Divine *οὐσία*. To escape being anathematised, Barlaam made recantation; soon afterwards he fled to Italy and joined the Latin Church. But *Gregorius Acindynos*, a pupil of Barlaam, and *Nicephorus Gregoras*, the historian, continued the controversy with the Hesychasts. Three other synods (up to A.D. 1351) pronounced in favour of these monks.

#### § 100. GOVERNMENT, WORSHIP, AND MANNERS.

The Byzantine *emperors* had always insisted on imposing their own views or desires as the law according to which even the internal affairs of the Church were to be settled. Being anointed with the

noly Myron, they bore the character of priests and the title of ἱερός. Besides, since the time of Leo the Philosopher (§ 98, 1), most of the emperors had been more or less versed in theology. Still, the *office of Patriarch*, when held by a man of character, was, despite frequent and arbitrary depositions of those who occupied the See of Constantinople, a power which even the despots of the East were obliged to respect. The numerous monks—and through them the people—formed a mighty bulwark around the Episcopal Chair. In consequence of the iconoclastic controversies, *Theodorus Studita* (§ 96, 4) had organised the strict churchmen into a party, which strenuously resisted, on principle, every interference of the State in ecclesiastical affairs, and, among others, the filling up of ecclesiastical offices by the secular power. But these efforts were only attended with partial success. The *monastic* institutions had been almost entirely annihilated under the reign of the Isaurian dynasty. When again restored, they developed, indeed, and spread in proportion to their former decline, but rapidly degenerated in every sense of the word. The Eastern monks, who had not the great mission, devolving on their brethren in the West, of Christianising and civilising barbarous nations, wanted the opportunities of revival, of strength, and of purification, which this great work afforded to the monks of the Latin Church. Still, if in those degenerate times we were to look for instances of steadfast conviction, of firmness, of boldness, and of moral earnestness, we should in all likelihood find them, if anywhere, among these recluses. The modifications which, during that period, took place in *public worship* were unimportant, although both in theory and practice slight alterations, or rather amplifications, were introduced.

1. THE ARSENIAN SCHISM (1262–1312). After the death of the Emperor Theodore Lascaris in 1259, *Michael Palæologus* usurped the guardianship of Johannes, the imperial Prince, a child only six years old, had himself crowned co-Emperor, and, to render the Prince incapable of reigning, caused his eyes to be put out. For these crimes, the Patriarch *Arsenius* excommunicated the Regent; but was in turn deposed and banished (1262). The numerous adherents of Arsenius refused to acknowledge *Joseph* (§ 97, 4) as his successor in the See of Constantinople. They separated from the State Church, and gradually their admiration of the exiled patriarch changed into violent hatred of the prelate who occupied his place. When Joseph died (in 1283), it was agreed to submit the question in dispute to the test of a solemn ordeal. Each of the two parties threw a document, which embodied a defence of their views, into the

fire. Of course, *both* documents were consumed by the flames. At the sight of this, the Arsenians, who had expected a miracle, seemed taken aback, and proposed to fall in with the opposite party. But on the day following, they revoked their concessions; and the schism continued until in 1312, when the Patriarch *Niphon* solemnly buried the bones of Arsenius in the Church of St Sophia, and suspended for forty days all those clerics who formerly had declared themselves opposed to him.

2. PUBLIC WORSHIP. In the Greek Church the *sermon* still formed the principal part in the public services; but the homiletic productions of that period are not of a character to deserve special notice. In the service of song, a revulsion of feeling took place; and gradually uninspired hymns, especially those in honour of the Virgin and of the saints, were introduced into the Church services. The best specimens of this kind of composition date from the eighth cent. *Johannes Damascenus*, *Cosmas of Jerusalem*, and *Theophanes of Nice*, were regarded as the three great *ἅγιοι μελωδοί*. The number of the *sacraments* and their import had not yet been accurately defined. An enumeration of *seven* sacraments—the same as that adopted by the Latin Church during the middle ages—occurs first in the anti-protestant “*Confessio Orthodoxa*” of *Petrus Mogilas*, dating from A.D. 1643. In contradistinction to the Western Church, the Greeks insisted on the necessity of *submersion* in baptism, of the *chrisma* in baptism, of the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist, and of giving *both* elements to the laity. *Johannes Damascenus* still defended the doctrine of consubstantiation in the Eucharist, but later divines adopted that of transubstantiation. *Extreme unction* was, indeed, administered in the Greek Church; but, unlike the practice in the Church of Rome, not merely to those who were *in articulo mortis*, but even to persons who were not dangerously ill, while, in case of a relapse, the rite was repeated.

3. MONASTICISM. The most renowned monasteries were those on *Mount Athos* in Thessalia, which was literally covered with cloisters and cells of hermits, and which to this day is venerated by the Greek Church as a holy mountain and place of pilgrimage. The monastery of *Studion* was also (§ 69, 4) still in high repute.—But the Eastern monks were not free from extravagances. There were innumerable *Stylites* who spent their lives on the top of trees, in close cages built upon high scaffoldings, or in subterranean caves. Some took a vow of perpetual silence, while many wore constantly a coat of iron, etc. A curious species of religious exercises was that in which the *ECETES* (*ἐκέται*) of the twelfth cent. indulged. These monks engaged, along with nuns who held similar views, in solemn dances, and singing of hymns to the praise of God, in imitation of Ex. xv. 20, 21. They were sound in doctrine, nor do they appear to have been charged with immorality; still, *Nicetas Acominatus* represents them as a heretical sect.



4. REFORMATORY EFFORTS. At the commencement of the twelfth cent., *Constantinus Chrysomalus*, a pious monk of Constantinople, and ten years afterwards another monk called *Niphon*, combated the prevailing tendency towards externalism and work-righteousness. Both became the leaders of wide-spread associations of clerics and laymen, who, under their spiritual direction, cultivated, as mystics, the inner religious life, but set lightly by outward ecclesiastical forms. The two monks were excommunicated. The Patriarch *Cosmas*, who would not admit that *Niphon* was a heretic, and indeed asked him to share his palace and table, was likewise deposed (in 1150). The reformatory efforts made by *Eustathius*, the distinguished Archbishop of *Thessalonica*, were entirely free from direct opposition to the prevailing ecclesiastical system, and hence offered no ground of attack to his enemies. He inveighed unsparingly against the moral and religious decay prevalent among the people, and especially against the hypocrisy, the vulgarity, coarseness, spiritual pride, and ascetic extravagances of the monks, and that although himself was enthusiastically devoted to Monasticism. Two centuries after him, *Nicholas Cabasilas* (§ 98, 5), a man of like spirit, insisted even more energetically that the state of the heart and mind was the test, and love the root, of all virtue.

#### § 101. Gnostic and Manichæan Heretics.

COMP. *F. Schmid*, Hist. Paulician. Oriental. Hafn. 1826. *Gieseler*, Unters. ü. d. Gesch. d. Paulicianer (Inquiry into the Hist. of the Paulic.), in the "Stud. u. Krit." for 1829, P. I. *Engelhardt*, d. Bogomilen, in that author's "Kirchengesch. Abhandl." Erlang. 1832. *J. C. Wolf*, Hist. Bogomil. Vit. 1712. Also *Dowling's* Letter to Maitland on the Paulic. London 1835.

So late as the seventh century traces of the Gnostic and Manichæan heresies seem to have lingered in Armenia and Syria, where such views were fostered by contiguity to the Parsees. These embers were in 657 fanned afresh by *Constantinus* of *Mananalis* near Samosata, whose doctrinal views were almost identical with those of Marcion (§ 49, 10). The Catholics, whom this sect called "Romans," gave them the name of PAULICIANS, because they only acknowledged the apostolic authority of Paul. But they designated themselves "Christians," and gave their leaders and congregations the titles of the companions of Paul, and of the places where he had laboured. Their system was a mixture of Mysticism, which aimed after the cultivation of the "inner life," with Dualism, Demiurgism, and Docetism. They insisted on strict, though not on excessive asceticism, opposed fasts, and allowed marriage. Their form of wor-



ship was very simple, and their church government modelled after that of apostolic times. They specially protested against the many ceremonies of the Catholic Church, and against the religious honour paid to images, relics, and saints. They also enjoined diligent study of the Scriptures, but rejected what they called the Judæo-Christian Gospels and Epistles of the N. T.—Even before the Paulicians, another sect, called the “CHILDREN OF THE SUN,” had appeared in Armenia, which sought to combine the worship of Ormuzd with certain Christian elements. Reorganised during the ninth and tenth cents., this sect acquired fresh influence. Like the Paulicians, they protested against the abuses in the Catholic Church. The same remarks apply also to the EUCHITES, a sect in Thracia (during the eleventh cent.), which, like their older namesakes (§ 69, 5), derived their name from engaging continuously in prayer, a practice which they extolled as the indication of highest perfection. Their Dualistic and Gnostic views were adopted and further developed by the BOGOMILES (lovers of God, friends of God), a sect in Bulgaria (in the twelfth cent.). The latter maintained that two principles—*Satanael*, the elder, and *Christ*, the younger Son of God—had emanated from the Supreme God. Originally, *Satanael* had also been a good Æon; but having revolted, he had created the terrestrial world and man. In mercy the Supreme God had breathed into man the breath of His own Divine life, and sent Christ, the younger Æon, for the purpose of completely redeeming him. The sect prohibited marriage, rejected the use of images and the sign of the cross, but attached great importance to fasting. The only portions of the Old Test. which they received, were the writings of the Prophets and the Book of Psalms. The Gospel of John they regarded as the highest revelation. In room of the baptism with water they substituted that of the Spirit, and also rejected the celebration of Eucharist; and in place of these rites, laid great stress on prayer, especially on the Lord's Prayer.—All these sects were charged by their Catholic opponents with holding Antinomian principles, and with indulging in orgies and unnatural vices.

1. THE PAULICIANS (657-1115).—The Catholic controversial writers of the ninth cent. traced the sect of the Paulicians, and even their name, to a Manichæan family of the fourth cent.,—*Callinice*, a widow, and her two sons, *Paulus* and *Johannes*. But later investigations have failed to discover any traces of Manichæan tenets in their system; and the only historical fact established, is that the sect

was founded by *Constantinus* of Mananalis, who took the name of *Sylvanus* (the companion of Paul). Their first community, which was designated as that "of Macedonia," was established at *Cibossa* in Armenia. From that place *Constantinus* undertook missionary journeys in all directions. The Emperor *Constantinus Pogonnatus* (668–685) commenced a bloody persecution of the Paulicians. But the enthusiasm with which *Sylvanus* met death by stoning made so deep an impression on *Symeon*, the imperial representative, that he also joined the sect, and taking the name of *Titus*, became its leader. In 690 he mounted the stake with the same enthusiasm as *Sylvanus*. *Gegnesius*, his successor (who bore the byname of *Timotheus*), was summoned to Constantinople under the reign of *Leo the Isaurian*. Subjected to an examination by the Patriarch, he succeeded in obtaining from him a certificate of orthodoxy, and was also furnished by the Emperor (who sympathised in his hostility to images) with a letter of protection. The sect, however, became divided. *Baanes*, one of their leaders, was, on account of his Antinomian practices, styled "the filthy." But about 801 a new reformer arose in the person of *Sergius Tychicus*, who late in life was converted through the instrumentality of a pious Paulician female, who directed his attention to the Bible. *Leo the Armenian* (813–820) organised an expedition for their so-called conversion. Those who recanted were again received into the Church, those who resisted were executed. A number of Paulicians now combined against their persecutors, killed them, and sought refuge on Saracen territory, where they founded a military colony at *Argaun* (Colosse). Thence they made continual incursions into the Byzantine territory, for the double purpose of pillage and of avenging their wrongs. The sect was most numerous in Asia Minor. Under the reign of the Empress *Theodora* (§ 97, 4), another fearful persecution broke out. Thousands of Paulicians were executed; among others, an officer high in command. His son *Carbeas*, who had also been an officer, now collected about 5000 Paulicians, by whose aid he hoped to avenge the death of his parent, retired with them to *Argaun*, and acted as the military chief of the party. Their number daily increased by the accession of other fugitives, and the Khalifs assigned to them some fortified towns on the frontier. At the head of a well-organised army, *Carbeas* carried fire and sword into the Byzantine territory, and repeatedly put imperial armies to flight. At last, after two campaigns, *Basilus the Macedonian* annihilated the Paulician army in a narrow defile (871). The political power of the sect was indeed broken, but it continued to spread both in Syria and Asia Minor. A century later (in 970), the Emperor *John Tzimiscus* transported a large number of them to *Thracia* to guard its boundaries, where *Philippopolis* became their Zion. Their tenets rapidly spread through that country. *Alexius Comnenus* again addressed himself to the task of converting them to Catholic views. He went in person to *Philippopolis*,

disputed for days with their leaders, and by promises, threats, rewards, or punishments, as each case required, carried his purpose. After that, the sect seems to have become extinct. Those who continued to entertain their views probably joined the Euchites or the Bogomiles.—The principal authority for the history of the Paulicians is the “Hist. Manichæorum” of *Petrus Siculus*, who, as imperial ambassador, had lived for some time among the Paulicians of Armenia.

2. The so-called “CHILDREN OF THE SUN,” or *Arevurdi's*, an Armenian sect, originated in the ninth century with *Sembat*, a Paulician. They also bore the name of *Thontrakians*, from the village of Thontrake, where their church was formed. In 1002 no less a personage than the Metropolitan, *Jacob of Harkh*, joined them. He gave a more distinctively Christian cast to their tenets, journeyed through the country preaching repentance and inveighing against work-righteousness, and made numerous converts both among the clergy and laity. The Catholicos of the Armenian Church had him branded and imprisoned. He escaped, but was ultimately killed by his opponents.

3. At the commencement of the eleventh cent. the EUCHITES (*Messalians*, *Enthusiasts*) attracted the attention of the Government, their opinions having widely spread in Thracia. Their tenets about two Sons of God, Satanael and Christ, are in some respects akin to that form of Parsee Dualism which represents the two antagonistic principles, Ormuzd and Ahriman, as proceeding from Zeruane Akerene, the one Supreme and Eternal Source. The seeds of this heresy may have been brought to Thracia when the Emperor Tzimisces transported the Paulicians to that province. The Byzantine Government sent a deputy to arrest the progress of this heresy (perhaps *Michael Psellus*, whose *διάλογος περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων*—Ed. Nuremberg 1838—is our only authority about this sect). But a century afterwards, the same tenets were again broached in Bulgaria by the BOGOMILES (*Θεόφιλοι*), only more fully developed, and assuming the form of more direct opposition to the Catholic Church. The Emperor *Alexius Comnenus* had *Basilius*, the chief of the party, brought to Constantinople, and, under pretext of intending to join the sect, induced him to communicate its tenets. But while Basilius unreservedly opened his mind to the monarch, as he thought in strict confidence, a conclave of inquisitors sat concealed behind a curtain, and noted down his every statement. This first scene of the comedy was followed by another. All the adherents of Basilius, on whom the Government could lay hands, were condemned to death. Two stakes were lighted, to one of which a cross was affixed. The Emperor now entreated them at least to die as Christians, and in sign of it to choose the stake at which the cross had been erected. Those who complied were pardoned, the others condemned to imprisonment for life. *Basilius* alone was burnt (1119).



Still the sect was not annihilated. Many of the Bogomiles sought refuge in monasteries, where they propagated their views in secret. —Indeed, long after that, adherents of Manichæan views were found in Bulgaria, whence they spread their views in the West. Our principal source of information about the Bogomiles is the Panoplia of Euthymius.

## § 102. THE ORTHODOX SLAVONIC-GREEK CHURCHES.

COMP. *J. Ph. Fallmerayer*, *Gesch. d. Halbinsel Morea im M. A.* (Hist. of the Penins. of Morea during the M. A.). Stuttg. 1830. Vol. I.—*Hanusch*, *d. Wiss. d. slav. Mythus* (Slav. Myths). Lunb. 1842.—*P. J. Schafarik*, *slav. Alterthümer* (Slav. Antiq.). Vol. II. Leipz. 1844; that author's *kurze Uebers. d. ältest. kirchenslav. Liter.* (Brief Survey of the Old Slav. Eccl. Liter.). Leipz. 1848.—*Frähn* in the *Memoires de l'Acad. de St. Petersb.* Vol. VIII. (1822).—*Nestor's Annalen*, transl. by *Schlözer*. Gött. 1802. 5 vols.—*Karamsin's russ. Gesch.*, transl. by *Hauenschild*. Riga 1820. 11 vols.—*Ph. Strahl*, *Gesch. d. russ. K.* Halle 1830. Vol. I. (incompl.).—*H. J. Schmitt* (Rom. Cath.), *krit. Gesch. d. neugriech. u. russ. K.* Mayence 1840.—*Hefele*, *d. russ. K.*, in the *Tübing. Quarterly*, 1853. P. III.—*Mouraviev*, *Hist. of the Ch. of Russia*, transl. by *Blackmore*. Oxford 1842.—*J. Dobrowsky*, *Cyrrill u. Methodius*. Prague 1823.—*Philaret*, *Cyrrill u. Methodius*. Mitau 1847.—*J. A. Ginzcl*, *Gesch. d. Slavenap. Cyrrill. u. Meth. u. d. slav. Liturgie. Leitm.* 1857.

Among the various races set in motion when the Western Empire was broken up, the *Germans* and *Slavonians* were destined to become the principal actors in the history of the world. The Germanic tribes joined the Roman Catholic Church; and at first it seemed as if the Slavonic race generally would equally connect itself with the orthodox Byzantine Church. Ultimately, however, only the Eastern Slavonic countries continued in their adherence to this communion. Most of them were, about the same period as the Byzantine Church, brought under the yoke of Turkish dominion. This remark applies especially to the Church of *Bulgaria*, which at one time enjoyed so bright prospects. In proportion to these losses, was the accession made to the Greek Church by the conversion of the *Russian* nation. The political importance attaching to that empire, which, after having for two centuries (1223–1481) groaned under the yoke of the Mongols, rapidly grew both in extent and power, proved of great advantage to the Greek Church. It is due to the Russians that at this moment the orthodox Greek almost equals in numbers and influence the Romish Church.



1. Not long after the time of Justinian, SLAVONIC TRIBES made irruptions into *Macedonia, Thessalia, Hellas, and the Peloponnesus*. The ancient Hellenic population of those countries was almost entirely exterminated; and Greek nationality and the profession of Christianity continued to exist only in the fortified towns, especially in those along the sea-coast and on the islands. The Empress *Irene* was the first successfully to attempt making those new inhabitants of Greece subject both to Christianity and to the Byzantine Empire. *Basilius the Macedonian* (867-886) completed this effort, and that so effectually, that even the ancient heathen *Mainots* (§ 66) in the Peloponnesus submitted. Mount Athos, with its hermits and monasteries (§ 100, 3), became the Zion of the new Church.

2. About 850 the CHAZARS in the Crimea sent to Constantinople for Christian missionaries. The Court readily complied; and despatched on this errand *Constantinus*, surnamed the philosopher, but better known by the name of CYRILLUS, which he bore as a monk. He was a native of Thessalonica, and perhaps himself of Slavonic descent; at any rate, he knew the Slavonic language. In the course of a few years he succeeded in converting the great majority of the people. In 1016 the empire of the Chazars was swept away by the Russians.

3. The BULGARIANS of Thracia and Mœsia had obtained their first knowledge of Christianity through some Greek captives; but the first germs of a Christian Church were suppressed in a bloody persecution. Not long afterwards, however, a sister of Bogoris, King of Bulgaria, was baptized at Constantinople during her captivity in that city. After her liberation, she sought, with the assistance of the Byzantine monk METHODIUS, a brother of Cyrill, to convert her brother to the Christian faith. The providential occurrence of a famine, and a representation of the Last Judgment painted by Methodius, made a deep impression on the mind of Bogoris. He was baptized, and obliged his subjects to follow his example (861). Soon after this, both *Methodius* and *Cyrill* were called to another field of labour (to Moravia, § 109), and in 866 the Czar of Bulgaria joined from political motives the Western Church. At his request, Pope *Nicholas I.* sent bishops and priests to Bulgaria, to organise the Church of that country in conformity with Romish usages. However, Byzantine diplomacy recalled the Bulgarians to their first allegiance; and at the Council of Constantinople (869) their representatives were readily convinced that, both according to the law of God and of man, the Church of Bulgaria was subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople (§ 97, 1). Since that time the Bulgarians remained attached to the Greek Church. Meantime *Cyrillus* and *Methodius*, the two apostles of the Slavonians, had invented a Slavonian alphabet, and translated both the Bible and the Liturgy into the vernacular; thus laying the foundation for an ecclesiastical literature in

that tongue, which rapidly sprung up, especially in Bulgaria, under the fostering care of the noble Czar *Symeon* (888–927). The tenth cent. formed the golden age of the Bulgarian Church; though at that period the Bogomile heresy (§ 101, 3) made sad havoc. In 1018 *Basilus II.* conquered Bulgaria.

4. The conversion of the RUSSIANS to Christianity is mentioned even by Photius. Under the reign of the Grand Duke *Igor*, Kiev seems to have had a cathedral. *Olga*, the widow of *Igor*, undertook a journey to Constantinople, where she was baptized in 955, and took the name of *Helena*. But *Svatoslav*, her son, refused to follow her example. According to the statement of German chroniclers, the aged princess ultimately requested the Emperor *Otto I.* to send German missionaries to Russia. *Adalbert* of Treves, afterwards Archbishop of Magdeburg, followed this call; but returned without having achieved any result, his companions having been murdered by the way. It was reserved for *Vladimir the Apostolic*, the grandson of *Olga*, to eradicate the heathenism still rampant among his people. According to a somewhat romantic legend, that monarch had despatched ten Bojars in order to examine the rites of the various churches. The envoys seem to have been captivated with the splendid rites which they witnessed in the Church of St Sophia at Constantinople. In 988 *Vladimir* was baptized in the ancient Christian commercial city of *Cherson*, which the Russians had lately taken. He took in baptism the name of *Basilus*, and was at the same time married to the imperial Princess *Anna*. In every place the idols were now broken in pieces and burnt; the great image of Peroon was tied to the tail of a horse, dragged through the streets, broken with clubs, and thrown into the Dnieper. Soon afterwards the inhabitants of Kiev were ordered to assemble on the bank of the Dnieper in order to be baptized. *Vladimir* was on his knees by the river-side praying and thanking God, while the clergy, standing on floats, administered the sacred rite to the people. *Anna* proved very useful in encouraging and directing the organisation of the Russian Church. *Vladimir* died in 1015. His son *Jaroslav* proved in Russia another Justinian. He erected many churches, monasteries, and schools throughout the country; introduced improvements in the mode of celebrating public worship, especially in church music; awakened a taste for art, and zealously promoted scientific pursuits. Russian national literature was first cultivated in the monastery of Kiev, where a native clergy was also trained. There, at the close of the eleventh cent., *Nestor* composed his “Annals” in the Russian language. The spiritual superintendence of the Church was committed to the Metropolitan of Kiev, who in turn was under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1328 both the metropolitan see and the seat of government were transferred to Moscow. But when Kiev became subject to Lithuanian princes, and the latter joined the Latin Church (*Jagello* 1386), Kiev was elevated to the

rank of a metropolitan see for the provinces of Southern Russia, independent of the See of Moscow (1415). By dint of Polish and Jesuit intrigues, a union was brought about between that Church and the Papal See at the *Synod of Brzesc* in 1594.—*Isidore*, the Metropolitan of Moscow, also attended the *Synod* held at *Florence* in 1439, where a union with Rome was agreed upon (comp. § 97, 6), and acceded to the resolutions of that assembly. He returned as Cardinal and Papal Legate. But at a council held in Moscow the union was disavowed; *Isidore* was imprisoned, but escaped and died at Rome in 1463. After that, the Metropolitan of Moscow continued subject to the jurisdiction of the See of Constantinople till 1589, when, during a visit to Moscow, the Patriarch *Jeremiah II.* was induced to declare the Russian Church independent, and to set apart *Job*, at that time Metropolitan of Moscow, to be its first Patriarch.

### § 103. THE HERETICAL CHURCHES OF THE EAST.

The Nestorian and Monophysite churches of the East maintained their independence chiefly through the protection and favour accorded them by the Moslem rulers. At the period of which we write, the Persian and Syrian Nestorians, but especially the Armenian Monophysites, displayed considerable literary activity and zeal in the prosecution of theological and other studies. They initiated the Saracens in classical, philosophical, and medical lore, and made many contributions to theological literature. For a long time the Nestorians continued also their missionary efforts. The decay of these churches, however, commenced when the rule of the Khalifs, who had encouraged intellectual pursuits, gave place to Mongol and Turkish barbarism. The period of learning and brilliancy was followed by that dulness and deadness which has ever since prevailed. To complete the re-union with the East, inaugurated at the Synod of Florence, Rome soon afterwards proclaimed that all the heterodox churches of the East had likewise returned to their allegiance to the Chair of St Peter. But this union proved in the end either a delusion or a deception. Pretended delegates from these churches solemnly applied for re-admission into the bosom of the Church, a request which was accorded with due pomp and formality.

1. The Persian NESTORIANS (§ 94, 2) always continued on excellent terms with their Khalif rulers—a circumstance chiefly due to their opposition to the notion of a “mother of God,” and to their rejection of the worship of saints, images and relics, and of priestly celibacy. Accordingly, the Khalifs regarded theirs as a kind of rational Christianity which approximated the Moslem ideal. The



Nestorian schools of Edessa, Nisibis, Seleucia, etc., were in a very flourishing state. But the extensive literature which issued from these seats of learning has not been handed down, and only fragments of it have been preserved in the work of *Assemanus* (Bibl. Orientalis). Of later Nestorian authors the best known is *Ebed-Jesu*, the Metropolitan of Nisibis (ob. 1318). His writings treat of every department in theology. The *missionary labours* of the Nestorians continued unabated till the thirteenth cent. China and India were the fields to which their energies were principally directed. In the eleventh cent. they induced the Chief of the *Keraït*, a Tartar tribe, and most of his subjects to embrace Christianity. As vassal of the great Chinese Empire, that prince bore the title of *Ovang-Khan*. Tidings of this conversion, adorned with the most romantic details, reached the West, where wonderful stories about the power and glory of the supposed "*Priest-King John*" were circulated. The mistake may have arisen from confounding the title Khan with the Chaldee Kahanah (a priest), and the name Ovang with Johannes. —When *Chinghis-Khan*, the Mongol, put an end to the rule of the Khalifs (1220), the Nestorian Church also declined. For a time, indeed, the Nestorians were allowed to carry on missionary labours among the Mongols, and not without success. But *Tamerlane*, that scourge of Asia (1369–1405), confined them within the inaccessible mountains and glens of the province of Kurdistan.

2. The most influential and important among the MONOPHYSITE churches was that of ARMENIA (§ 94, 3). This country enjoyed, at least for a period, political independence, under the rule of native monarchs. Since the twelfth cent., the Armenian Patriarch resided in the monastery of *Edgemiadzin*, at the foot of Mount Ararat. That church attained its highest stages of literary eminence—both in the way of furnishing translations of the classics and the Fathers, and of producing original works—during the eighth, and again during the twelfth centuries. The former of these periods was adorned by writers such as the Patriarch *Johannes Ozniensis* and the Metropolitan *Stephen of Sunic*. In the twelfth cent. flourished men of even greater distinction, such as the Patriarch *Nerses Clajensis* (whose epos, "*Jesus the Son*," was celebrated as the finest specimen of Armenian poetry), and his nephew the Metropolitan *Nerses of Lampron*. The two latter would have readily acceded to a union with the Byzantine Church; but the proposal could not be carried out on account of the political troubles of the time. Advances towards a union with the Latin Church were frequently made since the thirteenth cent., but failed, from the aversion towards the Romish ritual entertained by the Armenians.—At one time the JACOBITE-SYRIAN Church (§ 82, 7) also was zealously engaged in prosecuting theological studies. The most distinguished ornament of that Church was *Gregorius Abulfaragus*, the son of a Jewish convert—hence commonly called *Barhebræus*—who first occupied the See of



Guba, and afterwards became Maphrian of Mosul (*ob.* 1286). His generous philanthropy, his high mental endowments, his extraordinary learning, and his medical skill, made him equally respected by Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews. The most important and the best known of his writings is the "*Chronicon Syriacum*."—The Jacobite Church of EGYPT stood probably lowest among Christian communities. The treason of the Copts, by which the Saracens were put in possession of that flourishing country, met with a terrible retribution. Even the Fatimide Khalifs (since 1254) oppressed them, and their position was considerably aggravated under Mameluke domination. The Copts wholly disappeared from the towns, and even in villages the sect dragged on a miserable existence. Ecclesiastically, they sunk into a state of entire deadness.—Though ABYSSINIA Proper continued to be ruled by native princes, the Church in that country gradually declined to a very low level (§ 94, 1).

3. During the Crusades, the MARONITES (§ 82, 8) joined, in 1182, the Church of Rome. They abjured their monothelete errors, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, but were allowed to retain their ancient rites. This union was confirmed in 1445 (in consequence of the movement in connection with the Council of Florence). At a later period, they also adopted the decrees of the Council of Trent.

SECOND SECTION.

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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH  
IN ITS  
MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF  
DEVELOPMENT.



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#### § 104. CHARACTER AND EXTENT OF THIS PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT.

A new stage in the development both of the Church and the world commenced with the appearance of the Germanic nations on the scene of history. In its influence on the character and direction of general history, and on the agencies brought to bear upon its course, the migration of nations is a unique event. Without ignoring the special influence exerted by the various Slavonic races, which made their appearance at a somewhat later period, it cannot be denied that they were soon drawn in the same or in an analogous direction with that of the Germanic tribes. This event must therefore be regarded as forming the boundary line between the *ancient* and the *modern* world. But the separation between the past and the coming development was not at once complete ; tendencies at work in the old world continued for centuries to make themselves felt along with, and by the side of, those which characterised the commencement of a new era. Hence, though properly beyond the sphere of the history which now commenced, they cannot be left unnoticed, since—for good or for evil—they exercised an important influence.

As the general history of the Church and world, so that of the Germanic nations, may be divided into *ancient* and *modern*, bounded and separated by the great Reformation of the sixteenth cent. The former of these periods may not inaptly be likened to the figure of Janus—one face being directed towards the ancient, the other towards the modern world. We account for this from the circumstance, that the mental development of Germanic and Slavonic nations was not the slow and painful result of personal and unaided labour. They inherited what had been acquired by the ancient world, and were thus enabled more rapidly and surely to attain their own peculiar and independent position and culture. As the ancient Roman Church (and, so far as *one* important branch of the Slavonic tribes was concerned, the ancient Byzantine also) was the

medium through which this inheritance was conveyed, it became the teacher and schoolmaster of the world. But this tutelage could not be permanent. Having attained and being conscious of his maturity, the pupil broke these leading-strings. At the Reformation the Saxon spirit attained its majority and became emancipated.—Thus, taking a general and broad view of it, this first stage in German ecclesiastical and secular history occupies a sort of intermediate position, and is therefore rightly designated as that of the MIDDLE AGES.

1. The *ecclesiastical history* of the *Middle Ages* forms, as even its name indicates, a period of *transition* from the old to the new. Christianity had fully passed through the stages of culture peculiar to the ancient Greek and Roman world, and made them its own. It was now destined to pervade the forms of life and culture characteristic of *those* modern nations whom the migration of nations had brought to the foreground of history. But in order to attain the stage of culture for which they were fitted and designed, these peoples had first to be brought under the influence of the ancient culture. Thus a period intervened which, while forming a link of connection between the ancient and modern world, brought the stages of culture characteristic of each into conflict. Throughout the Middle Ages this conflict led to continual action and reaction, or rather to incessant *formation, deformation, and reformation*, which, however, in every instance appeared not separately and distinctly, but mixed together and confused. Some of the most important events and movements (such as the Papacy, Monasticism, Scholasticism, Mysticism, etc.) took their rise in the Middle Ages. But as in each and all these movements the three phases to which we have alluded continued to struggle for the mastery, neither of them attained full maturity, and each in turn degenerated. It was only in the sixteenth cent. that the reformatory element attained sufficient maturity and force to appear pure and unmixed with other tendencies. Its victory marks the close of the Middle Ages and the commencement of modern history.

2. The ecclesiastical history of Germany previous to the Reformation embraces twelve centuries, and details very varied movements. The first period closes with the extinction of the *German Carolingian* dynasty (911). Up to that time the general movement in ecclesiastical matters progressed uninterruptedly, rising *before* the time of Charlemagne, attaining its climax *during* his reign, and *then* declining. This may be designated the **DISTINCTIVELY GERMANIC period of history**. All the princes of the Carolingian dynasty, even to its weakest representatives, were inspired by the great idea of uniting the various Germanic and kindred (Romanic or Slavonic) tribes into one Germanic Empire. This idea only died with the last of the Carolingians. After that the tendency towards separation

into independent and distinct German, Romanic, and Slavonic States, which had already appeared in the ninth cent., gradually gained ground. The Carolingian period, to which we have referred, had a civilisation of its own, which decayed with it. Even the Papacy, to whose intrigues that dynasty succumbed, felt the consequences of its treachery, and sank into impotence and ruin. To whatever point we direct our attention, we descry at the commencement of the tenth cent. a fearful decay, both in Church and State, in science, in culture, and in art. The glorious achievements of Charlemagne gave place to a *seculum obscurum*. Still, even in the confusion and the troubles of that century we can discern the conditions and the germs of a new and better age.—The time of Pope *Boniface VIII.*, or the commencement of the fourteenth cent., marks another and not less important period. *Before* that time GERMANY led and gave the tone both in secular and ecclesiastical matters. But the unsuccessful contest between Boniface and Philip the Fair of France gave an immense preponderance to FRANCE, which henceforth led the way in all ecclesiastical movements. During this period the internal development of the Church progressed very rapidly. The Papacy, Monasticism, and Scholasticism—the most important elements in the history of the mediæval Church—attained their highest point *before*, and declined *after*, the time of Boniface. Again, the desire for reforms, which manifested itself throughout the Middle Ages, was quite different in these two periods. *Before* the time of Boniface, the representatives of the Church (Popes, Monastic Orders, and Schoolmen) seemed generally desirous for a certain measure of reform, though perhaps not of a comprehensive or entirely spiritual character. On the other hand, the instances in which a genuine and evangelical desire after reform was associated with opposition to the prevailing ecclesiasticism, were few and isolated, while frequently it appeared in combination with errors and heresies almost unparalleled in history. Towards the close of this period, however, this state of matters was completely reversed. Not only had the Papacy, the Monastic Orders, and the Schoolmen degenerated themselves—they had become the main abettors of ecclesiastical degeneracy. Opposition to the Church, as then constituted, no longer appeared in the wake of heretical tendencies. The reformatory movement, though not entirely free from admixture of errors, became evangelical in its spirit, and rapidly grew in strength and influence. This phase of development, then, embraces three periods: that between the fourth and the ninth cent., that between the tenth and the thirteenth cent., and that which comprised the fourteenth and fifteenth cent.

# FIRST PERIOD

## OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

IN ITS MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

FROM THE FOURTH TO THE NINTH CENT.

COMP. *F. W. Rettberg*, K.-G. Deutschlands (bis zum Tode Karls d. Gr.). Leipz. 1853. 2 Vols.—*W. Krafft*, die K.-G. der german. Völker. Berlin 1854. Vol. I.—*H. Rückert*, Culturgesch. d. deutsch. Volkes in d. Zeit d. Ueberganges aus d. Heidenth. in das Christenth. (Hist. of Germ. Civilis. during the time of Trans. from Heathen. to Christian.). Leipz. 1853. 2 Vols.—*W. C. Perry*, The Franks. London 1857.—Also generally : *Hardwick*, Hist. of the Chr. Ch., Middle Age. Cambridge 1853 ; *Robertson*, Hist. of the Chr. Ch. (590–1122). London 1856.

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### I. ESTABLISHMENT, SPREAD, AND LIMITATIONS OF THE GERMAN CHURCH.

#### § 105. CHRISTIANITY AND THE GERMANS

Before the Germans appeared on the stage of history, Europe was chiefly peopled by *Celtic* races. In Britain, Spain, and Gaul, these tribes were conquered by the Romans, and became amalgamated with them ; while in the north, the east, and the centre of Europe they were expelled, exterminated, or absorbed by the Germans. When Christianity extended over the face of Europe, the Celtic race existed as a distinct nationality only in Ireland and Scotland, as even among the neighbouring Britons it had already become mixed with Romanic elements. Hence but a very narrow territory was left on which Christianity might assume the peculiar Celtic form of development. Our knowledge of this phase of ecclesiastical life is derived from the few notices left us of Irish monasteries, and of the resistance offered to the introduction of the Romish Confession (§ 107).

But even before the time of Christ, the *Germanic* races had fol-



lowed the Celts, and migrated from the East into Europe. They were in turn succeeded by the Huns, by the Slavonic and Magyar tribes. So early as the commencement of the fourth century, the Germans were brought into contact with Christianity. Only one century elapsed when a number of powerful peoples of Germanic descent professed the Gospel. Since that period each century, till late in the Middle Ages, witnessed fresh national additions to the Church from among that race. These great results have sometimes, though erroneously, been traced to a peculiar natural and national predisposition for Christianity. But while we gladly admit its existence—at least in some measure, we deny that the Germans were in consequence of it attracted to Christianity, as at that time it was preached. In our opinion, it manifested itself chiefly after Christianity had by other instrumentality gained an entrance, and only appeared fully at the time of the Reformation. For this predisposition bore reference to the profoundest bearings of Christianity, which were neglected and ignored in the ecclesiastical externalism of earlier days. It was the task of the Germanic Church to develop and to bring prominently forward these aspects of the Gospel.

1. Much of what has been vaunted about the special **PREDISPOSITION** of the Germans towards Christianity, is either exaggerated or based upon misapprehension. Admitting that in German *Mythology* many deep thoughts, concealed under the garb of poetic legends, bear evidence of the high religious aspirations, the intellectual endowments, and the remarkable spiritual anticipations of the Germanic race, and as such may have formed a preparation for Christian truth, it will scarcely be maintained that these characteristics apply to it in greater measure than to the myths, speculations, or mysteries of ancient Greece. To our mind, the predisposition should rather be traced to the peculiar character of German national life. There we notice the *devotedness* and *attachment* of vassals towards their lord, which formed so marked a peculiarity of the German mind, and which, when applied to Christ as the Heavenly King, constitutes the very essence of Christianity—even personal surrender to the Saviour, a close and affectionate relationship towards Him, and dependence on Him for justification by faith alone, which even an Augustine, that Paul among the Fathers, was unable to comprehend in all its breadth and fulness. In connection with this sentiment, we also note the native readiness to combat and to *persevere in their struggles* for their rightful lord, which, when directed towards the Gospel, constitutes the main characteristic of practical Christianity—the pressing forward through contests to victory. Again, the *German love of freedom* offered, when sanctified by Christianity, a fitting

form and expression for the glorious liberty of the children of God; while even Tacitus speaks of the *spirituality* of those religious rites which predisposed them to the worship of God "in spirit and in truth (*nec cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur*)"

2. The circumstance, that so many Germanic tribes ADOPTED CHRISTIANITY without offering almost any resistance, is most readily explained by the untenable character of the Pagan superstitions prevailing at the time. In general, heathenism can only thrive on its own native soil. Transplanted to Europe, the superstitions of those tribes did not strike root during the turmoil and the movements of the period which followed their importation. But if centuries were allowed to elapse before the Gospel was introduced—as in the case of the Frisians, the Saxons, the Danes, etc.—the opposition to its doctrines was much stronger. Another element which either materially aided or else impeded the spread of Christianity, was the presence or the want of Christian institutions dating from the times of Roman domination. In districts where heathenism had reigned wholly undisturbed, the superstitions imported by the Germans soon found a firm lodgment. But where Christianity had once gained admittance, the elevated culture, and superior intellectual power associated with it, rendered the full and free development of heathenism impossible, even though the Gospel was for a time suppressed in the district. Besides, in many instances, the alliances of heathen rulers with Christian *princesses* led to the conversion of the former, and with them of all their subjects. No doubt the same causes must also frequently have operated in the more narrow circle of the family or the clan. Such influences were peculiarly characteristic of the Saxon tribes, who alone assigned so high a place to woman: *Inesse quin etiam (says Tacitus) sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum adspernantur, aut responsa negligunt.*

3. Judging from the ordinary PRACTICE of the Church (and not to speak of the wholesale conversions accomplished by Christian princes through fire and sword), both baptism and conversion must have been generally regarded as an *opus operatum*; and whole heathen tribes were baptized without having previously obtained a proper knowledge of salvation, or undergone a change of heart or mind. This can, of course, be neither approved nor commended. At the same time, it must be admitted that only in this manner considerable and rapid results could have been obtained; nay, that in the infant state of the German races, something may be said in favour of this practice. A survey of the past would direct the Church, in its contest with German Paganism, to use other weapons than those which had been employed in the conflict with the heathenism of Greece and of Rome. In the latter case, Christianity was brought to bear on society in its highest state of cultivation,—on a world which, so to

speak, had grown old, and come to despair of its powers and capabilities, and where the experience and history of the preceding ten centuries served as "a schoolmaster to Christ." It was far otherwise with the Germanic races. If, therefore, Roman society might be compared to a proselyte who in riper years, and after having passed through many experiences, is admitted into the Church, the conversion of the Germans may be likened to a baptism administered during infancy.

#### § 106. VICTORY OF CATHOLICISM OVER ARIANISM.

COMP. *W. Krafft*, K. G. d. germ. Völker. Vol. I.—*Ch. Waitz*, ii. d. Leben u. d. Lehre d. Ulfila (The Life and Teaching of Ulf.). Hann. 1840. 4.—*J. Aschbach*, Gesch. d. Westgothen. Erf. 1827.—*Helfferrich*, Entst. u. Gesch. d. Westgothen R. Berlin 1859.—*F. W. Lembke*, Gesch. v. Spanien (Hist. of Spain) Vol. I. Hamb. 1831.—*F. Papencordt*, Gesch. d. vand. Herrsch. in Afr. (Hist. of Vandal Domin. in Afr.). Berl. 1837.—*J. C. F. Manso*, Gesch. d. ostgoth. Reiches in Ital. Bresl. 1824.—*J. E. v. Koch-Sternfeld*, d. Reich d. Langob. in Ital. Mun. 1830.—*H. Leo*, Gesch. d. italien. Staaten. Vol. I. Hamb. 1829.—*J. W. Loebell*, Gregor v. Tours u. seine Zeit. Leipz. 1839.—*A. Thierry*, Recit des temps Merovingiens. Par. 1842. 2 Vols.; *Revillont*, de l'Arian. des peuples Germaniques. Gren. 1850.

When Christianity made its first great conquests in Germany, Arianism was the dominant creed in the Roman Empire. Internal dissensions and external dangers obliged a portion of the *Goths*, during the latter half of the fourth century, to seek alliances with the Eastern Empire, and to purchase its protection by making a profession of Arianism. Within a short time, the missionary labours of a number of native priests, directed by Bishop *Ulfila*, led to the spread of Arianism among numerous other Germanic races, though we are unable to trace its exact progress. About the end of the fifth century, more than half of the German race—the *Ostrogoths* and *Visigoths*, the *Vandals*, *Sueves*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, *Herulians*, *Rugians*, *Gepidæ*, and others—professed that creed. But as the friendly relations subsisting between these tribes and the Roman Empire had prepared the way for the spread of Arianism, so the hostilities which ensued after Rome had again adopted the Catholic faith, were partly the cause of their tenacious and even fanatical adherence to that heresy. Arianism had, indeed, become wellnigh the national creed of Germany; and it almost seemed destined to obtain possession of all Germany, and with it of future history. But these prospects were speedily annihilated by



the conversion of one of the most powerful Germanic tribes to Catholicism. From the first the policy of the *Franks* had been directed against their strong kindred around them, rather than against the Roman domination, which was rapidly nearing its end. The same policy also dictated their adoption of Catholicism. Relying on the protection of Him whom Catholic Christendom worshipped, and on the sympathies of the Western Catholics, the Frankish rulers undertook the double mission of suppressing heresy and of conquering heretical countries. It was, therefore, their policy to renounce the former, in order to find occasion for the attainment of the latter object.

1. THE GOTHs IN THE COUNTRIES ALONG THE DANUBE. Christianity had been introduced among the Goths about the middle of the third century by Roman captives. *Theophilus*, a Gothic bishop, is mentioned as one of the members of the Council of Nice in 325. The zeal and success of Bishop ULFILAS, a descendant of a captive Christian family from Cappadocia, who since 348 preached to the Visigoths, among whom Arianism had struck root even at that period, excited the enmity of the heathen, which broke out in a bloody persecution (355). Accompanied by a large number of his Gothic converts, Ulfilas fled across the Danube, where the Emperor *Constantius*, who regarded the Bishop as a second Moses, assigned to his flock a district of country. Ulfilas continued his successful labours for thirty-three years. To give his people access to the sacred oracles, he translated the Bible into the Gothic language, for which he had constructed an alphabet (*ob.* 388). Full details of his life and teaching are given by *Auxentius*, Bishop of Dorostorus (Silitria), a pupil of Ulfilas, in a short biography of the Apostle of the Goths, which *Waitz* has lately discovered (see above).—But all the Gothic converts had not left their country with Ulfilas. Those who remained behind proved a leaven to the heathen around. Accordingly, about 370, *Athanarich*, King of the Thervingians, raised another persecution. Soon afterwards, a rebellion broke out among the Thervingians. *Frithigern*, the leader of the discontented, was indeed worsted, but obtained assistance from the Emperor *Valens*, and, in gratitude for this aid, along with his adherents, adopted Arianism. This was the first instance in which the Goths embraced Christianity in considerable numbers. Soon afterwards (in 375), the victories of the Huns swept away the empire of the Ostrogoths. A portion of that people was obliged to join their conquerors, while another part on their flight invaded the country of the Thervingians (or Visigoths). The latter retreated; and, under the leadership of *Frithigern* and *Alaviv*, crossed the Danube, where *Valens* assigned them a territory on condition of their conversion to Arianism (in 376). But this good understanding was of short duration, and



in 378 *Valens* fell in a war against them. *Theodosius*, who restored the Catholic faith in the Empire, concluded peace with them. The *Thervingsians* continued in their adherence to the Arian creed, which—by means not yet ascertained—spread to the *Ostrogoths*, and to other cognate tribes. *St Chrysostom* despatched Catholic evangelists among them; but the mission was discontinued after his death.

2. THE VISIGOTHS IN GAUL AND SPAIN. The death of *Theodosius* (in 395), and the partition of his empire, was the signal for the Visigoths to enlarge their borders. *Alaric* laid waste Greece, penetrated into Italy in quest of booty, and plundered Rome. *Ataulf*, his successor, settled in Southern Gaul; and *Wallia* founded the empire of which *Toulouse* was the capital, and which attained its highest prosperity under the reign of *Euric* (ob. 483). *Euric* enlarged his territory in Gaul, and in 475 conquered the greater part of Spain. It was his desire to strengthen his government by introducing political and religious uniformity in his dominions. But his zeal for the spread of Arianism met with unexpected and stubborn resistance, which violent persecutions failed to remove. The Romanic part of the population and the Catholic bishops longed for a Catholic ruler. Nor were their hopes to be disappointed. *Clovis*, King of the Franks, who had recently been converted (496), became the avenger and deliverer of the Catholics in Southern Gaul. The battle of *Vouglé*, near *Poitiers* (in 507), put an end to the rule of the Visigoths on this side the *Pyrenees*. But they maintained themselves in Spain, where their hostility to the Catholics led to fresh troubles. A fearful persecution raged, in 585, under the reign of *Leovigild*. *Reccared*, his son and successor, at last perceived the folly and danger of this policy. At the *third Synod of Toledo* in 589, he adopted the Catholic faith; and, aided by *Leander*, the excellent metropolitan of *Serille*, he speedily rendered it the dominant creed all over Spain. But under the succeeding monarchs the power of the Visigoths gradually declined, through treason, murders, and the rebellions excited by hostile factions. In 711, *Roderic*, their last king, succumbed in the battle of *Xeres de la Frontera* to the *Saracens*, who from Africa invaded Spain.—*Principal Sources*: *Procopius* (about 540) *de bello Goth.*; *Jornandes* (about 550) *de rebus Geticis*; *Idatii Chronicon*; *Isidori Hispal. hist. Goth.*

3. THE VANDALS IN SPAIN AND AFRICA. At the commencement of the fifth cent. the *Vandals*, who at that period already professed Arianism, passed, in company with the *Alani* and *Suevi*, from *Pannonia* into Gaul (in 406), and thence into Spain (in 409), laying waste that flourishing country. In 428 *Bonifacius*, the Roman Governor of Africa, unjustly outlawed as a traitor, in self-defence called in the aid of the Vandals. *Genserik*, their king, marched to his succour at the head of 50,000 men (in 429). In vain *Boniface*, who in the interval had made his peace with the Court, now

used every effort to induce the barbarians to withdraw. Genseric conquered Northern Africa, where he founded a strong empire; in 455 he appeared even in Rome, when, for fourteen days, the city was plundered by his wild hordes. To put an end to all intercourse between Africa and the Roman Empire, he resolved on forcing the Arian creed upon his subjects,—a plan which, during the fifty years of his reign, he prosecuted with most consistent and unparalleled cruelty (*ob.* 477). But the Catholics of Africa endured these persecutions with a steadfastness which recalls the martyrs of the second and third cent. *Huneric*, his son and successor, gave the Catholics only a short period of reprieve. In 483 the persecution recommenced (*ob.* 484). Under the reign of *Gunthamund* (*ob.* 496) the Catholics enjoyed peace; but *Thrasamund* (*ob.* 523) again resorted to the former bloody measures. *Hilderic* (*ob.* 530), a mild ruler, and the son of a Catholic mother, openly favoured the persecuted. This excited the dissatisfaction of the Arians, who rose in rebellion under the leadership of *Gelimer*, a great-grandson of Genseric. *Hilderic* was taken prisoner and executed. But before the new ruler had time to carry into execution his bloody purposes, *Belisarius*, the general of Justinian, appeared in Africa, and in the battle of Tricameron (533) destroyed both the Vandal army and empire.—*Sources: Victoris*, Ep. Vitensis (about 487) *hist. persecut. Vandal.*; *Procopius de bello Vandal.*; *Isidori Hispal. hist. Vandal. et Suevorum.*

4. The SUEVI were still Pagans when in 409 they entered Spain in company with the Vandals. Under the reign of *Rechiar* they now adopted the Catholic faith. But in 465 *Remismund* and his whole people adopted Arianism to please the Visigoths. *Charraric*, whose son was miraculously healed by the relics of St Martin of Tours, again returned to the Catholic Church (in 550). With the aid of *St Martin*, Bishop of Duma, he succeeded in inducing his people to follow his example—a work which was completed at a national Synod held at Braga (in 563), under the reign of *Theodemir I.* In 585 the Visigoths under Leovigild put an end to the rule of the Suevi.

5. The BURGUNDIANS, whom in 406 the Vandals, Suevi, and Alani had in their march drawn away from their former settlements by the banks of the Maine and the Neckar (where they had professed the Catholic faith), founded an independent state in the district of the Jura. Brought into contact with the Visigoths, most of them adopted the Arian creed. Of the four princes who parted among them the kingdom of *Gundric*, their father, only one, *Chilperic II.*, the father of *Clotilda*, continued a Catholic. *Gundobald*, his brother, having murdered his kindred, possessed himself of their dominions. But the zeal and labours of *Avitus*, Bishop of Vienne, prevented the spread of Arianism, and both *Sigismond*, the son of Gundobald, and his subjects returned into the Catholic Church at the Diet of *Epaon*

in 517. But in the eyes of *Clotilda*, the wife of *Clovis*, King of the Franks, even this conversion could not atone for the guilt of Sigismund's father. Her sons avenged their maternal grandfather, and put an end to the Burgundian monarchy in 534. *Principal Source: Gregorii Turon. hist. Francorum.*

6. In conjunction with the Heruli, the Schyri, and the Turcelingi, the RUGIANS had founded an independent state (in what presently constitutes Lower Austria), and called it *Rugiland*. Their religion consisted of a mixture of heathen practices with Arianism, which had spread among them from their Gothic neighbours. The Catholic Romans whom they found in the country were much oppressed by them. But since 454 *St Severinus* (ob. 482) laboured in that district, a messenger truly sent from on high to cheer and uphold these persecuted people. Even the barbarians were constrained to pay him reverence; and his influence over both heathen and Arians was almost unlimited. He is said to have announced the future greatness of *Odoacer*. That prince put an end to the Western Empire, and for seventeen years ruled over Italy with equal firmness and wisdom. *Odoacer* abolished (in 487) Rugian rule, and with it Arian persecution, in *Rugiland*. But soon afterwards *Theoderic*, the Ostrogoth, invaded Italy, took *Ravenna* after a siege of three years, made *Odoacer* prisoner, and treacherously killed him at a banquet (493).

7. The OSTROGOTHS had become converts to Arianism long before they conquered Italy, but they were free from the fanaticism which characterised that religious party in almost every part of Germany. *Theoderic* afforded protection to the Catholic Church; he valued and fostered Roman culture—acts of which the credit is certainly due in part to *Cassiodorus*, the excellent counsellor of the Ostrogoth monarch (§ 77, 6). This large-spirited toleration was the more readily accorded, since, from the protracted schism (lasting for 35 years, § 82, 5), no dangerous political combination between the Catholics of the East and the West was to be apprehended. Accordingly, when this schism ceased in 519, *Theoderic* began to take a more lively interest in the progress of the Arian Church, and to view the Catholics with some measure of suspicion. He died in 526. The Emperor *Justinian* availed himself of the confusion consequent on the death of *Theoderic* to regain Italy. At the close of a war which lasted for twenty years, *Narses*, the Byzantine general, had swept away the last traces of Ostrogoth domination. On its ruins the Byzantine rule was again raised, under the name of an *Exarchate*, and with *Ravenna* as its capital. During that period the rule of Arianism in Italy was of course at an end. *Principal Sources: Procopius, de bello Goth.; Jornandes, de reb. Geticis; Cassiodori Variæ et Chronic.*

8. The LOMBARDS IN ITALY. In 568 the Langobards left their homes by the banks of the Danube, under the leadership of *Alboin*



invaded Italy, and conquered that portion called, after them, Lombardy, with *Ticinum* (Pavia) its capital. The successors of Alboin extended their conquests till only the southern extremity of Italy, the districts along the sea-shore, and a number of fortified towns in the interior, remained under Byzantine rule. Incited by love of plunder and suspiciousness, the Lombards, who professed Arianism, for twenty years waged equal warfare against Roman civilisation and Roman Catholicism. But after the first storm of persecution had passed, religious indifferentism again prevailed, and the spiritual impotence of the Arian clergy proved unequal in the contest with Catholicism. Pope *Gregory the Great* (590–604)—a prelate equally wise and energetic—gave himself with untiring zeal to missionary labours. He found a powerful auxiliary in Queen *Theodelinda*, a Bavarian princess, and a devoted Catholic. So enthusiastic were the Langobards in their admiration of their beautiful and amiable queen, that when *Authari*, her husband, was killed the first year after her marriage, they allowed her to select among the Lombard dukes one to whom she would give her hand, and whom they would acknowledge their king. Her choice fell on *Agilulf*, who indeed continued an Arian, but did not oppose the spread of Catholicism among the people. Under the reign of *Grimoald* (ob. 671) the work of converting the Langobards to the Catholic Church was completed, and soon afterwards they adopted the language and manners of Rome. (Comp. § 112, 1.)—*Principal Source*: *Pauli Diac., de gestis Langb. Lb. VI.*

9. THE FRANKS IN GAUL. Roman domination continued for a time in Gaul, even after Odoacer had in 476 put an end to the Western Empire. But the *victory of Soissons*, which in 486 *Chil-deric*, the Merovingian, gained over Syagrius, the Roman Governor, terminated that rule. In 493 *Clovis* (481–511) espoused *Clotilda*, a Burgundian princess (see above, *note* 5). The young queen, who was devotedly attached to the Catholic faith, used every effort to convert her heathen husband. For a long time the national pride of the Frankish ruler resisted her endeavours, though he consented to have their first-born son baptized. The death of this infant appeared to Clovis an indication of the displeasure of his gods. Still he could not resist the entreaties of his wife, and their second son was likewise admitted into the Church. This infant also was taken dangerously ill; but the earnest prayers of his mother were followed by his unexpected recovery, and Clovis learned that the God of the Christians was able to disarm the vengeance of Wuotan. The circumstance recurred to the mind of the king when, in the battle of *Tolbiac* (in 496) against the Alemanni, he was threatened with defeat, with the loss of his empire and of his life. The prayers offered to his gods had remained unanswered: he now addressed himself to the God of the Christians, vowing to adopt that faith if he were delivered from his imminent danger. Immediately the aspect of the battle



changed. The army and the empire of the Alemanni were destroyed. True to his promise, Clovis was baptized in Rheims, at Christmas 496, by Remigius, the Archbishop, who addressed him in the words: "Bend thy neck, proud Sicamber; adore what thou hadst set on fire; set on fire what thou hadst adored." (Legend afterwards adorned the event with miraculous details. It seems, that when the attendant who carried the phial with the oil destined for anointing Clovis was unable to make his way through the crowd, in answer to the prayer of Remigius a white dove brought from heaven another phial, ever since used in the coronation of the French kings.) According to the measure of his knowledge, Clovis was sincere and earnest in his profession of Christianity. Most of the nobles and of the people soon followed his example. Not that he had undergone any change of heart: he had made a compact with the God of the Christians, and he was prepared faithfully to observe its terms. It affords sad proof of the low state of religion at the time, that the grossest faithlessness, treason, and assassination stained the life of Clovis after his baptism. And yet the Catholic clergy of the West extolled him as another Constantine, and as divinely appointed to root up heathenism and Arianism. Regarding this as the mission entrusted to him, they neither asked nor expected more at his hands. However, the conversion of Clovis proved an event of the greatest importance, since it sealed the doom of the barbarous and fanatical Arianism of the German tribes. Along with its creed, the Catholic Church introduced the civilisation and literature of the ancient world. Thus trained, the Germans founded an empire destined for many centuries to continue the centre around which the history of the world was to revolve.—*Principal Source*: *Gregorii Turon. hist. Francorum eccles.* (Comp. also for the hist. of the Franks, *Dr Perry, The Franks.* London, Longman, 1857.)

#### § 107. VICTORY OF THE ROMISH OVER THE BRITISH CONFESSION.

COMP. *Jac. Usserii*, *Britann. ecclesiae antiquitt.* Lond. 1687 fol. *Fr. Münter*, *die altbrit. Kirche* (in the *theol. Stud. u. Krit.* for 1833). *C. Fr. Stäudlin*, *K. G. v. Grossbrit. Göttg.* 1819. 2 Vols. — *Th. Moore*, *History of Ireland*; *J. Lanigan*, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland.* 2d ed. 4 Vols.—*J. M. Lappenberg*, *Gesch. von England.* Vol. I. Hamb. 1834; *J. Lingard* (R. Cath.), *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Ch.*; *K. Schrödl* (R. Cath.), *d. 1 Jahrh. d. engl. Kirche* (the First Cent. of the Engl. Ch.); *C. G. Schoell*, *de Ecc. Britt. Scotorumque hist. fontibus.* Ber. 1851.—*Wilkins*, *Concilia Brit. et Hibernica.* London 1737. 4 Vols. fol.; *Spelman*, *Conc. Decr. Const. in re Eccl. orbis Brit.* (to the year 1531—more complete than Wilkins). 2 Vols. fol. 1639-64; *Beda Venerabilis Hist. Eccl. gentis Anglor.*; *Wharton's Anglia Sacra*; and the authorities quoted in *Robertson, Hist. of the M. Ages*, pp. 15 *et seq.*

An old legend has it, that a British king, *Lucius* by name, had so early as the middle of the second century requested *Eleutherus*, Bishop of Rome, to send him Christian missionaries, and that both he and his people had been converted by their preaching. Without attaching importance to this tradition, it is certain that since the close of the second cent. Christianity had struck root in that part of Britain which was under Roman domination. Up to the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion (in 449) the British Church entertained close and continual communication with the sister-churches on the Continent, especially with those of Gaul and Rome. But after that, Christianity ceased to be professed except along the west coast, and the relations between the British and foreign churches were interrupted. When, after an interval of 150 years, a Romish mission arrived (in 597) to renew the former intercourse, it appeared that the British ecclesiastical system differed from that of Rome (which during that period had developed) on many points connected with worship, government, and discipline. Rome insisted on conformity—a demand which the Britons strenuously resisted. The chief objection of the British Church lay against the claims of the Romish hierarchy. These divergences have sometimes been traced to the supposed circumstance that the British Church had originally been founded by missionaries from Asia Minor—a statement which rests on no historical grounds. Nor is it necessary to refute the assertions of some, who vaunt that apostolical Christianity had been preserved in its purity among the ancient Britons, and speak of their evangelical opposition to the erroneous teaching and ordinances of the Church of Rome. In point of fact, the religion of Britain and of Rome was essentially the same: in both, the same tendency to superstition appears; in both churches we have the worship of saints and of relics, the sacrifice of the mass, asceticism, and work-righteousness. Only, that the clergy of Britain had not the same hierarchical pretensions as that of Rome; and that, in consequence of the struggle which now ensued, more broad and liberal views were broached than had at first been entertained. At first, indeed, victory seemed to incline towards the National Church; but ultimately the contest ended in the complete suppression of the British Confession. In Germany, where the conflict was renewed, it terminated in the same manner, notwithstanding the exertions made by the British missionaries (§ 108). A very deep interest attaches to this contest. If the British Confession had prevailed, as at one time seemed probable, not England only, but also Germany, would from the first have stood in direct

antagonism to the Papacy,—a circumstance which would have given an entirely different turn both to the Ecclesiastical and the Political History of the Middle Ages.

1. *Chief Peculiarities of the BRITISH CONFESSION.* The Easter cycle of nineteen years, which Dionysius Exiguus had introduced (§ 86, 3), was not adopted in Britain. Consequently, although the British were not Quartodecimani, they reckoned *Easter-time* differently from Rome. Further, instead of the Romish “*tonsura Petri*” (§ 70, 3), our native clergy had a peculiar form of *tonsure*, the whole forepart of the head being shaved. They also refused to submit to the *injunction of clerical celibacy*, and to acknowledge the *primacy* of Rome; they rejected auricular confession, the doctrine of purgatory, the tenet which made marriage a sacrament, the stringent ordinances of Rome in regard to degrees of fictitious affinity, etc. But all these differences arose not from any doctrinal divergence; at least, if such existed, it was never mentioned. Indications, however, are not wanting that Pelagianism found more favour among the Britons (perhaps from the nationality of its author) than in the Western Church generally. The ancient British clergy bore the name of *Culdees* (Kele-De, colidei = servi Dei). *Comp. Smith, Life of S. Col. Edinb. 1798; J. Jamieson, Hist. Account of the Ancient Culdees of Iona. Edinb. 1811; J. G. J. Braun, de Culdeis. Bonn. 1840, 4; Russell, Hist. of the Ch. in Scotland.*

2. So early as the commencement of the fifth century, Christianity had been introduced among the Celtic inhabitants of IRELAND. The missionary labours of *Palladius*, a deacon from Rome (in 431), were indeed unsuccessful; but in 432 St PATRICK, the Apostle of Ireland, accompanied by twenty-four fellow-labourers, arrived on its shores. Tradition fixes on Kilpatrick as his native place; himself mentions Bonave (in Gaul) as the residence of his father. His proper name is said to have been *Succat*. In his sixteenth year, pirates had carried him to Ireland, and sold him to an Irish chief, whose flocks he tended for six years. After his liberation, the constraining power of the love of Christ made him choose active Christian service; his thoughts and feelings took the form of night-visions; and he resolved to proclaim the glorious liberty of the children of God to those who had so long held him in abject slavery. Well acquainted with the language and customs of the country, he assembled the people by beat of drum in the open air, and related to them the sufferings of Christ for the salvation of men. Although the *Druids* opposed all their influence to his efforts, his amiable and commanding character disarmed hostility. Not one martyr fell; and after a few years, all Ireland was converted to Christ, and the country covered with churches and monasteries. Patrick himself resided in the district of Macha. Around his dwelling the town of *Armagh* (afterwards the metropolitan see of Ireland) sprung up. He



died in 465, leaving the Church of Ireland in the most flourishing state. The numerous monasteries, whose inmates combined deep piety with ardent study of the Scriptures, and of whom so many went forth to teach and to preach in all countries, gained for Ireland the title of *Insula Sanctorum*. The Irish monasteries only declined after the incursions of the Danes in the ninth century. Under the title of "Confessiones," St Patrick himself has left us an autobiography, which is still extant.

3. *Ninian* or *Nynias*, a Briton, who had been educated at Rome, commenced, about the year 430, his labours among the Celtic PICTS AND SCOTS of Caledonia. But after his death, those whom he had converted again relapsed into heathenism. The work thus begun was more effectually resumed by *Crimthan*, an Irishman, whose name was changed by his friends to COLUMBA, to designate his dove-like character. Accompanied by twelve of his pupils, he embarked in 563 for the island of *Hy*, the present *Iona* (i.e., *Insula Sanctorum*) or *Icolumbkil*, where he founded a monastery and a church, and whence he converted all Caledonia. Although to his death he continued a simple presbyter, and abbot of the monastery of Iona, he exercised, in virtue of his apostolic authority, superintendence over the whole Caledonian Church, and ordained its bishops—a privilege which his successors in the abbacy of Iona retained. He died in 597. The numerous monasteries which he founded, emulated those of Ireland in the learning, piety, and missionary zeal of their inmates. This remark applies especially to the monastery of Iona.

4. ROMISH MISSION AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS. *Vortigern*, King of Britain, called in the aid of the Germans who inhabited the opposite coast, for the purpose of warding off the predatory invasions of the Picts and Scots. *Hengist* and *Horsa*, two exile chiefs from Jutland, obeyed the summons, at the head of a large number of Angles and Saxons (in 449). These arrivals were followed by others, till, at the end of a century, only the west coast of their country was left to the Britons. The Angles and Saxons formed seven monarchies, over whose rulers the *Bretwalda*—or leader of their armies—exercised supreme sway. The Anglo-Saxons were heathens; and the hostility between them and the ancient Britons rendered missionary activity on the part of the latter impossible. But Rome supplied what they had omitted to do. The sight of some Anglo-Saxon youths, exposed for sale in the slave-market at Rome, inspired a pious monk—afterwards Pope *Gregory I.*—with the desire of seeing a people of such commanding appearance adorned with the beauty of the Gospel. His elevation to the Papal See prevented his commencing the work himself, as at first he had purposed. But he purchased some of these Anglo-Saxon youths, and had them educated for missionary work among their countrymen. Soon afterwards, when the *Bretwalda*, *Ethelbert of Kent*, espoused *Bertha*, a



Frankish princess, *Gregory* sent *AUGUSTINE*, a Roman abbot, to England, accompanied by forty monks (596). *Ethelbert* provided them with a residence and support at Dorovernum (Canterbury), his own capital. At Pentecost of the year succeeding that of their arrival, the king was baptized, and 10,000 of his subjects followed his example. Augustine wrote to *Gregory* for further instructions, for relics, books, etc. The Pope complied with his request, and at the same time sent him the *Pallium*, assigning to him the dignity of Archbishop of the Saxon and British Church. Augustine now called upon the Britons to submit to his authority, and to join him in labouring for the conversion of the Saxons. But the Britons rejected these overtures. A personal interview with their leaders, held under the oak of Augustine, led to no better result. A second conference terminated in the same manner, chiefly owing to the prelatical arrogance of Augustine, who would not rise when the Britons made their appearance. The latter were at that time disposed to yield; but, at the suggestion of a hermit, they had fixed on this mark of respect as an *omen*. Its absence now decided them. On the death of Augustine, in 605, the Pope appointed *Laurentius*, the assistant of the British prelate, his successor. But *Eadbald*, the heathen son and successor of *Ethelbert*, persecuted the missionaries so much, that they even resolved to quit the field (616). *Laurentius* alone delayed his departure, to make a last attempt to convert *Eadbald* himself. He was successful: the king was baptized, and the fugitive priests returned to their former duties.—Augustine had introduced Christianity in *Essex*; but a change of government was followed by a restoration of heathenism. Soon afterwards, Christianity was established in *Northumbria*, the most powerful state in the Heptarchy. King *Edwin* (or *Eadwine*), the founder of *Edinburgh*, espoused *Ethelberga*, the daughter of *Bertha*, Queen of *Kent*. According to agreement, the young princess was accompanied to her new residence by *Paulinus*, a monk (625). By their combined influence the king, and through him the nobility and priesthood, were induced to adopt Christianity. At a popular assembly, *Paulinus* demonstrated the truth of Christianity; while *Coifi*, their high priest, defied the national gods by hurling a spear into the nearest temple. The people regarded his daring as madness, and momentarily expected to see a manifestation of *Wodan's* vengeance. But when the heavens remained mute, the people, in obedience to the order of *Coifi*, set fire to their principal temple (627). *Paulinus* became Bishop of *Eboraceum* (*York*), and the Pope sent him the *Pallium*. But in 633 *Edwin* fell in battle against *Penda*, the heathen King of *Mercia*; *Paulinus* had to flee, and the Church of *Northumbria* was almost annihilated.

5. BRITISH MISSION AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS. *Oswald*, the son of a former king of *Northumbria* whom *Edwin* had expelled, restored to that country its independence. This youth had, when

a fugitive, found an asylum in Iona, where he was educated a Christian. In order again to raise the Church of his country, the monks of Iona sent one of their own number, the excellent and amiable Aidan, to the court of Northumbria. Oswald himself acted as his interpreter, till he had acquired the Saxon tongue. The success of his labours was truly unparalleled. Oswald founded an episcopal see in the island of Lindisfarne; and, aided by other missionaries from Iona, Bishop Aidan converted, in a few years, the whole north of England to Christianity. Oswald fell in battle against Penda (642). He was succeeded in his own government, and as Bretwalda, by *Oswy*, his brother. Irish missionaries now joined the labourers from Iona, emulating their services; and in 660 all parts of the Heptarchy had adopted Christianity, and—with the exception of Kent, which remained faithful to Rome—adhered to the ancient British Confession.

6. VICTORY OF THE ROMISH OVER THE BRITISH CONFESSION. *Oswy* perceived the danger accruing to the State from religious division and ecclesiastical estrangements among the people. He succeeded in convincing the other kings of the necessity of an ecclesiastical union. The only question now was, which of the confessions should give way. At last the decision fell in favour of Romish supremacy—a result to which, no doubt, *Oswy* himself mainly contributed. *Eanfleda*, his wife, a daughter of Edwin, was a zealous partisan of Rome. She was seconded in her efforts by *Wilfrid*, a man of great energy, prudence, and perseverance. By birth a Northumbrian, and educated in the monastery of Lindisfarne, he had visited Rome; on his return he employed the whole force of his eloquence, and every artifice which intrigue could suggest, to subject all England to the Papacy. These two influenced the Bretwalda, and the latter again the other kings. Added to this were other and more general reasons for the decision of the monarch—such as a preference for what was foreign, the splendour and the power of the Romish Church, and, above all, the old national dislike of the Saxons towards everything British. When the secret negotiations had issued in the result desired, *Oswy* convened a *General Synod* in the nunnery of *Streaneshalch* or Whitby (*Synodus Pharensis*) in 664. There all the civil and ecclesiastical leaders of the Heptarchy assembled. The Romish party was represented by *Wilfrid*; the British, by *Colman*, Bishop of Lindisfarne. The paschal question was the first topic of discussion. *Wilfrid* appealed to the authority of Peter, to whom the Lord had said: “Thou art Peter,” etc. Upon this, *Oswy* turned to *Colman* with the inquiry, whether the Lord had really addressed these words to Peter. *Colman*, of course, admitted it; when *Oswy* declared that he would own the authority of *him* who had the power of opening and shutting the gates of heaven. This finished the discussion. In his capacity of Bretwalda, *Oswy* carried out the decrees of the Synod

with energy and resolution. Within a few weeks the razor completed the conversion of the whole Heptarchy to the Romish Confession.—Matters having proceeded thus far, the British Confession had soon to be abandoned, even in the districts whence it had originally spread. Political reasons obliged the Irish and Scotch kings to adopt the confession of their dangerous neighbours, in order both to deprive them of a specious pretext for making invasions, and to procure the assistance of the Pope and the sympathies of continental Christendom. Ireland submitted in 701, and Scotland followed nine years afterwards. The monks of Iona alone held out till 716, when this their last stronghold also fell.—The *Principal Sources* for the British and Anglo-Saxon Eccles. Hist. of that period are : *Gildas*, liber querulus de excidio Britanniae. *Nennius*, hist. Britonum, and especially *Beda* venerab. hist. eccles. Angl.

#### § 108. CONVERSION OF GERMANY.

COMP. *F. W. Retberg*, K.-G. Deutschland's. Vols. I. and II.—*C. J. Hefele*, Gesch. d. Einführ. d. Christ. im südwestl. Deutschl. (Hist. of the Introd. of Christian. in South-West. Germ.). Tüb. 1837; *G. T. Rudhart*, ältest. Gesch. Baierns (Old Hist. of Bavar.). Hamb. 1841; *A. F. Ozanam*, Begründ. d. Christ. in Deutsch. (Introd. of Christ. into Germ.). From the French, Munic. 1845: *A. Seiders*, Bonifacius, d. Ap. der Deutschen. Mayence 1845; *Giesebrecht*, Gesch. d. deutschen Kaiserzeit. Vol. i. Brunsw. 1855.—*Bonifacii* Epistolæ (op. ed. J. A. Giles, Oxford 1846), Vita in *Pertz* (T. II.) and in the Acta SS.; *Serrarius*, Moguntiac. rerum l. v.; *Sagittarius*, Antiq. Gentil. et Christ. Thuring.

During the domination of the Romans, the countries along the Rhine and Danube had been fully evangelised; but of this scarcely a trace was left in the succeeding period. The barbarians who invaded these districts, destroyed the monasteries and churches, and instead of Christian rites, introduced their own forms of heathenism. By the end of the sixth century the greater part of Germany was subject to the rule of the Franks, and bore the name of Western Franconia (Neustria), in contradistinction to Austrasia or Eastern Franconia. South-Western and South-Eastern Germany (Alemannia, Bavaria, Thuringia) were governed by native princes under Frankish souzerainty; while North-Western Germany (the Frisians and Saxons) still maintained its national independence. The first successful endeavours to restore Christianity in Austrasia were made about the middle of the sixth century. The missionaries engaged in this work were partly of *Frankish*, partly of *Scotch* (either Irish or British), and partly of *Anglo-Saxon* descent. At that time the monasteries of Scotland and Ireland were crowded with men



whose natural liking for travel was sanctified by an ardent desire to preach the Gospel, and to extend the kingdom of Christ. These feelings derived an additional stimulus from the circumstance, that the distinctive confession to which they clung with so deep attachment had just been suppressed (§ 107, 6). Their own country seemed now dreary, while on the Continent they saw a prospect of regaining what had been lost at home. Under such impulses, a large number of the inmates of the Irish and Scotch monasteries went forth as missionaries to pagan Germany. But thither also the *Anglo-Saxons*, who had the same liking for travel, the same missionary zeal, and the same attachment to their own distinctive confession (the Romish), followed them. Thus the former contest was renewed on German soil: there also to end in the suppression of the British Confession. Almost everywhere do we discover traces of these Scotch missionaries; but, unfortunately, the particulars left us, as to the mode in which they carried on their labours, as to their contests with the representatives of the Romish Church, are exceedingly scanty. The practical turn, so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the connection of these missionaries with the imposing spiritual power wielded by the See of Rome, no doubt contributed not a little towards securing them the victory over their Scotch brethren. It is remarkable that the Frankish missionaries also laboured quite independently of Rome, so that the connection between Germany and the Church of Rome was mainly due to the exertions of the Anglo-Saxon preachers.—These missions succeeded most rapidly in the districts where the Gospel had been preached at a former period, chiefly along the banks of the Rhine and of the Danube. Much more formidable were the difficulties encountered in districts where heathenism resembled an unexplored primitive forest—as in Frisia, Saxony, Hesse, and Thuringia. The protection which the Frankish monarchs extended to missionary labours in Germany, sprung chiefly from interested motives—an interference which operated rather against than in favour of the work. It appeared as if, on the one hand, heathenism and national independence, and on the other, Christianity and Frankish domination, were inseparably connected. If the sword of the Franks opened the way for the Gospel, the labours of the missionaries were, in return, to be made subservient for the political subjugation of these countries. However unwilling the missionaries were to become parties to this mixing up of religious and political objects, it was frequently beyond their power to resist it.



1. The ALEMANNI were a powerful race, inhabiting the SOUTHWESTERN PART OF GERMANY. Only scanty traces of former Christian institutions remained in those districts. The victory of *Tolpiac* (496), which decided Clovis in favour of Christianity, at the same time opened the country of the vanquished Alemanni to the Gospel. But as the Franks adopted no violent measures for its propagation, its progress was very slow. The legislature of the Alemanni, as settled by *Dagobert I.* in 680, proceeds, indeed, on the supposition that the country had become entirely christianised; but at the time this must have only been by way of anticipation. ST FRIDOLIN, who founded the monastery of *Seckingen* upon an island on the Rhine above Basle, is commonly represented as the Apostle of Alemannia (about 510). He was a native of Ireland; but the accounts of his activity are quite legendary and unreliable. More accurate and satisfactory are the details given about ST COLUMBANUS, who arrived in the year 589, accompanied by twelve zealous missionaries, from the celebrated monastery of Bangor in Ireland. He founded the well-known *Luxovium* (Luxeuil). The missionaries reclaimed the wastes all around, and endeavoured to restore Christian discipline and order among a population which had been fearfully neglected. But their rigid adherence to the British practice of calculating Easter raised prejudices against them; the clergy of Burgundy felt their strict discipline a most unpleasant innovation; while *Brunehilda*, incensed that their influence over the youthful Theodoric II., her grandchild, endangered her ambitious schemes, vowed their destruction. All these causes led to their expulsion, after they had laboured for twenty years in the country. The exiles betook themselves to Switzerland, and settled at *Tuggen*, on the Lake of Zurich. But the fanatical zeal with which they attacked heathenism excited the hostility of the natives, who ill-used and drove them away. Their next field was *Bregenz*. Here they laboured for three years very successfully—a result principally achieved through the preaching of ST GALLUS, who had acquired the language of the country. But fresh persecutions induced Columbanus to pass into Italy, where, under the protection of Agilulf (§ 106, 8), he founded the celebrated monastery of *Bobbio*, and took an active part in the Arian controversy. *Gallus*, who at the time his colleagues left was ill, remained in Switzerland, resolved to continue the work despite the unfavourable circumstances which had arisen. In a sequestered and wild valley, and on a spot where a bush had caught hold of his garment while engaged in prayer, he built a cell which afterwards became the abbacy of *St Gall*. His labours were richly blessed. He died in 646, at the advanced age of 95. Gallus does not appear to have been so tenacious as Columbanus in contending for the British Confession. MAGNOALD, the pupil of St Gallus, carried on his work, and founded the monastery of *Füssen* in Suabia. About the same time TRUDPERT, an hermite (said to have been of Irish de-

scent), laboured in the Breisgau. He laid the foundation of what afterwards became the abbacy of St Trudpert, at the foot of the Black Forest, but was ultimately murdered by a servant of his own (943). Half a century later, *PIRMINIUS*, a Frankish ecclesiastic, carried the Gospel along the shores of the Lake of Constance. Protected in his labours by Charles Martel, he founded the monastery of *Reichenau*; but only three years afterwards he was expelled in consequence of a national rising of the *Alemanni* against the Frankish rule. He now descended the Rhine, and founded a number of monasteries,—among them *Hornbach*, in the diocese of Metz, where he died in 753. When about that time St Bonifacius visited *Alemannia*, he found the whole country nominally Christian and the Church regularly organised.

2. SOUTH-EASTERN GERMANY. No notices have been left of the religious history of the countries along the Danube during the period succeeding the labours of *St Severinus* (§ 106, 6). A century later these districts were peopled by the *Bavarians* (the *Boji*), whose native rulers were subject to the suzerainty of the Frankish monarchs. At that time only scanty traces of the former profession of Christianity remained in the country. In 615 the Frankish abbot, *EUSTASIUS* of Luxeuil, the successor of Columbanus, went as missionary among the Bavarians. He had to contend with Bonosian and Photinian errors—probably in consequence of the Arianism which the Goths had spread in that neighbourhood. *ST EMMERAN*, Bishop of Poitiers, laboured about the middle of the seventh century in Regensburg, at the court of *Theodo I.*, Duke of Bavaria. He continued only three years, when he suddenly left for Italy. By the way he was killed (652) by the brother of the Princess *Ota*, on a charge of having seduced her; that princess having, at his own suggestion, named him as her seducer, in order to shield the guilty person from vengeance. After that the Church declined, owing to the weakness of the Merovingian monarchs. But when, in consequence of the victory of Testry in 687, *Pepin of Heristal* became the hereditary administrator of the realm, both the Frankish power and the Church were restored. For the latter purpose, Duke *Theodo II.* invited in 696 Bishop *RUODPERT* (Rupert), who proved indeed the Apostle of Bavaria. He baptized the duke and his court, founded numerous churches and monasteries, and made Christianity the religion of almost the whole country. The see of *Salzburg*, which he had founded, served as centre for his operations. In 716 he returned to his former see of Worms, where he died. He was succeeded by *CORBINIAN*, a Frankish bishop (without a fixed see—or “regionary bishop”), who in 717 founded the episcopal see of *Freisingen*. This prelate is described as proud, unyielding, and severe in the exercise of discipline. He swept away every remaining trace of heathen superstition, founded churches and monasteries, and, according to legend, performed many miracles. *Ob.* 730.—Among the Thuringians,

heathenism continued unopposed till the middle of the seventh cent., when *Kyllena* or *KILIAN*, an Irish missionary, commenced his evangelistic labours in the neighbourhood of Würzburg. His zeal was rewarded with the martyr's crown, and his work brought to a successful issue under the ministry of *St Boniface*.

3. NORTH-WESTERN GERMANY. In the country around the Middle *Rhine* the ancient Christian sees had survived, although, from the prevalence of heathenism in their immediate vicinity, the character and influence of the clergy had greatly declined. Despite their opposition, the labours of *GOAR*, a hermit, about the middle of the sixth century, proved to a large extent successful. The pretty little town of *St Goar* rose where his cell had stood. About the same time a Langobard *Stylite*, *WULFLAICH*, braved the severity of the climate, and preached to the heathen from the top of his column; but the neighbouring bishops disapproved of his mad asceticism, and had the column demolished.—Frankish missionaries—especially *ST AMANDUS* (the Apostle of Belgium)—laboured among the *Frisians*, south of the *Scheld*, since the commencement of the seventh cent. In 647 *Amandus* became Bishop of *Malines*, and died in 679 in the monastery of *Elnon* near *Tournay* (afterwards called *St Amand*). Simultaneously, *ST ELIGIUS*, formerly a goldsmith, and from 641 Bishop of *Noyon*, engaged in the same work.—An Anglo-Saxon, *WILFRID* (§ 107, 6), was the first to carry the Gospel to the *Frisians* north of the *Scheld*. He had been elected Archbishop of *York*, but was expelled from his see (§ 113, 1), and started for *Rome* to seek protection. Happily a storm drove him to the coast of *Frisia*, instead of allowing him to land in *France*, where hired assassins lay in wait for him. He spent the winter in *Frisia* (677-678), preached daily, and baptized *Aldgild*, the reigning duke, and thousands of his subjects. But *Radbod* (ob. 719), the successor of *Aldgild*, who was continually engaged in contests with *Pepin* and *Charles Martel*, hated and persecuted Christianity, as being the religion of the *Franks*. The seed sown by *Wilfrid* seemed in danger of being destroyed, when the victory of *Pepin* at *Dorstedt* (in 689) obliged the persecutor to relent, at least for a time. *WULFRAM* of *Sens* immediately recommenced missionary operations among the people. Legend has it, that *Radbod* himself had expressed his readiness to be baptized; but that when entering the water he drew back, declaring that he preferred being consigned to hell in company with his glorious ancestors, than going to heaven along with a crowd of wretched people. The story, however, does not bear the test of historical criticism.—But the evangelisation of all *Frisia* was to be accomplished by another Anglo-Saxon. *WILLIBRORD*, assisted by twelve other missionaries, devoted himself in 690 to this enterprise. Twice he journeyed to *Rome* to submit his work to the direction of the Pope, who changed his name to that of *Clement*, and ordained him Bishop of the *Frisians*. *Pepin* assigned to him the castle of *Utrecht*



as his episcopal see. Thence his labours extended not only over the domains of Radbod, but even beyond the *Danish* frontier. When on a visit in the island of Heligoland, he ventured to baptize three persons in a well which was regarded as sacred. Radbod was about to immolate the bishop and his converts to the gods. Thrice he consulted the sacred lot, but each time the decision was in favour of the Christians. Willibrord continued his labours among the Frisians with varying success for fifty years, and died in 739, in the 81st year of his life. He was succeeded in the administration of the See of Utrecht by GREGORY, a noble Frank of Merovingian descent, who was the favourite pupil of St Boniface. But Gregory was not consecrated a bishop, as the See of Cologne laid claim to jurisdiction over the Frisian Church. When in 734 Charles Martel completely subjugated the Frisians, the work of evangelisation proceeded more rapidly. Among the missionaries who laboured, in Frisia, *Willehad*, an Anglo-Saxon, whom Charlemagne afterwards invested with the bishopric of Bremen, seems to have been the most successful. *St Liudger*, a native of Frisia, and afterwards Bishop of Munster, completed what his predecessors had so worthily begun.

4. LABOURS OF ST BONIFACE, the Apostle of Germany. *Winfrid*, a native of Kirton in Wessex (about 680), had, by piety, devotedness, and ability, risen to distinction in his own church and country. But his sympathies were wider than his sphere. Impelled by a sense of the love of Christ, he resolved to devote himself to missionary work among the heathen of Germany. He arrived in Frisia (in 716) at a moment most unfavourable for his enterprise. *Radbod* was just engaged in war with Charles Martel, and had wreaked his enmity on Christian churches and monasteries. Winfrid was obliged to return without having accomplished anything. But such discouragements could not cool his missionary ardour. In the spring of 718 he again crossed the Channel. He went first to Rome, where *Gregory II.* formally set him apart for missionary work in Germany. In Thuringia and Franconia, the field for which he had been designated, he found little encouragement. Accordingly, on hearing of the death of Radbod, he returned to Frisia, where for three years he shared the labours of Willibrord. This prelate, anxious to secure so efficient a missionary, offered him the succession to the See of Utrecht. But such prospects only served to remind Winfrid of the work for which he had been set apart. Accordingly, in 722 he went to Upper Hesse, where he founded the monastery of *Amönaberg*, and within a short period baptized thousands of heathens. Summoned by the Pope to Rome (in 723), he was consecrated "Regionary" Bishop of Germany by the name of *Bonifacius* (episcopus regionarius, *i.e.*, without a definite diocese), and, after having taken an oath of allegiance to the See of Rome, returned to his post armed with a letter of recommendation to Charles Martel. Thus furnished with spiritual armoury from Rome, and enjoying the more doubtful



advantage of Frankish protection, he resumed his labours in *Hesse*. The fall of the ancient sacred oak at *Geismar*, near Fritzlar, also marked that of heathenism in Central Germany. Surrounded by a vast concourse of heathens, who gazed in breathless expectation, Boniface himself had laid the axe to that sacred tree; its wood now furnished material for a Christian chapel. After that event his preaching was attended with unparalleled success; and within the space of a year, Christianity had become the religion of almost all Hesse. He sent for additional labourers to England, and then founded the monastery of *Ordorp*, near Arnstadt on the Ohra, for the education of a native ministry. Gregory II. died in 731; but *Gregory III.*, whom Boniface kept informed of the progress of the work, sent him the Pallium, and entrusted him with the task of founding episcopal sees in Germany and ordaining bishops. Having erected the abbacy of *Fritzlar*, he proceeded to *Bavaria*, where he was engaged in hot controversy with some representatives of the ancient British Confession. Boniface returned to Hesse, accompanied by *Sturm*, a zealous Bavarian youth, whom he educated at Fritzlar for the clerical profession. In 738 he went a third time to Rome, probably to consult the Pope about the final organisation of the German Church. In the Eternal City, where he remained a full year, he met with the most respectful reception. On his return, he again visited Bavaria, expelled his former British opponents, deposed some refractory Frankish bishops, and divided the Church of Bavaria into four dioceses. He next proceeded to *Thuringia*, whence also he drove the British missionaries, and where he instituted four dioceses. During the lifetime of *Charles Martel*, Bonifacius had been prevented from exercising any authority over the churches on the other side of the Rhine. But after the death of that monarch (in 741), his sons, *Carloman* in Austrasia, and *Pepin the Short* in Neustria, requested his aid in reorganising the Church in their dominions, which had sadly declined. The work of reform commenced in Austrasia. In 742 Boniface presided over the first Austrasian Synod (*Concilium Germanicum*) which passed stringent measures for the restoration of discipline, and the removal of the heretical, the married and the foreign (British) clergy. At another synod held at *Liptinæ* (*Lestines*, near Cambray) in 743, the bishops present promised unconditional obedience to the See of Rome. Carloman, who was present at both these synods, gave legal sanction to their decrees. In 742 Boniface founded the celebrated monastery of *Fulda*, of which *Sturm* was the first abbot—an institution destined to become the watchtower and training-school of German monasticism. About the same period he engaged in keen controversy with two noted heretics—*Adalbert*, a Frank, and *Clement*, a Scot; as also with *Virgilius*, an Irishman. In 744, in his capacity of Papal Vicar, he entered into negotiations for reorganising the Church of Neustria. The authority of the metropolitans, and the exercise of discipline,

were restored at the *Synod of Soissons* (in 744). At another synod, held the following year (at Mayence?), *Gewilib*, the unworthy occupant of the See of Mayence, who was convicted of having hired assassins, was deposed, and his see assigned to Boniface as Metropolitan of Germany (though that prelate would rather have chosen that of Cologne). Carloman, tormented by a guilty conscience, retired in 747 into a monastery, leaving his brother *Pepin* sole ruler. Only a few years later, *Pepin*, with the express sanction of the Pope (§ 112, 1), put an end to the figment of Merovingian rule (in 751). The supposition that Bonifacius acted as negotiator between the Pontiff and the Major-Domus in this transaction, is entirely unfounded. On the contrary, we have reason to believe that the prelate had to the utmost of his power opposed the scheme, under the influence of certain notions about the Divine right of the Merovingians. Amidst many cares and troubles, the Apostle of Germany untiringly prosecuted the great mission of his life. But as he grew in years, he longed to devolve some of his onerous duties on younger shoulders. Gregory III. had, indeed, promised to allow him to name his own successor; but Pope *Zacharias* contemplated with apprehension the appointment of a German primate who might prove less submissive than Boniface. At last, however, he yielded to the urgent entreaties of the aged Apostle. In the spring of 754 Boniface conferred the archiepiscopal office on *Lullus*, his favourite pupil, and then sailed down the Rhine to spend his last days in evangelising those heathen Frisians to whom his youthful energies had been devoted. In anticipation of his approaching martyrdom, he took his graveclothes with him (755). His tent was pitched in the neighbourhood of the modern *Doccum*, whence he itinerated through Frisia, baptizing thousands of heathens. On the 5th June 755, he had appointed a number of his converts to meet him in order to receive confirmation. But early on the morning of that day he was attacked by a band of heathen. Holding over his head a copy of the Gospels, Boniface received the mortal blow. Along with him his fifty-two companions in preaching were killed. The bones of the martyr-bishop were deposited in Fulda.

5. CONVERSION OF THE SAXONS. Two Anglo-Saxon monks, both of the name of *Ewald* (Black and White Ewald), were the first missionaries among the Saxons, who, from the north-western coasts of Germany, had migrated to the neighbourhood of the Rhine. These preachers were hospitably received by a Saxon peasant; but no sooner had he learned their object, than he and his servants fell upon them and cruelly murdered them (about 691). *Boniface* had never lost sight of the Saxons; and the choice of *Fulda*, close by the Saxon boundary, as the site of a monastery, was no doubt determined partly with the view of making it the basis of spiritual operations among the neighbouring heathen. Still, for thirty years this mission

remained only an object of hope, till the work was done by the sword of the greatest of Frankish monarchs. *Charlemagne* considered the subjugation of the hostile and powerful Saxon nation as a political necessity. But their permanent political subjection could not be secured without their conversion to Christianity, nor the latter be accomplished without the former, as the Saxons hated the religion of the Franks not less than the Franks themselves. *Alcuin*, indeed, pled nobly and boldly with his royal friend against recourse to violent measures for the purpose of securing the conversion of the Saxons; but political considerations proved more powerful than the arguments of one whose counsels otherwise frequently prevailed. The wars against the Saxons lasted for thirty-three years (772-805). Even in the first campaign *Eresburg*, the great stronghold of the Saxons, was taken, and their most sacred idol, the *Irmin-column* (on which the universe was supposed to rest), destroyed. Frankish priests followed in the train of the Frankish army, and immediately Christianised the conquered districts. But scarcely had the armies of Charles withdrawn, when the Saxons again swept away every trace of the hated religion. At last, however, they were obliged, at the Diet of *Paderborn* in 777, to take an oath of fealty to the Frankish monarch, on pain of losing life and property. But *Widukind* (*Wittekind*), the most powerful of their leaders, had not attended this diet, and again raised the standard of revolt. The Frankish army was completely defeated, every Christian minister killed, and every church destroyed. Charles took fearful vengeance. At *Verden* he ordered 4500 Saxons to be beheaded in one day. Still, another rebellion broke out; and at a second diet, held at *Paderborn* in 785, most stringent laws were enacted, which punished with death the slightest opposition to the ordinances of the Church. *Widukind* and *Albion*, the two principal Saxon chiefs, saw the uselessness of further resistance. They were baptized in 785, after which they continued faithful both to the king and to the Church. But the people in general were far from quiet. In 804 Charles expelled 10,000 Saxon families from their homes, and gave their lands to his allies, the *Obotrites*. This measure at last secured peace. Charles had founded eight sees in Saxony. Under their fostering care, Christianity now spread among the Saxons, who by and by learned to hold its truths with the same warmth and devoutness as the other German races. Of this the popular Epos, entitled "The Saviour" (§ 118, 2), affords sufficient evidence.

#### § 109. THE SLAVONIANS WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF GERMANY.

COMP. *Schafarik*, *Dobrowsky* and *Philaret* u. s. § 102. *J. Palacky*, *Gesch. v. Böhmen*. Vol. I. Prague 1836.

In their progress, the Huns had driven the Slavonians southwards as far as the banks of the Danube, and westwards to those of the



Vistula. When, in the sixth cent., the *Avari*, a Mongol race, took possession of Dacia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, the Slavonians were obliged to retreat still farther westwards. During this period no attempts seem to have been made to carry the Gospel to the Slavonians in the north-eastern parts of Germany, although the See of Salzburg made great efforts to convert both the Slavonians in the south and the Avari. But these labours were not attended with great success till the middle of the eighth century. In 748 *Boruth*, the prince of the *Carantani* (in our modern Carinthia), invoked the assistance of Thassilo II., Duke of Bavaria, against the oppression of the Avari. His nephew *Ceitumar* was educated in Bavaria in the Christian religion. When in 753 he assumed the reins of government, he introduced Christianity into his dominions. After the fall of Thassilo, Carinthia became also subject to Frankish rule (in 788), and *Charlemagne* extended his conquests likewise to the countries of the Avari and the Moravians. Commissioned by that monarch, *Arno* was zealously engaged in Christianising these tribes; and with this object in view, his diocese of Salzburg was elevated to the rank of a metropolitan see. Under Louis the Pious a dispute arose between the Bishops of Passau and Salzburg about the exercise of metropolitan superintendence over those countries, which was settled by a division of these provinces between the contending prelates (829). In 885 the Grand Duke *Rastislav* freed *Moravia* from Frankish domination, when the jurisdiction of the German bishops entirely ceased. The new ruler of Moravia applied to the Byzantine Emperor for Slavonic missionaries. The brothers CYRILLUS and METHODIUS, who had already distinguished themselves in a kindred department of missionary labour (§ 102, 2, 3), were despatched on this errand (863). They immediately introduced Slavonian worship and liturgy; and by preaching in the vernacular, readily gained access to the hearts of the people. But political considerations obliged the missionaries to join the Romish Church. The only remnant of former independence left, was the permission to continue the use of the Slavonic liturgy. From the friendly intercourse subsisting between the Moravians and the *Czechs* in *Bohemia*, the way was also opened for the evangelisation of that country.

1. THE MORAVIAN CHURCH. Although great success attended the preaching of Cyrillus and Methodius in Moravia, the political complications of that period rendered their position one of great difficulty. Indeed, only under the protection of the Papacy could they hope to maintain their ground. Accordingly, they gladly ac-



cepted an invitation from Pope Nicholas I. (867) to visit Rome. On their arrival, they found the Chair of Peter occupied by *Hadrian II.* *Cyrrillus* remained at Rome, where he soon afterwards died. *METHODIUS* made formal submission to the Papacy, and was consecrated Archbishop of Moravia. But the German bishops, in their envy of the honours bestowed on a hated rival, impugned the fealty of Methodius, charged him with heresy, and inveighed against the Slavonic liturgy which he had introduced. It was not difficult to arouse the suspicion of *Pope John VIII.*, and Methodius was summoned to Rome in no gentle terms (879). The evangelist obeyed; he completely refuted these calumnies, and returned to his diocese not only with his former title, but also with the express permission to continue the Slavonic liturgy—only that, by way of special distinction, the Gospel was to be read first in Latin and then in Slavonic. Nothing daunted, the German bishops continued by their intrigues to embitter the last days of the devoted missionary. *Ob.* 885. After his death the Moravian priests were the objects of a general persecution, and the archiepiscopal See of Moravia remained vacant for fourteen years, till *John IX.* restored it in 899. But in 908 the independence of Moravia ceased, and the country was divided between the Bohemians and the Magyars.

2. INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO BOHEMIA. On New Year's day 845 fourteen Czech nobles appeared at the court of Louis the Germanic in Regensburg, and along with their suite requested baptism. The motives and consequences of this step have not been recorded. When Rastislav elevated Moravia to the rank and power of an independent realm, the Bohemians entered into close alliance with the Moravians. *Svatopluk*, the successor of Rastislav, married a daughter of *Borzivoi*, the ruler of Bohemia (871). After that, the labours of *Methodius* were extended to Bohemia also, and their success was marked. *Borzivoi* himself, and his wife *St Ludmilla*, were baptized by him so early as in 871. The sons of *Borzivoi*, *Spitihnev* (*ob.* 912) and *Vratislav* (*ob.* 926), equally promoted the spread and establishment of the Church in Bohemia, a work in which they were zealously aided by their pious mother. (Comp. § 123, 2.)

#### § 110. THE SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS.

COMP. *F. E. Dahlmann*, *Gesch. v. Dänem.* Vol. I. Hamb. 1840; *E. G. Geijer*, *Gesch. v. Schweden.* Vol. I. Hamb. 1833; *Fr. Münter*, *K. G. v. Dänem. u. Norw.* (Ch. Hist. of Denm. and Norway). Vol. I. Leipz. 1823; *K. Mauer*, *d. Bekehr. d. norw. Stammes zum Christth.* (Conv. of the Norw. Race to Christian.) Vol. I. Munich 1856;—The biographies of St Ansgar by *Kruse* (Altona 1813), by *F. A. Krummacher* (Brem. 1828), by *Reuterdahl* (Berlin 1837), by *Krafft* (in Latin, Hamb. 1840), by *Daniel* (Halle 1842), and by *Klippel* (Bremen 1845).

At an early period the attention of the missionaries who laboured among the Frisians and Saxons was directed to the neighbouring provinces of Jutland and Denmark. Already in 696 *Willibrord* (§ 108, 3) carried the Gospel beyond the Eider; and *Charlemagne* perceived the necessity of extending his own and the Church's conquests over the peninsula of Jutland, and to the sea-shore, in order firmly to secure his rule over the Saxons and Frisians. But circumstances prevented this monarch from carrying this plan into execution. More favourable prospects opened under the reign of *Louis the Pious*. King *Harold*, who had been expelled from Denmark, repaired for protection to the Frankish court. By the aid of Louis, he again obtained a footing in Jutland. *Ebbo*, *Archbishop of Mayence*, followed in his train as missionary to Denmark (823). Under the protection of Harold, Ebbo baptized many Danes; but he was obliged to retire after a stay of only one year. *Harold* himself was also hardly beset. Accordingly, he resolved to throw off the heathenism of his country, and to ally himself completely with Germany. For this purpose he embarked in 826, accompanied by his consort, child, and a large suite, and was received with great pomp into the Church at Mayence, where Louis at the time held his court. On his return he was accompanied by *ANSGAR*, a young monk from the convent of Corvey on the Weser, to whom Louis entrusted the difficult and dangerous task of gaining Scandinavia for the Church. Ansgar may be styled *the Apostle of the North*. He devoted his whole life to the great work, and succeeded,—at least so far as indomitable perseverance, devotedness, and self-denial among innumerable difficulties and trials could secure such an object.

1. *ANSGAR*, the son of Frankish parents, was educated in the monastery of Corvey in Picardy, whence he was removed to the convent of New Corvey, when the latter was founded. Even while a child he had visions and dreams, in which missionary activity and the martyr's crown were held out to him. His first missionary journey (826) promised little success. Harold settled on the borders of Jutland, without venturing to advance into the interior. This circumstance necessarily restrained the zeal of Ansgar. Still he founded a school, and bought a number of young Danish serfs in order to educate them for the ministry among their countrymen. But in the following year Harold was again expelled, and Ansgar also had to retire (827). Two years afterwards Louis obtained tidings that in *Sweden* there were a number of Christians, and that the king himself and all his people were desirous of obtaining Christian

instruction. In company with several other priests, *Ansgar* now undertook a mission to that country in 830. On their journey the missionaries were plundered by pirates; his associates advised to return home, but the courage of Ansgar was not shaken. After untold difficulties they at last landed at Birka, and were well received by *Björn*, king of Sweden. A small number of Christian captives received them with joy, and gathered around them for worship: young serfs were bought, a school was erected, and the Gospel preached to the people. Several Swedes were baptized,—among them *Herigar*, the Governor of Birka, on whose property the first Christian church was built. After the lapse of a year and a half Ansgar returned to the Frankish court, in order to have the mission placed in a position which would promise greater stability. *Louis the Pious* yielded to his representations, and founded at *Hamburg*, on the borders of Denmark, an archiepiscopal see for Scandinavia. He designated Ansgar as its first occupant, and assigned the revenues of the rich abbey of *Turholt* for his support and for that of the mission (833). Ansgar repaired to Rome, and obtained from Gregory IV. a bull confirming his appointment, and nominating him Vicar Apostolic for the North. He next built a cathedral and a convent at Hamburg, purchased additional Danish youths to educate them for the ministry, and sent fresh labourers to Sweden. But adversities of every kind now overtook the Archbishop. In 837 the Normans invaded Hamburg, and destroyed both the town, the church, the monastery, and the library. With difficulty Ansgar and his monks escaped with their lives. Soon afterwards the Swedish missionaries were expelled by the pagans of that country, and for fifteen years evangelistic labours had in great measure to be suspended. But even this was not the limit of his trials. When *Charles the Bald* obtained Flanders (in 843) in virtue of the treaty of Verdun, that callous monarch immediately claimed the abbey of Turholt—to bestow it on one of his worthless favourites. Ansgar was now entirely destitute of all means of subsistence; his clergy, whom he could no longer support, left him, and his educational establishment was closed. His neighbour *Leuteric*, Bishop of Bremen, with whom he sought a refuge, and who had long envied his position, turned him from his door. At last he found an asylum with a noble widow, who assigned a farmhouse on her property at Ramslo, near Hamburg, for his residence. In 847 Leuteric of Bremen died; and *Louis the Germanic* resolved to conjoin the See of Bremen with that of Hamburg, in order again to secure the means of subsistence to the tried Apostle of the North. Against this arrangement the Bishops of Verdun and Cologne, from interested motives, raised objections; but their opposition was stopped by Pope Nicholas I. (858). Meantime Ansgar had laboured indefatigably in connection with the Scandinavian mission, notwithstanding the straits to which himself was reduced. DENMARK was at that time under the rule of *Eric* (Horic),



to whose court Ansgar frequently repaired as ambassador of the German king. He succeeded in gaining his favour, and was allowed to build a church at Schleswig, and to organise a mission which extended over the whole of the country. Although Eric himself ventured not openly to profess Christianity, the fanaticism of the pagans broke out in open revolt. Eric was dethroned, and fell in battle (854). The victorious rebels appointed a boy, *Eric II.*, his successor; but the government was in reality administered by a chief named *Jovi*, a furious enemy of the Gospel, who expelled the Christian priests, and declared the profession of Christianity a capital offence. In 855 Eric shook off the tutelage of *Jovi*, and extended toleration to Christians. Missionary labours were now resumed with fresh ardour and great success.—All attempts to re-establish the mission in SWEDEN had failed, when Ansgar in 862 resolved himself to undertake this work. By rich presents and a splendid entertainment he secured the favour of *Olof*, king of Sweden. The question of tolerating Christianity was submitted in popular assembly to the decision of the heathen lots, which fell in favour of the Gospel. After that, the labours of the missionaries continued undisturbed in Sweden till the death of Ansgar in 865. The most ardent hope of his life—to obtain the martyr's crown—was indeed disappointed; but a life so full of labours, sufferings, trials, devotedness, perseverance, and self-denial, is surely greater than even a martyr's crown.—He was succeeded in the See of Hamburg-Bremen by *Rimbert*, his favourite pupil, the companion of almost all his missionary journeys, and his biographer. It was Rimbert's ambition to follow in the wake of his great predecessor, and the Scandinavian mission formed the object of his deep solicitude. But the irruptions of the Danish and Norman pirates sadly interfered with the peaceful work of the Gospel. These troubles increased after the death of Rimbert to such an extent, that the Archbishop of Cologne could again bring forward his claims on the See of Bremen,—this time with the plea, that the purpose for which the See of Hamburg had been founded was wholly frustrated. Still, the seed which Ansgar had sown had struck deep root, and neither the storms nor the cold of that period could wholly destroy it.—*Principal Source: Adam Bremensis, Gesta Hamburgensis eccl. Episcoporum* (to the year 1076).

### § 111. CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAMISM.

COMP. *J. Aschbach*, *Gesch. d. Ommajjaden in Sp.* (Hist. of the Ommiades in Spain). Frkf. 1829. 2 Vols.; *F. W. Lemke*, *Gesch. v. Sp.*, continued by *H. Schäfer*. Vols. I. II. Hamb. 1831. 44; *Conde's History of the Arabs in Spain*, transl. by Mrs Foster. 3 Vols. London 1854 (Bohn's Libr.).—*M. Amari*, *Storia dei Musulmanni di Sicilia*. Firenze. 1854.

Since the year 665 the Saracens, and their allies the Moors (or



inhabitants of Barbary), who had become converts to Mohammedanism, gradually extended their conquests in NORTHERN AFRICA, till the rule of Byzantium (§ 106, 3) had finally to give way before theirs. From Africa they passed, at the suggestion of a traitor, in 711 to SPAIN, where they swept away the Gothic domination. In less than five years the entire peninsula, with the exception of the mountainous districts in the north, was in their possession. The fruitful plains north of the Pyrenees next excited their cupidity; but the bloody defeat which *Charles Martel* inflicted on the invaders at *Poitiers* in 732, effectually checked such attempts. In this battle the Franks at the same time saved Europe and preserved its Christianity. In 752 the dynasty of the Ommiades at Damascus, whose sway extended also over Moorish Spain, was supplanted by that of the Abassides. But *Abderrhman I.*, a scion of the dethroned family, escaped to Spain, where he founded the independent caliphate of Cordova, which soon became distinguished for the brilliant culture which it encouraged. The dominion of the Arabs in Spain was, however, threatened from two sides. When Roderic succumbed before the Saracens (711), *Pelayo*, a relative of the Gothic monarch, retired with a small but heroic band to the inaccessible mountain fastnesses of *Asturia*. There, and in the mountains by the Bay of Biscay, where *Alfonso*, his son-in-law, held command, national independence and Christianity were still preserved. At a later period Alfonso reigned over these two districts, conquered Galicia and Castile, and restored in his dominions the supremacy of Christianity. The people honoured his memory by giving him the title of *Catholic*. By continued expeditions against the infidels, his successors enlarged their possessions as far as the banks of the Duero. Among them *Alfonso II.*, the *Chaste* (ob. 850), who fixed his residence at *Oviedo*, was specially distinguished both for his bravery and his love of literature.—In the eastern part of Spain also the arms of the Christians drove the Moslems from their strong places. In 778 *Charlemagne* conquered the country to the banks of the Ebro. The revolt of the Saxons prevented him from penetrating farther, and his most distinguished warriors were murdered in the Pyrenees by the lawless Basques. But in two other campaigns (in 800 and 801) he again subjected the country, as far as the Ebro, to the Frankish sceptre.—In SICILY also the Moslems gained a footing. In 827 a Byzantine colonel fled to Africa, from the punishment he had incurred, whence he returned at the head of 10,000 Saracens, who ravaged Sicily. Other succours followed, and in a few years all

*Sicily* was subject to the Arabs, who every year made predatory incursions on the coast of Italy, and on one occasion penetrated even to the gates of Rome. This state of matters continued for three and a half centuries, till in 1091 the Normans finally expelled the Saracens from Sicily.

1. The SPANISH CHRISTIANS, who were subject to the rule of the Omniades, were called *Mozarabs* (Arabi Mustaraba, *i.e.*, arabised Arabs, in contradistinction to the Arabi Araba, or Arabs properly so called). In some respects, they enjoyed greater liberty than the Eastern Christians under Saracen rule. Many Christian youths of the best families attended the flourishing schools planted by the Moors, were enthusiastic in their admiration of the Arab language and literature, and anxious to be employed at court, or as public servants. In opposition to this antichristian and anti-national movement, others, in an excess of fanatical bigotry, rushed forward to martyrdom, and indulged in gratuitous and unprovoked insults on the Mohammedan rule and religion. This species of Christian fanaticism awakened kindred feelings in the Moslems, and led to bloody persecutions (850–859). *Perfectus*, a monk, was the first of these martyrs. When asked what he thought of Mohammed, he denounced him as a false prophet, for which he was executed. *Abderrhaman II.*, who at the time was Caliph, was not a fanatic. In his anxiety to put an end to such scenes, he prevailed on *Recafrid*, the Metropolitan of Seville, to issue an ordinance, which interdicted all insults against the Moslem Prophet. But this measure only served to increase the fanaticism of the extreme party, which was headed by *Eulogius* (a presbyter, afterwards Archbishop) of *Cordova*, and by *Paulus Alvarus*. *Eulogius* himself kept concealed a converted Moorish girl, and on that account was executed along with her (in 859). He was the last victim of this persecution.

## II. INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMANIC CHURCH.

### § 112. THE PAPACY AND THE CAROLINGIANS.

COMP. the works cited at § 72. *J. Ellendorf*, d. Karolinger u. d. Hierarchie ihrer Zeit. Essen 1838. 2 Vols. *S. Sugenheim*, Gesch. d. Entst. u. Ausb. d. Kirchenstaates (Hist. of the Rise and Growth of the States of the Church). Leipz. 1851. *C. Höfler*, d. deutschen Päpste. Regensb. 1839. *Scuddamore*, Rome and England. London 1855.

The conversion of the Germanic races had been in great measure accomplished without direct aid from Rome. Hence even the Catholic Germanic churches paid at first little homage to the See of Peter. This remark applies especially to the *Gothic Church* in Spain. Estranged from Rome even in peaceful times, the Saracen invasion of 711 necessarily cut it off from all intercourse with the Papacy. But the independent Christian provinces of Spain also remained, up to the eleventh century, unconnected with Rome. The growth or decay of the *Frankish churches*, both in Gaul and in Austrasia, under the reign of the Merovingians, depended likewise solely on internal causes. It was otherwise in *Britain*, where the intercourse with the mother-church in Rome was close and continuous. From the first, the principle of papal supremacy had been admitted, nor was it contravened except in rare instances. Innumerable pilgrimages of Anglo-Saxons, of all ranks, to the graves of the Princes of the Apostles, both indicated and fostered the national attachment to the See of Peter. In the eighth century, the concourse of so many English pilgrims in the Eternal City led to the establishment of a great home or inn for them at Rome, called the *Schola Saxonica*. The "*Peter's pence*," which afterwards became a regular tribute paid by the English nation to the Papal See, was first levied for the maintenance of this institution. The Anglo-Saxons—especially St Bonifacius—not only handed to Rome the fruits of their missionary labours gathered in heathen lands, but reorganised after the Romish fashion the national churches already existing in the various Frankish provinces, and reduced them to submission to the Papal See. At a somewhat later period the intercourse between the popes and the Carolingian rulers became so close, as to constitute almost the entire diplomatic correspondence of the Curia.

1. ORIGIN OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH. By legacies and donations the Roman See had gradually acquired very extensive landed property (*Patrimonium S. Petri*), which supplied the means of relieving the inhabitants of Italy during the troubles connected with the irruption of the barbarians. This, however, did not imply any exercise of sovereign rights, which, indeed, were never claimed. After the restoration of Byzantine rule, which was represented in Italy by an exarch (§ 106, 7), the political power of the popes rapidly increased. Indeed, the continuance of the Exarchate often depended on the good-will of the pontiffs, to whom the prospect of becoming the court-patriarchs of a new Longobard-Roman dynasty would, of course, appear far from attractive. Still, they were not able to prevent the Longobards from conquering district after district, belong-



ing to the Exarchate. At last *Gregory III.* applied to *Charles Martel* for help against *Luitprand* (in 738). The Frankish ruler despatched two clerics to Italy for the purpose of negotiating a peace. Pope *Zacharias*, in virtue of his apostolic authority, sanctioned the removal of *Childeric III.* (the Merovingian puppet-king), when *Pepin the Short* added the royal title to the royal power which he had long possessed (752). Meantime, the Lombards, under *Aistulf*, had taken Ravenna, and demanded the submission of Rome. Pope *Stephen II.* now earnestly appealed to the Franks for help. At the invitation of *Pepin* he even went to France, and anointed that monarch and his sons; in return for which *Pepin* made formal promise of taking the Exarchate from the Lombards, and handing it to the Pope (754). The Frankish ruler redeemed his pledge; and in two campaigns cleared the Exarchate from its occupants, and formally gave it to St Peter. The grateful Pontiff bestowed upon *Pepin*, as patron of the Romish Church, the insignia of Patrician of Rome. When ambassadors from Byzantium claimed for their Emperor these provinces, *Pepin* only replied that the Franks had shed their blood for St Peter, and not for the Greeks (755). But the Lombards continued to molest the Papal See, till, at the request of Pope *Hadrian I.*, *Charlemagne* again interfered (768–814), took Pavia, put King *Desiderius* into the convent of Corvey, and annexed Lombardy to the Frankish Empire. On this occasion *Charles* confirmed and increased what his father had given to the Papal See, and deposited a formal document to that effect at the grave of the Prince of the Apostles (774). Unfortunately, this and the other documents in this transaction have gone amissing—probably intentionally; but there is sufficient evidence that the donation of *Charlemagne* did not by any means imply that the popes were to exercise absolute and independent sway. The Frankish monarch himself retained the rights of supreme lordship, and the Pope with all the citizens had to take an oath of fealty to him. In fact, the Pope was a Frankish vassal, and the States of the Church only formed the largest “immunity” of that period. The Pope had all inferior jurisdiction, and nominated the Government officials; but the latter were superintended and controlled by Frankish *Deputies* (*missi dominici*), who were charged to hear appeals, to receive complaints, and to adjudicate on them. These rights of suzerainty were claimed even by the successors of *Charlemagne*, however well the popes knew to avail themselves of the weakness of these sovereigns. The popes, indeed, resisted as opportunity offered; and the fable about a *Donatio Constantini*, according to which the Franks had only restored to St Peter what he had possessed since the reign of *Constantine*, dates even from the time of *Charlemagne*. (The story bore that *Constantine* had removed his residence to Byzantium for the express purpose of securing to the Pope the undisturbed sovereignty over Italy.) In the forged Decretals of *Isidore* (§ 117, 2), a copy of the pretended



authentic document, in which the donation had been conveyed, was inserted. *Laur. Valla* (de falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione,—edited by *Ulric von Hutten* in 1518, after the author's forced retractation) was the first, on critical grounds, to prove the spuriousness of this document, although it had previously been questioned by individuals. Comp. *E. Münch*, üb. d. Schenk. Konst. (on the Donation of Const.), in his "Miscell. Works," *Ludw.* 1828. Vol. II. *J. A. Theiner*, de P. Isid. cann. Col. Vrat. 1827. *F. A. Kunst*, de font. et cons. pseudois. Col. Goelt. 1832. For the genuineness: *Marchetti*, Saggio crit. sopra la storia di Fleuri. Rom. 1781; comp. also *Wasserschleben*, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. fal. Decr. (Contrib. to the Hist. of the False Decr.). Breslau 1844.

2. THE CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY. Pope Hadrian I. was succeeded by *Leo III.* (795-815), whose election gave great offence to a powerful party. A tumult was raised (799), but the Pope escaped to the court of Charlemagne, whom he assured that his enemies had deprived him of his eyes and tongue, which, however, St Peter had restored the following night. His opponents, on the other hand, charged him before the king with perjury and adultery.<sup>1</sup> The inquiry instituted must have brought ugly matters to light; at any rate, *Alcuin* immediately burned the report which had been handed to him. The Pope was sent back with all honours to Rome, and supported by a Frankish guard. The following year Charles himself crossed the Alps with his army. He convoked a synod at Rome; but the assembled bishops declined to act as judges, on the plea that the successor of St Peter, who was the head of all, could not be tried by his inferiors. The Pope proved his innocence by an oath, and afterwards interceded for his accusers. At Christmas Charles attended service in the church of St Peter. Mass being ended, the Pope unexpectedly placed, amidst the shouts of the people, a splendid gold crown upon his head (800). The coronation was represented as the result of a sudden Divine inspiration; in reality it had been the subject of protracted negotiations, and the price at which the Pope purchased the protection of the king. The empire which Charlemagne founded was meant to be a vast theocratic monarchy, whose sway should extend over all the globe. The Greek monarchs had proved unworthy of this distinction, and God had now transferred it to the Frankish ruler. In his capacity as Emperor, Charles was placed over all Christendom, and subject only to God and to His law. He was indeed the most obedient son, the most devoted servant of the Church, in so far as it was the medium and the channel of salvation; but its supreme lord and ruler, in so far as its organisation was earthly and it required earthly direction. The provinces of State and Church, though distinct and separate, were closely connected, and, so to speak, combined in the person of the Emperor as their highest representative. Hence many of the legislative

<sup>1</sup> Dean Milman thinks the latter charge refers to *spiritual* adultery or *Simony*.

ordinances of Charles bore directly upon ecclesiastical affairs. When making statutes about the government, worship, and teaching of the Church, the Emperor was indeed wont to consult bishops and synods; but he ratified, supplemented, or modified their decrees according to his own views of duty, as he thought that the responsibility ultimately devolved on himself. The Pope he regarded as the successor of St Peter and the visible head of the Church, but as subject to the Emperor, who was placed above both State and Church. In setting him apart to this exalted station, the Pope had acted by immediate Divine direction and commission, and not in the exercise of his own power or of that inherent in the Papacy. Hence coronation by the Pope was a ceremony only once enacted, and not to be repeated; the office was hereditary in the family of Charles, and the Emperor alone could beget or nominate another emperor. Contrary to the Frankish law of succession, the empire was to continue unbroken and undivided, and younger sons were only to occupy the subordinate posts of viceroys. Charles died in 814. His son, *Louis the Pious* (814–840), was far too weak to complete what his father had begun. Foolish affection for *Charles the Bald*, his son by a second marriage, induced him to revoke the order of succession which himself had formerly proclaimed. With the approval and aid of some of the most influential Frankish bishops, and of Pope *Gregory IV.*, the other sons of the Emperor now rose in rebellion. Louis was obliged to do public penance at *Compiègne* in 833, and kept in humiliating captivity by *Lothair*, his eldest son. But this circumstance aroused public sympathy, and *Louis* (the Germanic), the Emperor's younger son, restored his parent to liberty. Against the prelates who had taken part in the conspiracy, severe sentences were now pronounced at the *Synod of Thionville* in 835. Still the sons of Louis were continually in arms against each other. Louis lived not to see the end of these hostilities (*ob.* 840). The *treaty of Verdun* in 843 partitioned the Western Empire into three separate and independent realms. *Lothair*, who with the imperial title obtained Italy and a narrow territory between Neustria and Austrasia, died in 855. Of his three sons, *Louis II.* inherited Italy and the imperial title; *Lothair*, the district called after him, Lotharingia; and *Charles*, Burgundy and the Provence. When soon afterwards the two latter died without leaving issue (869), their uncles seized their possessions before *Louis II.* had time to interpose. By the *treaty of Mersen* in 870 *Charles the Bald* obtained the Romanic, and *Louis the Germanic* the German portions of their father's empire. Thus was the great Carolingian monarchy divided into three states, each of distinct language and nationality, viz., Germany, France, and Italy.

3. THE PAPACY TILL THE TIME OF NICHOLAS I. However weak and devout, *Louis the Pious* was not prepared, any more than his immediate successors, to surrender the supremacy which as Emperor he claimed over the See and city of St Peter. What the

popes felt most galling was, that before being consecrated their appointment required to be ratified by the Emperor. As this had been eluded on more than one occasion, *Louis* sent *Lothair*, his son, to Italy, in order to arrange the matter once for all with Pope *Eugen II.* The so-called *Constitutio Romana* now agreed upon enacted that in future the Romans should have no voice in the election of the Pope, and that before the Pontiff was consecrated his appointment should be ratified by the Emperor, to whom the successor of St Peter was to take an oath of fealty (824). But although the emperors jealously watched over the rights thus accorded them, pretexts were never wanting to evade the terms of this agreement. --Between the pontificate of *Leo IV.* (*ob.* 855) and that of *Benedict III.*, the predecessor of Nicholas I., the Papal See was, according to an old legend, occupied by a female called JOAN. The story runs, that a girl from Mayence had in male disguise accompanied her paramour to Athens, where she acquired great learning; that she had next appeared under the name of Johannes Anglicus at Rome, and been elected Pope. During a solemn procession she had given birth to a child, and soon afterwards died, having officiated for two years, five months, and four days, under the name of John VIII. The oldest testimony in favour of this legend is that of Anastasius, the Roman librarian, whose "*Liber pontificalis*" dates almost from that period; but according to the statements of Roman Catholic editors, what passes as his biography of Joan is wanting in most MSS. of this work, and must therefore be regarded as a spurious interpolation. Marianus Scotus, *ob.* 1086, is the next witness in favour of the story. It is further related, with all its details, in the Chronicles of Martinus Polonus (Grand Penitentiary of Rome, and afterwards Archbishop of Gnesen, *ob.* 1278), and after him unhesitatingly reiterated by all subsequent chroniclers of the Middle Ages. Pope *John XX.* (*ob.* 1277) acknowledged Joan as one of his predecessors, and accordingly styled himself John XXI. In popular opinion, the seat of the marble chair used in the Lateran Church at the consecration of the popes (the so-called SELLA *stercoraria*), was supposed to be arranged with a view to render in future the mistake of electing a female pontiff impossible; and a statue which, in the sixteenth century, was destroyed by order of the Pope, was regarded as having been a monument of Joan. But the silence of Photius, who would undoubtedly have made his own use of such a piece of scandal, and contemporary evidence (such as the Annals of Prudentius of Troyes, a letter by Hincmar of Rheims, a diploma of Benedict, and a coin of Lothair), which proves that Benedict III. immediately succeeded Leo IV., render it impossible to regard this story as other than a legend. No clue, however, has yet been found to its origin, unless, indeed, it was meant as a satire on the dissoluteness of such infamous pontiffs as John X., XI., and XII.—only that in that case we should have expected a female Pope to have been introduced in the



tenth and not in the ninth century.—A Calvinistic divine, *David Blondel*, was the first to show that the story could not stand the test of sound criticism, and was utterly unworthy of credence (Amst. 1649). Since then, however, its authenticity has again been defended by *Spanheim* (Opp. II. 577), and latterly by *N. Chr. Kist* ("Hist. theol. Zeitschr." for 1844. II.). *Hase* (Ch. Hist., 8th ed., p. 204) regards it as at least conceivable that a church which has represented as matter of history what has never taken place, may similarly have blotted out what really took place, at least so long as the knowledge of it seemed dangerous to the interests of the Papacy.

4. NICHOLAS I. AND HADRIAN II. (858–67–72). Of the pontiffs who occupied the papal chair between the time of Gregory I. and that of Gregory VII., NICHOLAS I. was by far the ablest. A man of unbending will, of keen penetration, and of a bold spirit, he knew how to avail himself of the political troubles of his time, of public opinion, which proclaimed him another Elijah, and ultimately also of the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which emerged at that very time (see § 117, 2), to invest his claims for absolute papal supremacy with the appearance of a contest on behalf of truth, right, and purity. Among the various disputes in which he was involved (§ 97, 1; § 113, 1), that with *Lothair II.* of Lotharingia proved the most important. That prince, desirous of marrying *Waldrada*, with whom he had formed an improper connection, accused *Thietberga*, his spouse, of incest with her brother. Two of his prelates, *Gunter* of Cologne and *Thietgund* of Treves, proved sufficiently venal to gratify the adulterous monarch by dissolving his legitimate marriage at a synod held in *Aix* (859). *Lothair* now formally espoused *Waldrada*; but *Thietberga* escaped from the nunnery to which she had been confined, to do penance for the crime with which she was charged, and appealed to the Pope. The two uncles of *Lothair*, *Louis* the Germanic and *Charles* the Bald, desirous of possessing themselves of their nephew's country, took her part. By appointment of *Charles*, *Hincmar* of Rheims undertook the public defence of the queen. *Nicholas* sent *Rodoald* of Porto (? comp. § 97, 1) and another Italian bishop to Lotharingia to investigate the matter. These legates, however, were bribed, and a synod held at *Metz* (863) decided in favour of the king. But the Pontiff excommunicated his own legates, and deposed the two metropolitans who had travelled to Rome in order there to try what Lotharingian gold could effect for their master. To avenge their wrongs, these prelates now incited the Emperor *Louis II.*, the brother of *Lothair*, against the Pope. Imperial troops occupied Rome; but *Louis* soon came to an understanding with the Pontiff. Deserted by his own subjects, and threatened in his possessions by his uncles, *Lothair* was glad to make submission, and humbly implored the protection of the Pope against the covetousness of his relatives. *Arsenius*, the legate whom *Nicholas* sent across the Alps to arrange matters, acted as if he had



been absolute lord of the three Frankish empires. Lothair was obliged to take back Thietberga; her rival was to have accompanied the legate to Rome, but escaped by the way. In the arms of Waldrada, Lothair soon forgot his former promises and oaths. At the same time he succeeded in making his peace with his relatives, whom the overbearing conduct of the legate had offended. Thietberga herself now applied to the Pope for a divorce—a request which the Pontiff absolutely refused. Nicholas I. died in 867. His successor, HADRIAN II., a man seventy-five years of age, was elected through the influence of the imperial party. Accordingly, he proved at first more tractable. He accepted the submission of the two metropolitans, although without restoring them to their offices, and absolved Waldrada from church censure, but refused the petition which Thietberga again addressed for a divorce. *Lothair* himself now went to see the Pope; he took a solemn oath that he had not cohabited with Waldrada since the return of his wife, and received the sacrament from the hands of the Pontiff. In the full hope of at last attaining his object, he returned homewards, but on his journey was cut off at Piacenza by a fever (869). After his death the uncles of Lothair seized his dominions. *Hadrian* in vain interposed his authority on behalf of the Emperor as the rightful heir, and even threatened to excommunicate those who refused to obey. In the name of Charles the Bald, *Hincmar* of Rheims addressed a remarkable epistle to Hadrian, in which he expressed it as the conviction of the Frankish nobility, that the Pope had no right to interfere with political questions. Hadrian was obliged to allow this act of defiance to pass unpunished. In another affair also (§ 113, 1) *Hincmar* had the better of the Pope.

5. JOHN VIII. AND HIS SUCCESSORS. The measures adopted by JOHN VIII. (872-882) for subjecting the Carolingian princes to papal supremacy were more successful than those of his predecessor. But then he was also a greater adept in the art of intriguing, a more accomplished hypocrite, and less troubled with conscientious scruples. By his efforts the Papacy was made entirely independent of the Emperor, although, on the other hand, it became an object of furious contention to rival parties in Rome. Hence the almost incredible debasement of the Papal See during the tenth century must be mainly imputed to this Pontiff. On the decease of the Emperor *Louis II.*, in the year 875, this dignity should have devolved on Louis the Germanic, as being both the elder and the full brother of *Louis'* father. But John was anxious to show the world that the imperial crown was in the gift of the successor of the apostles. Accordingly, he invited *Charles the Bald* to Rome, and crowned him at Christmas 875. In return for this act of grace, the Emperor formally renounced his claims as superior of the States of the Church, all control in future elections to the Papacy, and consented to receive a papal vicar and primate for all Germany. But even this

was not all. At Pavia, Charles had to submit to become the *elective* monarch of Lombardy, and then to concede to his own nobles the same right of election, as also that of hereditary succession to their fiefs, in order to obtain their consent to these transactions. But Hincmar and the clergy of Neustria offered strenuous resistance, and stormy discussions ensued at the *Synod of Pontion* in 876.—From this shameful compromise neither the Pope nor the Emperor derived advantage. The reign of faction increased at Rome beyond the control of John, and the Saracens ravaged Italy. The Emperor, unable to keep his own against the Northmen, could afford no help. At last, having purchased a disgraceful peace, he crossed the Alps. But fresh domestic troubles speedily obliged him to retrace his steps. Charles died in a miserable hut at the foot of Mount Cenis, in consequence of poison administered to him by his physician (877). Meantime the troubles of the Pope increased, and his intrigues only served to make his situation more dangerous. John VIII. died by the hand of an assassin in 882. The year before his death he had been obliged to crown *Charles the Fat*, the youngest son of Louis the Germanic. This prince was also elected monarch of Neustria by the nobles of that realm; so that the weakest of Charlemagne's successors once more combined all the dominions of his great ancestor under his sway. But in 887 the Estates of Germany deposed him, and elected in his stead *Arnulph of Carinthia*, a natural son of his brother Carloman. Pope FORMOSUS (894) called in the aid of that monarch, and crowned him Emperor. But Arnulph was not able to maintain himself in Italy against his Langobard rival *Lambert*. *Formosus* died soon after the departure of Arnulph (896). His successor, STEPHEN VI., in the true spirit of Italian revenge, ordered the body of Formosus to be exhumed, maltreated, and thrown into the Tiber, because he had favoured the Germans. The three following popes reigned only a few weeks or months, and were either killed or expelled. In order to appease the German party, JOHN IX. (898–900) rescinded the sentence passed by Stephen against Formosus. Although the reign of Arnulph in Germany had fallen in troubled times, it proved vigorous and honourable. He died in 899, when the German Estates chose his infant son, *Louis the Child*, his successor,—Archbishop *Hatto of Mayence* acting as regent during the minority. But Louis died in 911. With him the German branch of the Carolingians became extinct; in France the dynasty continued to exist till the death of *Louis the Indolent* in 987.

## § 113. THE PAPACY AND THE METROPOLITAN OFFICE.

COMP. *Gass*, Merkwürdigkk. aus dem Leben u. d. Schriften Hinkmar's (*Memorabilia* in the Life and from the Writ. of Hincm.). Göttingen 1806.

The office of Metropolitan was one of great importance and influence

in Germany. Among the many various races and tribes which inhabited the Frankish Empire, the metropolitans represented the unity of the National, just as the Pope that of the Universal Church ; while, as influential members of the Estates, they took an important part both in the internal administration of the country, and in the direction of its foreign policy. The concentration of spiritual power in one individual afforded to the secular rulers a fresh guarantee for the political integrity of their country. On that account they were opposed to the *multiplication* of metropolitan sees ; and where the extent of the country rendered it necessary to have more than one archepiscopal see, they were anxious to see the most influential of these prelates invested with the authority and jurisdiction of *Primate*. On the other hand, it was the policy of the popes to appoint in every country at least two or three metropolitans, and to resist the appointment of primates, since it was quite possible, that if the supreme direction of a national church were confided to one person, that prelate might, some time or other, conceive the wish of emancipating his see from the authority of Rome, and constituting himself an independent patriarch.—Since the time of *Charlemagne*, the Frankish monarchs were also wont to establish episcopal and archepiscopal sees along the borders of their dominions, for the twofold purpose of sending the Gospel into the neighbouring heathen countries, and of preparing for their conquest, or, where this had already been accomplished, strengthening their government. The former of these objects could only command the approbation of the pontiffs ; the latter they resisted to the utmost of their power. It is but justice to say, that the occupants of the See of St Peter, remembering that they represented the Church universal, always recognised, respected, and watched over the rights of nationality. It was intended that every country in which Christianity was established, should preserve its nationality and political independence, and thus become a member of that great family of which the Pontiff was the spiritual father. In this grand organism, every people was to stand in the same relation, since all were equally to be subject to the Apostolic See. While this policy was in accordance with the rules of humanity and of the Gospel, it promoted at the same time the selfish objects of the Papacy. Hence, whenever a national church had been founded, it was the aim of Rome to set it free from the superintendence of the German clergy, and to render it independent, by giving it a hierarchy of its own.—Lastly, the interests of the metropolitan, as the representative and supreme ruler



of a national church, were in great measure identical with those of the sovereign of a country. Hence these prelates were the strongest supporters of the throne; while, on the other hand, their authority also was most carefully guarded by the secular princes. But this coalition between the metropolitans and secular princes was fraught with manifest danger to the liberties of the inferior clergy, who accordingly sought the protection of the See of Rome, by espousing its separate interests. Towards the close of the reign of Louis the Pious, under the pressure of circumstances, a wide-spread conspiracy of bishops and abbots was formed for the twofold purpose of emancipating the clergy, especially the bishops, from the control of the State and of their metropolitans, and of placing them under the immediate jurisdiction of the Papacy. The forged Decretals which bear the name of Isidore (§ 117, 2) represent these principles as in force and acted upon since oldest times. Although these tendencies met with the most strenuous opposition, the principles of the forged Decretals ultimately became the established law of the Church.

1. For a long time the ENGLISH monarchs resisted the papal attempts to establish another metropolitan see besides that of *Canterbury*, as such a measure endangered the political unity of the Heptarchy. The contest raged most fiercely at the time of *Wilfrid* (§ 107, 6; 108, 3), whom the Romish party had appointed Archbishop of *York*. *Wilfrid* was obliged to retire; and, after a troubled career, died without having obtained actual possession of the see to which he had been nominated (709). But the Pope ultimately succeeded in his object. In 735 a Northumbrian prince received the pall, and the archbishopric of *York* has continued ever since.—In the north of ITALY there were three metropolitan sees—those of *Ravenna*, *Milan*, and *Aquileja*—each claiming to be independent of Rome (§ 71). Indeed, *Sergius*, Archbishop of *Ravenna* (about 760), would fain have followed the example of the See of Rome, and transformed the Exarchate of *Ravenna* into an independent state in connection with his own see. Of course, instances of opposition to papal supremacy were of frequent occurrence. But Pope *Nicholas I.* succeeded in finally checking these pretensions (in 861), at a time when the See of *Ravenna* was occupied by *John*, a prelate guilty of sacrilege and violence of every kind. The force of public opinion obliged the Emperor to withdraw his protection from a bishop justly excommunicated for his crimes. But during the pontificate of *John VIII.*, *Ansbert*, Archbishop of *Milan* and a partisan of Germany, was strong enough to set both papal bans and sentences of deposition at defiance (*ob.* 882). His successor, however, again acknowledged the primacy of Rome.—The Metropolitan of *Rheims* occupied the first place in the hierarchy of FRANCE.



From 845 to 882 that see was occupied by *Hincmar*, the most eminent, vigorous, and influential prelate whom France has ever had. His life presents a series of different contests. The first controversy in which he engaged was on the subject of Predestination (§ 121, 4). But ecclesiastical law and politics, not dogmatic intricacies, were his chosen field. In opposition to the claims of the Papacy, and the attempts of the bishops to emancipate themselves, he firmly and successfully contended for the independence of secular princes from papal control, for the liberties of his national Church, and for the rights of metropolitans. His controversy with *Rothad*, *Bishop of Soissons*, deserves special notice. This prelate had been deposed by Hincmar on account of insubordination (861), from which sentence he appealed to Pope *Nicholas I.*, on the ground of the Sardican Canon (§ 72, 1), which hitherto had not been acknowledged in the Frankish Empire; while at the same time he supplied the Pope with the pretended Decretals of Isidore. On this forged collection Nicholas took his stand, and, after considerable resistance, carried the restoration of Rothad (865). Another collision arose out of the contumacious conduct of his own nephew, *Hincmar, Bishop of Laon*. In this instance also, both parties appealed to the forged Decretals. Although *Hadrian II.* took the part of young Hincmar (869), the Metropolitan carried the day; and the Bishop of Laon, who, besides defying his king and his ecclesiastical superior, had entered into treacherous communications with the German Court, was punished with the loss of his eyes. Till the year 875, Hincmar stood by his monarch, and formed the strongest prop both of his policy and of his throne. But when *Charles the Bald*, in exchange for the imperial dignity, bartered away the supremacy of the crown, the liberties of the French Church, and the rights of its hierarchy, the prelate firmly opposed his monarch. Hincmar died during his flight from the Northmen (882). With him the glory of the French hierarchy departed. The authors of the forged Decretals prevailed. But if bishops were emancipated from the rule of their own metropolitans, they were, on the other hand, left unprotected, and hence frequently exposed to the lawless violence of secular grandees.—In GERMANY, metropolitan sees had been founded at Salzburg, Cologne, Passau, Treves, and Hamburg. Over these, and all other sees in the country, the Archbishop of *Mayence* continued to exercise supremacy. Strange to say, in Germany the pretended Decretals of Isidore, although originating in that country under peculiar circumstances, gave not rise to an organised opposition against the metropolitan office, as was the case in France. Indeed, they recognised the primacy of the See of Mayence. Happily for the Empire, the power of the Metropolitan of Germany continued undiminished for several centuries.

## § 114. STATE OF THE CLERGY.

COMP. *S. Sugenheim*, Staatsleben d. Klerus im M. A. (Polit. State of the Clergy in the Middle Ages). Berl. 1839; *K. D. Hüllmann*, Gesch. d. Urspr. d. Stände in Deutschl. (Hist. of the Orig. of the Diff. Est. in Germ.). 2d Ed. Berl. 1830. Vol. I.

Those prelates who bore a rank subordinate to the Metropolitan were called *Diocesans*, or also *Suffragan* bishops, from their right to vote in provincial synods. In Germany, instead of the former or canonical mode of episcopal election by the people and clergy, the kings now claimed the right of appointing to vacant sees. At the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle (817), *Louis the Pious* restored, indeed, to the people and clergy their former privilege, reserving for the Crown only the right of confirming the election; but his successors on the throne paid no regard to this enactment.—Sentence of deposition was commonly pronounced by a provincial or national synod. The *Investiture* of bishops with ring and staff (the shepherd's crook and the marriage-ring) appears to have been practised—at least in isolated cases—during the time of the Merovingians, and came in general use in the ninth century. The so-called *Chorepiscopi* of the eighth and ninth centuries—who, however, had nothing but the designation in common with their namesakes of a preceding period (§ 51. 70)—seem to have been intended as successors of the former “*bishops without diocese*,” or *episcopi regionarii*, who were originally set apart for missionary service. They acted as subordinate assistants of diocesan bishops, in cases where love of ease, want of zeal, or frequent absence on public business rendered such aid necessary. But their arbitrary and high-handed proceedings occasioned serious inconvenience to those bishops who devolved not their work on delegates. The office was virtually abrogated by the Synod of Paris in 849, after which it seems gradually to have ceased. The lower clergy were in part drawn from the serfs; generally speaking, they were held in absolute subjection by their bishops. Very frequently these clerks were deficient in the first elements of education. Parochial appointments rested with the bishop; but in many cases the founders of churches reserved to themselves and their successors the *right of patronage*. Towards the close of the Merovingian and at the commencement of the Carolingian period, both the higher and the lower clergy had sunk into a fearful state of moral degeneracy. *Boniface* succeeded in restoring discipline, at least to some extent (§ 108, 4);

while the vigorous measures taken by *Charlemagne* greatly tended to improve and elevate the state of the clergy. But all this did not suffice to stem the almost general corruption. Accordingly, in 816 *Louis the Pious* introduced throughout his dominions the rule which *Chrodegang of Metz* had half a century before instituted, with a view to the reformation of the clergy of his own diocese. The remedy proved efficacious—at least for a short period; but during the weak and disturbed reigns of the last Carolingians, ordinances like these were easily set aside.—During this period the clergy obtained the privilege of *exemption from secular tribunals*; but only thus far, that the civil magistrate could not proceed against a clergyman without the concurrence of the bishop, and that a bishop was amenable only to the king or to a provincial synod.

1. In Germany THE HIGHER CLERGY were from the first regarded as a kind of spiritual aristocracy, whose superior education ensured them an influence in the State greater even than that of the secular nobility. In all affairs of importance the bishops acted as advisers of the monarch; in almost every instance they were selected as ambassadors; clerical members sat on every commission; and one half of the “*Missi dominici*” were always selected from the same privileged order. From their proximity to the person of the king, and their influence in public affairs, the bishops became one of the *estates of the realm*. Another element which contributed to the power of the hierarchy was, that, according to Frankish law, the *immunity* which accompanied grants of land made by the king, conferred on the proprietor the power of taxation and of jurisdiction. Thus the bishops wielded not only spiritual, but also *temporal sway*, over a great part of the country.—As the residence of the Frankish king was not stationary, a special *court chapel*, to which a numerous body of clergy was attached, was requisite. Commonly the most prominent and influential prelate of the realm acted as *arch-chaplain* of the court, and from the clergy attached to this chapel the future bishops of the country were generally chosen.

2. The gradual extension of episcopal dioceses rendered it necessary to make some new arrangements in regard to the INFERIOR CLERGY. Formerly the affiliated or country churches had been served by the clergy attached to the cathedrals; but now priests were appointed specially to these charges. Such churches were called *tituli*, from the circumstance that they were always dedicated to some saint, and their priests *intitulati, incardinati, cardinales*. Such was the origin of the institution of the *Parochia* (*παροικία*) and of the *Parochus* or *parson*, who was also designated *Curate* because the *cura animarum* devolved on him. An *archipresbyter ruralis* was entrusted with the superintendence of about ten parishes, from which circumstance



he was called *Decanus* (Dean). As at first he retained the exclusive right of administering baptism, his church bore the name of *Ecclesia baptismalis*, his district of *Christianitas* or *Plebs*, and he himself the title *Plebanus*. In the eighth century, Heddo, Bishop of Strasburg, formed his diocese into seven *archdeaconries* for the purpose of efficiently superintending the labours of the deans. Besides parochial churches, a number of *chapels* or *oratories* existed, in which the nearest parish priest at stated seasons celebrated divine service. In the same category we also include the *private chapels* in episcopal palaces and on the properties of the nobility, which were supplied by *domestic chaplains*. Occasionally the latter were degraded to domestic work, such as taking charge of the dogs, waiting at table, or leading the horse of the lady of the manor. Although the ancient canon, “ne quis vage ordinetur,” was frequently re-enacted, there were a large number of so-called *Clerici vagi*, commonly lazy vagabonds, who wandered about the country in quest of some livelihood, ordained by careless bishops for money.

3. The German clergy were very reluctant to submit to the INJUNCTION OF CELIBACY. Many instances of married bishops, presbyters, and deacons occur. By far the greater part of the inferior clergy were married. At their ordination they pledged themselves indeed to separate from their wives, and to abstain from intercourse with them; but this promise was rarely observed. The unmarried clergy were frequently chargeable with uncleanness, adultery, and even with unnatural vices. Accordingly *Ulric*, Bishop of *Augsburg*, scrupled not to expostulate with Pope Nicholas I. on the subject of clerical celibacy, and in the spirit of Paphnutius of old (§ 70, 4), unsparingly exposed the evils connected with it.—In general, the *moral state of the clergy* was very low. Attempts to get hold of the property of devotees, forgery of documents, simony, and other abuses, were openly and shamelessly carried on. The bishops imitated in their hunting and drinking bouts the vices of the nobility, and were more expert with dogs and falcons than in their own peculiar duties. In the seventh cent. it was the liking for the profession of arms which induced Frankish bishops to take part in *wars*; at a later period, the obligation of furnishing a military contingent from the lands belonging to the Church, furnished an additional pretext. Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious, issued strict edicts against this practice; but the later Carolingians not only tolerated, but even encouraged the abuse.

4. Though Augustine's institution of a *monasterium Clericorum* (§ 70, 1) had been adopted by several pious bishops of later times, it was CHRODEGANG, Bishop of Metz, who first introduced it generally, and laid down certain fixed rules for it. His scheme (canon) consisted of an adaptation of the monastic Rule of St Benedict (§ 115), from which it only differed in dispensing with the vow of poverty. He erected a spacious dwelling (called *domus* or *monas-*



terium, whence the term *Münster*), where, under the strict and continuous supervision of the bishop or archdeacon, all the clergy of his cathedral lived, prayed, and wrought together, ate at a common table, and slept in a common dormitory (*vita canonica*, hence *canons*). After morning service all the members assembled in the common hall, when the bishop or archdeacon read a chapter of the Bible (frequently in the book of Levit.) or a portion of the "Rule," taking occasion at the same time to administer any admonition or reproof that might be called for. Hence this hall was called the *chapter-house*, and the designation of CHAPTER was also given to the community as a whole. In towns which were not the seats of bishoprics, the clergy were formed into COLLEGES OF CANONS under an abbot or dean, in imitation of the cathedral chapters. *Louis* the Pious commissioned *Amalarius*, a deacon of *Metz*, to revise the Rule of *Chrodegang*, so as to make it generally applicable; and at a national assembly held in *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 816, it was sanctioned for general use throughout the realm (*Regula Aquisgranensis*). But the canons soon showed a desire to get rid of this troublesome supervision of their bishops. When *Gunther of Cologne* (§ 112, 4) was deposed by the Pope, he sought to retain his office, among other things, by ingratiating himself with his cathedral chapter. Accordingly he agreed to leave a great part of the property of the Church to their uncontrolled disposal (*præbenda*, prebends). What this chapter had extorted, others also gradually obtained.

#### § 115. MONASTICISM.

COMP. *L. d'Achery*, Acta Ss. Ord. s. Benedicti. Sec. I.-VI. (500-1100). ed. *J. Mabillon*. Par. 1688. 9 Voll. fol. *J. Mabillon*, Annales Ord. S. Benedicti ed. Martene. Par. 1703. 6 Voll. fol.—Gesch. d. Bened. Ord. aus *Spittlers* Vorles. v. *Gurlitt* (Hist. of the Bened. Ord. from the Lect. of Spittler, by Gurlitt). Hamb. 1823; *C. Brandes*, d. Ben. O. in the Tübingen Quarterly for 1851; *Helyot*, Histoire des Ordres Relig.

The disasters which accompanied the irruption of barbarous nations in the fifth century, extended also to the monastic institution. Indeed, it could scarcely have survived that period, at least it could not have proved a source of so great and manifold blessing to Western Christendom, if at the right moment unity, order, and law had not been introduced among the various monasteries by the adoption of a fixed rule, suited to the times and circumstances. For this the Church was indebted to *BENEDICT OF NURSIA* (ob. 543), who may be styled the Patriarch of Western Monasticism. The rule which he prescribed to the inmates of the monastery of *Monte-Cassino* in Campania, which he founded, was free from all ascetic extravagance.

It secured strict discipline and order, but breathed a mild and even indulgent spirit, while at the same time it took account of the requirements of human nature and of the times; withal, it was simple, plastic, and eminently practical. Besides, the disciples of Benedict derived from the Rule of Cassiodorus (§ 77, 6). their engagement in literary employments, and from Gregory the Great their ardour in missionary enterprises. Thus the Benedictine order became thoroughly prepared for the grand mission which it accomplished throughout the West (*St Maurus* transplanted it to France in 543), in reclaiming both soil and mind, in clearing forests and cultivating waste land, in zealous and faithful preaching, in exterminating superstition and heathenism, and in cultivating and preserving literature, science, and art. But during the troublous period at the close of the Merovingian rule, the Benedictine monasteries also suffered severely. The court appointed its favourites to the office of abbot; rich abbacies were given to the higher secular clergy *in commendam*, *i.e.*, simply to enjoy its revenues, or else to counts and military chiefs (*lay-abbots*, *Abbacomites*) in reward for their services. These lay-abbots occupied the monasteries with their families, or with their friends and retainers, sometimes for months, converting them into banqueting halls, or using them for hunting expeditions or for military exercises. The wealthiest abbacies the kings either retained for themselves, or bestowed on their sons and daughters, their wives and mistresses. *Charlemagne* corrected this abuse also; he insisted on strict discipline, and made it a rule that schools should be planted in connection with the various monasteries, and that literary labours were to be prosecuted within their walls. At the *Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle* in 817, Louis the Pious appointed BENEDICT OF ANIANE (*ob.* 821) to reorganise, and to introduce the needed reforms in, the various monasteries throughout the empire. Along with commissioners specially appointed for the purpose, he visited every monastery in the country, and obliged their inmates to adopt an improved rule.—As yet the monks were not regarded as necessarily belonging to the clerical order; but gradually the two professions became more identified. Clerical celibacy and the introduction of the canonical rule (§ 114, 4) assimilated the regular priests to the inmates of cloisters; while the latter frequently took ordination either with a view to missionary service, or to enable them to conduct worship in their monasteries. Withal, the monks would sometimes interfere with the rights and duties of curates, giving rise to mutual jealousies and distrust.—All monasteries were subject to the

jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese they lay. The exemptions granted at this period only secured permission of freely choosing their own abbots, or the power of administering without control their own property, or else the right of receiving ordination without payment of fees.

1. Our knowledge of the life of BENEDICT OF NURSIA is solely derived from the account given by credulous Pope Gregory the Great in the second book of his *Dialogues*, which, unfortunately, is full of legendary stories. The RULE of Benedict comprised seventy-three chapters. It was laid down as the first duty of the inmates of a monastery, to pay implicit obedience to the abbot as the vicar of Christ. The brethren had the right of choosing their own abbot, and the "Rule" did not recognise any order of "serving brothers." Agriculture was to form the principal employment; all idleness was most strictly prohibited. The monks were by turns (each for a week) to take charge of the kitchen, and to read aloud in the refectory. Divine service was to commence at two o'clock in the morning, and the seven "horæ" to the completorium were to be regularly celebrated. The monks had two meals a day, and each a pint of wine; only the sick or delicate were allowed animal food. At table, and after the completorium, unbroken silence was to be observed. The brothers slept in a common dormitory—each, however, in a bed of his own—with their dress and girdle on, to be ready for prayers at the first signal. The discipline was careful and strict. Offenders were to be first privately, then publicly reprovèd; and if this was insufficient, punished with fasts, with bodily chastisement, and finally with excommunication. Every monastery was bound to entertain strangers, and to provide for the poor in the district. The *novitiate* of candidates extended over one year; the *vows* prescribed were those of *stabilitas loci*, of *conversio morum* (implying also poverty and chastity), and of *obedientia*. The so-called *oblats*, or children whom, during their minority, the parents had offered to a monastery, were regarded as a kind of novices. They were educated in the cloister, and not allowed to return to the world.

2. BENEDICT OF ANIANE was the son of a Visigoth count, and his real name was *Witiza*. In early life he served in the army of Charlemagne. But during a moment of imminent danger, while attempting to rescue his brother from drowning, his mind received a new turn, and distinction in ascetic exercises became now the object of his ambition. He founded the monastery of *Aniane*, by the river Anianus in Languedoc, and became the trusted and all-powerful adviser of *Louis the Pious*, who built the monastery of *Inda* near Aix-la-Chapelle in order to have his friend always beside him. Benedict composed, for the reform of monasteries, a *Codex regularum*, which consisted of a collection of the various monastic rules then known (best ed. by *L. Holstein*; and next to it that by *Brockie*.



Augsb. 1759. 6 Vols.), and a *Concordia regularum* (ed. H. Menard. Par. 1638. 4).

3. The Rule of the first Benedict made no arrangements about NUNNERIES. *Scholastica*, the sister of that saint, is, however, generally regarded as having originated the female order of Benedictines. The institution of *Canonesses*, in imitation of the "canonical life" of the secular clergy, was another form of female asceticism. The Rule drawn up for them in 816, by order of Louis the Pious, was much less stringent than that which applied to ordinary nuns. By and by these institutions became a provision for the unmarried daughters of the nobility.—The canonical age for entrants before taking the vow was twenty-five years; their novitiate lasted three years. Besides the "propria professio," the "paterna devotio" was also regarded as binding. The taking of the veil formed the main part of the ceremony of admission: the garland worn was intended to be the symbol of virginity; the ring, that of their spiritual marriage. At this period the practice of cutting off the hair was only resorted to as punishment of nuns who had broken their vow of chastity. From the respect which the Germans were wont to pay to woman, the lady-abbess occupied a place of special distinction; and in later times the principal nunneries enjoyed even such privileges as exemption, a vote among the estates of the realm, and the exercise of sovereign rights. It was a peculiarity of German monasteries, that frequently they were constructed both for monks and nuns, who—of course in separate houses—lived under the common rule of an abbess (as often in England) or of an abbot.

4. To the LARGER MONASTERIES a number of buildings were attached, in which every conceivable spiritual or temporal occupation was carried on. Some of these buildings were designed for agricultural purposes, others for trades and arts of every description, or for public instruction, for private studies, for showing hospitality or taking charge of the sick. They often formed of themselves a small town, around which, in many instances, considerable cities sprung up. The monastery of *Vivarium* in Calabria, founded by Cassiodorus, claims the merit of having awakened in the monks of Germany the desire of devoting themselves to literary avocations; the arrangements of *Monte Cassino* were adopted all over Western Europe. Through the exertions of the inmates of *Bobbio*, founded by Columbanus, both heathenism and Arianism were uprooted in Northern Italy; the monks of *Iona* and *Bangor*, in Scotland and Ireland, sustained the important conflict with Rome on behalf of the British Confession; while the monastery of *Wearmouth*, in England, was famed as a seminary of learning. *St Denys* near Paris, and *Corbey* in Picardy, were the most celebrated abbacies in France. The most famous institutions of this kind in Southern Germany were those of *St Gall*, *Reichenau*, *Lorsch*, and *Hirschau*; in Central



Germany, those of *Fulda*, *Hersfeld*, and *Fritzlar*; and in Northern Germany, that of *New Corbey* (an offshoot of Corbey in France).

5. The severity of the climate prevented Western ascetics from imitating the example of former *Stylites* (§ 108, 3). Instead of this, however, the so-called *Reclusi* or *Reclusæ* adopted the practice of shutting themselves up in their cells, without ever quitting them. A peculiar class of anchorites, who *lived in the woods*, were found in many parts of Germany. This kind of asceticism was peculiarly in accordance with some national characteristics, such as the tendency to dreamy melancholy, the passionate love of nature, and the delight in roaming over mountain and forest. The practice of thus retiring into solitude seems to have been chiefly in vogue during the sixth cent.; and the lonely valleys, glens, and mountains of Auvergne were peopled with these saints. But the concourse of admiring followers soon converted the cell of the saint into a monastery, and the practice gradually ceased.

#### § 116. ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY.

COMP. *Paul Roth*, *Gesch. d. Beneficialwesens bis zum 10ten Jahrh.* (Hist. of Eccles. Benefices to the Tenth Cent.). Erlg. 1850.

By donations and legacies both churches and monasteries gradually acquired immense wealth. If princes knew no bounds in making pious grants, private individuals not unfrequently even surpassed them in this species of liberality. Nor could occasions for its display be ever wanting. Restoration from dangerous illness, deliverance from danger, the birth of a child, or any extraordinary occurrence, swelled the treasury of the church whose patron saint had been of use to the donor. This kind of piety was of course greatly encouraged by the clergy, who, besides, hesitated not to impose on the ignorance of the age by unscrupulous forgeries. Gifts or grants of land, of which the donor retained the use during his lifetime, were called *Precariæ*. Commonly, the private property of priests at their death, and that of monks at their "conversio," went to the institutions with which they were connected. Besides this revenue from property, every church claimed *tithes* from all its parishioners. According to the precedent of the Mosaic law, tithes were regarded as "*juris divini*," and Charlemagne gave to this arrangement the sanction of public law. On the other hand, the clergy were prohibited from demanding payment for the discharge of their spiritual functions.—It was the first fundamental principle in the administration of ecclesiastical property, that no part of it might be sold or alienated. Hence it increased every year. Thus, in the seventh century, fully one-third of all the landed property in Gaul belonged

to the Church, while the fiscal and crown lands had all been alienated. Under these circumstances, *Charles Martel* had no choice left but to reward his adherents and servants by bestowing on them lay-abbacies. His sons, *Carloman* and *Pepin*, went even further; they claimed the right of absolutely disposing of all ecclesiastical property, and at once proceeded to secularise and divide the coveted possessions. *Charlemagne* and *Louis the Pious* were anxious to atone for these acts of injustice by making such restitution as was possible, considering the reduced state of the fisc. By these restitutions, and by new donations from wealthy individuals, the property of the Church again accumulated as before. Thus, at the commencement of the ninth cent., the monastery of Luxeuil possessed not less than 15,000 manors (*Mansi*).—The management of Church property was entrusted to the bishops, that of monasteries to their abbots. Special *advocates* or *defensors* (*advocati ecclesiæ*) were appointed to watch over the temporal rights of churches, and to exercise their secular jurisdiction. But after a time these officials came greatly to abuse their position; they committed every kind of extortion, oppression, and dishonesty; claimed a great part of the ecclesiastical revenues as their dues; and generally disposed both of the property and income of churches as if it were their own.

1. When *Charles Martel* undertook the government of the country, he found that, by excessive liberality towards the Church, and towards their own immediate attendants, the Merovingians had completely exhausted all available resources, so far as crown lands were concerned. But in the peculiar circumstances of the country, threatened by the Saracens on the one hand, and surrounded on the other by a number of petty tyrants, who would have broken up and so destroyed the realm, *Charles Martel* was in more urgent want of pecuniary means than any of his predecessors. These difficulties gave rise to the bestowal of what were called *BENEFICES*. The warriors, whose services gave them claims upon the State or the monarch, were still rewarded by grants of land, which conferred on the possessor the obligation of furnishing a military contingent; but these grants of land were no longer hereditary, but valid only during the lifetime of the possessor (for his usufruct, *beneficium*). As the crown lands were almost entirely disposed of, *Charles Martel* confiscated for this purpose the property of the Church. Thus, without absolutely appropriating these lands, he filled the vacant sees with creatures of his own, and induced them to grant benefices to such of his followers as deserved rewards, while he himself similarly bestowed abbacies *in commendam* (§ 115). But while this half measure did not suffice for the wants of the case, it proved also the occasion of more serious inconvenience to the Church than complete confiscation

would have been. Accordingly, the successors of Martel secularised a large portion of the property of the Church. These measures were initiated at the *Synod of Lestines* in 743 (§ 108, 4). St Bonifacius, and the clergy generally, felt that submission was absolutely requisite, and that any hope of seeing ecclesiastical discipline restored, depended on their willingness to yield. Accordingly, they gave their consent, in the hope of obtaining in better times a restitution. The rights of the ecclesiastical foundation were preserved, at least in point of form; the lay impropietors granted letters *precaria*, and agreed to pay for every manor a yearly duty of one *solidus*. Under the reign of Charlemagne this tribute was converted into second tithes called *Nonæ*. But when Charlemagne and Louis made partial restitution of the Church property formerly secularised, the obligations formerly imposed on beneficiary possessors (especially that of furnishing contingents) were not remitted, and, indeed, were gradually extended to all ecclesiastical property. —This system of beneficiary grants, though originating under the pressure of circumstances, gradually spread, and became the basis of social arrangements, and “one of the most important points in the policy of the Middle Ages.” (Comp. also *Hallam*, Middle Ages, Vol. I., pp. 159, etc.)

#### § 117. ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION.

The duty of enacting ecclesiastical ordinances for the German Empire devolved in the first place on the various synods. The Papacy exercised scarcely any influence in this respect. It was otherwise with the secular rulers. They convoked synods, submitted to them questions for deliberation, and confirmed their decrees as they saw fit. But when the Frankish sees were filled exclusively with natives, synods gradually ceased to be held, and ecclesiastical affairs, if discussed at all, were settled at the Imperial Diets, in which the bishops took part, as belonging to the estates of the realm. Even those great national synods which St Bonifacius held for the purpose of remodelling and restoring ecclesiastical arrangements, which had fallen into sad confusion, were *Concilia mixta*; and this continued to be the constitution of such assemblies under the reign of Charlemagne and of Louis the Pious. The former monarch, however, introduced better order into these deliberations, by separating the assembled estates into three distinct *curiæ*—viz., that of bishops, of abbots, and of counts. Under the rule of the Carolingians, royal ordinances or *Capitularies* settled those ecclesiastical questions on which formerly synods had published their decrees. But at that period, purely ecclesiastical synods also were again held,



—a practice which came chiefly in vogue during the time of *Hincmar*.

1. COLLECTIONS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS. Gregory II. furnished St Bonifacius, among other things, with a *codex canonum* (no doubt that of Dionysius, § 68, 3); and Hadrian I. sent one to Charlemagne, which, at the Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle in 802, received public sanction.—Another collection of canons was that made in Spain, of which the authorship was erroneously ascribed to Isidore, Bishop of Seville, and which accordingly is designated as the *Hispana*, or as the *genuine Decretals of Isidore*, in opposition to the forged or Frankish collection which bears that title. In point of form, it resembles the collection of Dionysius. In the ninth cent. it was introduced into the Frankish Empire, and there gave its name to and became the occasion of the *forged Decretals of Isidore*. Closely connected with this piece of imposture was the collection made by *Benedictus*, “a Levite” of Mayence (about 840). Although professing to be a collection of capitularies, it is chiefly composed of ecclesiastical canons; some genuine, others forged. The earliest collection of capitularies was that made by *Ansegis*, Abbot of Fontenelles, in 827, to which the work of Benedict formed a kind of supplement (best ed. in *Pertz*, Monumenta Germ. III. IV.). Besides these large and general collections, some bishops published abstracts of ecclesiastical canons for the use of their own dioceses, several of which have been preserved under the name of *Capitula Episcoporum*. Of these, the *Capitula Angilramni*, which were spuriously attributed to Angilramnus, Bishop of Metz (*ob.* 701), are evidently composed in the same spirit and for the same purpose as the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. It is matter of dispute whether the author of the Decretals had borrowed from these *Capitula*, or *vice versa*. Rettberg has argued—with considerable probability—that both collections were made by the same author, and that the *Capitula* were composed before and upon a different plan from the Decretals. In the above class of works we also include the Penitential books and the Instructions for clerical visitations (§ 118, 5).

2. THE FORGED DECRETALS OF ISIDORE. About the middle of the ninth cent. a collection of canons and decretals appeared in the Frankish Empire, which bore the venerable name of Isidore, and embodied the so-called *Isidoriana*, but contained, besides, also a number of spurious decretals. This work was composed of the fifty *Canones Apostolici*, which were followed by fifty-nine forged decretal letters, professedly written by the first thirty popes from Clemens Romanus to Melchiades (*ob.* 314). Part Second contained genuine canons of synods, and Part Third another series of papal decretals, dating from the time of Sylvester, the successor of Melchiades, and extending to that of Gregory II. (*ob.* 731), of which thirty-five are spurious. From their Frankish Latinity, from the num-



berless anachronisms of the grossest kind which occur in them, and from the evident purpose throughout the work, we cannot but conclude that all the spurious portions were the production of the same person, probably of the editor of this collection. The following are the leading characteristics of the *system of Pseudo-Isidore*:—The *Sacerdotium* which the Lord has instituted to govern and judge the world, is infinitely superior to the secular *Imperium*. The See of St Peter represents the unity and the climax of this *Sacerdotium*. The bishops stand in the same relation towards the Pope as the other apostles occupied towards Peter; metropolitans are only *primi inter pares*. As papal vicars in extensive countries which had adopted the Gospel at a later period, the primates occupy a sort of intermediate place between the Pope and bishops (the See of Mayence for Germany). Provincial Synods cannot be held without leave of the Pope, and their decrees only become valid by his confirmation. All *causæ majores*, among them especially, all charges against bishops, can only be decided by the Pope himself. Priests are the “*familiares Dei*” and “*spirituales*,” while the laity are “*carnales*.” Even a clerk may not be summoned before a secular tribunal, far less a bishop; nay, a layman cannot even accuse a priest, while synods are enjoined to render it as difficult as possible to bring any charge against a bishop. A bishop who had already been deprived of his see must be completely reinstated before an accusation can be received against him. If the party accused thinks that the judges are *inimici* or *suspecti*, he may appeal to the Pope, even *before* any investigation had actually commenced. At least seventy-two trustworthy witnesses are required to substantiate a charge, etc.—It was evidently the *object of this forgery* to render charges against a bishop a matter of great difficulty, to prevent the condemnation of a prelate, or, at any rate, to secure their immunity from punishment, by enabling them in the last instance to appeal to the Pope. Everything else—even the high claims made in name of the Papal See—is merely subservient to this object, or intended to divert attention. The forged Decretals originated undoubtedly in the Frankish Empire, where they seem to have been in existence for years before they were known in other countries, as may be gathered from the procedures in the case of Rothad of Soissons (comp. § 113, 1). It was that prelate who, in 864, first brought the Decretals to Rome. The evidence of Hincmar, and the evident connection between them and the Capitularies of Benedict, are in favour of the supposition that they were compiled at Mayence,—at a time, we infer, when a number of Frankish bishops were to be accused and punished, or probably immediately *before* or after the *Synod of Didenhofen* in 835 (§ 112, 2). Knust (de fontibus et consilio Ps. Isidori, Göttg. 1832) has suggested that Benedictus Levita, who was the first in his Capitularies to make practical use of these Decretals, was the author of the

forgery. *Philippus* (K. Recht III. 61) lays the blame on *Rothad* of Soissons; while *Wasserschleben* charges *Otgar*, Archbishop of Mayence, with the imposture (Beitr. zur Gesch. d. falsch. Decret. Bresl. 1844). Many circumstances combine to confirm the last-mentioned supposition. In the controversial tractate against his nephew, Hincmar states that *Riculf* (who occupied the See of Mayence some time before Otgar) had brought this collection from Spain, and given it currency (H. evidently mistook the spurious for the genuine *Isidoriana*); while *Benedictus Levita* mentions that, in his compilation of the Capitularies, he had made use of certain documents which Riculf had deposited in the archives of Mayence, and which Otgar had discovered, and lent him for the composition of his work. (Probably these were rough drafts made by Otgar, and which Benedict regarded as genuine documents.) Besides, at that very time, Otgar, who had taken a principal part in the conspiracy against Louis the Pious, was in danger of being called to account; and the circumstance that the primacy of Mayence alone is recognised, thus fully compensating in the case of his own see for what was taken from other primates, tends to confirm our suspicions.—At the time, the genuineness of the Decretals was not called in question, even by Hincmar, who only denied their validity so far as the Frankish Church was concerned, and who, besides, was so inconsistent as to appeal to their authority, in his controversy with Charles the Bald, at the Council of Kiersy in 857, though at a later period he designated them an “opus a quoquam compilatum et confictum.”—The Magdeburg Centuriones were the first to show that these documents were a forgery. Notwithstanding their exposure, *Turrianus*, a Jesuit (Flor. 1572), again entered the lists in defence of their authenticity; but was so completely silenced by *Dav. Blondel* (Ps. Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes. Genev. 1628) as to deter any subsequent writer from taking up so forlorn a cause.

#### § 118. STATE OF INTELLIGENCE, ECCLESIASTICAL USAGES AND DISCIPLINE.

To convince ourselves how thoroughly the Saxon mind could enter into the spirit of genuine Christianity, we only require to peruse the scanty specimens of religious poetry preserved from that period. At first, indeed, the mass of the people had only made outward profession of the new faith. Considerable time elapsed before it reached the heart and leavened the life of the nation. Accordingly, a number of *tenets* and *superstitions* foreign to Christianity—the remnants of former heathen views—were mixed up and almost formed part of the religious life. This tendency was fostered by some adventitious circumstances. Gregory the Great had re-

commended his missionaries not so much to wage a war of extermination against heathenism, and to sweep away its every trace, as rather to Christianise pagan rites, and to assign a deeper Christian meaning to heathen tenets formerly cherished. In practice the Church continued to follow this suggestion, thereby keeping alive not only the memory, but also the forms, of ancient misbelief. Besides, the representatives of the Church taught that the heathen deities formerly worshipped were real demons, and, as such, had actual existence. Hence, in popular belief, they were regarded as a kind of dethroned powers who still exercised an uncontrolled sway in certain domains of nature, and whom it would therefore be dangerous to offend. Withal, the highly imaginative and poetic turn so peculiarly characteristic of Germans, their liking for the mysterious and supernatural, their delight in speculation, exercised its own influence in the same direction. The honours paid by the Church to saints, and even its statements about the devil, opened to a highly imaginative race, as it were, a new range, and popular belief soon peopled it with fantastic shapes and strange occurrences. The faithful were always exposed to the vexatious enmity of demons, yet never so as to place them beyond the miraculous protection of angels and saints. The agency of the Prince of Darkness himself was frequently brought into requisition. At this period, however, the relation which the devil and his angels occupied towards man, was regarded as far too serious and solemn to favour the introduction of those stories about apparitions of devils which circulated during the latter part of the Middle Ages, in which Satan was uniformly duped, and represented as an object of ridicule and contempt, whose impotent rage, as he disappeared, could only find vent in leaving a horrid sulphureous smell.—It must be admitted that the *moral state* of the Germanic races, after their adoption of Christianity, was very low. Indeed, a more glaring contrast can scarcely be conceived than, for example, between the picture which Tacitus draws of ancient German manners and morality, and the dreadful degeneracy and brutal barbarism which Gregory of Tours describes during the Merovingian period. But in no instance, also, were it more fallacious than in this to reason: “*Post hoc ergo propter hoc.*” The moral decay of the German races which took place at the time when they made their outward profession of Christianity, depended on circumstances wholly distinct from their change of faith. It was, in fact, the consequence of that entire transformation of views and manners caused by the migration of nations. Having left home—that mightiest



bulwark of ancestral manners—occupying the fertile and opulent countries which they had recently conquered, and there exposed to most demoralising influences around, the Germans threw themselves into enjoyments new to them with all the avidity characteristic of a people which had hitherto been unacquainted with luxury and its attendant vices; their passions, once let loose, soon swept away all the landmarks of decency and propriety. In proof of the correctness of this explanation, we appeal to the fact that this moral decay took place chiefly among those races which settled in countries where the degenerate Romans had held sway (as was the case with the Franks in Gaul, and the Langobards in Italy); while, on the other hand, the moral development of other tribes, such as the Anglo-Saxons and the inhabitants of Germany Proper, was entirely different and much more regular.

1. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE. *Charlemagne* was the first to conceive the idea of popular education, and of the elevation of the masses. It will readily be understood that only a small beginning of this could be made during his time. Great merit attaches in this respect to *Theodulf*, *Bishop of Orleans*, who planted schools in every village throughout his diocese. The religious instruction of youth commonly consisted of learning by heart the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. *Charlemagne* directed that adults—male or female—who were deficient in this *modicum* of popular theology, should be induced by fasts or blows to acquire it. A number of formulas still extant, dating from the eighth and ninth centuries, employed in making abjuration, confession of faith or of sins, or in orisons, indicate the kind of religious knowledge common among the people. As further means of popular religious instruction, we may mention the frequent attempts to render patristic or Biblical books generally accessible by translating them into the vernacular. Among German monasteries, the inmates of *St Gall* distinguished themselves by their zeal in promoting the growth of a national literature. *Alfred the Great* prosecuted the same object among the Anglo-Saxons, especially by his own contributions. The latest mention of *Ulfilas'* translation of the Bible occurs in the ninth cent., after which it seems for many centuries to have remained unknown.

2. POPULAR CHRISTIAN POETRY. This species of composition first appeared at the close of the seventh, and continued to be cultivated till late in the ninth cent., especially in England and Germany. A considerable number of Biblical poems of great merit, on subjects connected with the Old and New Testaments, have been preserved, which are ascribed to the pen of *Cædmon*, a Northumbrian (*ob.* 680). Even more interesting is the Anglo-Saxon epos, entitled the *Heliland*, dating from the time of *Louis the Pious*,—the first and only Christian poem on the Messiah, worthy its glorious subject, popular yet per-



fect in construction, simple and elevated in its conception—in short, deep and genuine Christianity presented in a Teutonic form. The “Krist” of *Otfried* (a monk at Weissenburg, about 860) is a comparatively inferior production. It was, indeed, the great aim of this author, as it had been that of the Saxon poet—to use *Otfried*’s expression—“thaz wir Kriste sungun in unsere Zungun” (to raise Christ’s song in our own tongue); but the poetry of the monk bears the same relation to that of the Saxon, “as the hymn of the lark under the broad sunlit canopy of heaven to the artificial melody of the bird confined to its cage.” To the same class of compositions belong two other pieces, the so-called *Wessobrunn Prayer*, of which the first and poetic portion is probably a fragment of a larger poem intended to celebrate creation, and what is known by the name of *Muspilli*, a poem in high German, treating of the end of the world and the last judgment, of which, unfortunately, only a fragment, unrivalled in depth and pathos, has been preserved.

3. SOCIAL STATE. The high position which *woman* had always occupied among the ancient Germans (§ 105, 2) prevented the spread of those degrading views, both of her sex and of the married relationship, which in great measure were the necessary consequence of the spurious asceticism of churchmen. The Church attached special merit to complete abstinence from conjugal intercourse, which, indeed, was entirely prohibited during the three seasons of Quadragesima, on feast-days, and on the “dies stationis” (Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday). *Second* marriages were stigmatised as incontinence, and had to be expiated by temporary penance. The laws regulating *divorce* were, however, still somewhat lax, and only in exceptional cases were persons divorced prevented from again marrying. But the stringent regulations about *impediments to marriage arising from affinity* (§ 91) were more distasteful to the Germans than probably any other ordinance of the Church. Such unions, especially that with a brother’s widow, had formerly been regarded in popular estimation as a kind of duty.—The national customs and laws connected with property rendered it impossible for the Church to interfere with the institution of *serfdom*; indeed, monasteries and churches, in virtue of their large territorial possessions, owned a considerable number of serfs. But the Church always insisted on the fact, that masters and servants occupied exactly the same place in a moral and religious point of view; it extolled the manumission of slaves as occupying the first rank in the scale of good works, and ever threw the shield of its protection around those who were oppressed by harsh masters.—The *care of the poor* was considered one of the great concerns of the Church, from which even avaricious and unfeeling bishops could not withdraw themselves. If circumstances at all allowed it, every church had its own special buildings, in which the poor, the sick, widows and orphans, were supported or entertained.

4. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. The practice of taking *private vengeance* was common among the German races. Some bounds, however, were set to this abuse, by fixing by law the *composition* or atonement to be paid for every injury (the *Weregild*). From aversion to inflicting capital punishment, the Church readily fell in with this custom. A solemn oath, and the so-called judgment of God, were the means adopted for leading judicial proof. Only a freeman who had not previously been convicted of crime was allowed to take the *oath* of purgation; a husband might take it for his wife, a father for his children, or a master for his slave. Along with the person accused, his relatives, friends, and neighbours appeared as *compurgators* (conjuratores) to take the oath. Although they repeated the same formula as the party impeached, their oath was only intended as a personal guarantee for the truthfulness and honour of the accused. If, from any circumstance, this oath of purgation could not be taken, if there were no compurgators, or if other means of probation were wanting, resort was had to the *judgment of God* (Ordale). This was ascertained—1. By *judicial combat*, which owed its origin to the old popular belief: “*Deum adesse bellantibus.*” Only a freeman could demand this mode of trial. Old persons, women, children, and clerks might be represented by a proper substitute. 2. By various *experiments with fire*, such as holding the hand for some time in the fire, walking over a burning pile with no other dress on than a shirt, carrying a red-hot iron with the naked hand for nine paces, or walking barefoot over nine or twelve burning ploughshares. 3. By one of two *experiments with water*. The accused person had to fetch, with his naked arm, a ring or a stone out of a cauldron filled with boiling water; or he was thrown into the water with a rope round his body. If he sank, he was declared to have proved his innocence. 4. By the *experiment of the cross*. Each party stood before the cross with arms expanded; and the person who first became weary, and allowed his hands to droop, lost the cause. 5. By the *experiment with the Eucharist*, specially in disputes among ecclesiastics. It was thought that the guilty party would soon afterwards be struck by some manifestation of the Divine displeasure. The laity underwent the experiment with the *consecrated morsel* (*judicium offæ*), which the party impeached had to swallow at mass. 6. By the so-called “*judicium feretri.*” The accused touched the wounds of the person murdered; if blood flowed from them, or foam from his mouth, it was held to establish guilt.—The implicit credence which the Church attached to so many legendary miracles, sprung from the same tendency which gave rise to these ordeals. It was, therefore, manifestly impossible for churchmen to combat such superstitions; at most, they could object to the pagan rites so frequently connected with them. But by sanctioning and regulating these trials, the Church no doubt contributed not a little to diminish the evils attendant upon them. Agobard of Lyons (ob. 840) was the first to denounce these practices

as damnable superstitions. After that, the See of Rome also (since the pontificate of Nicholas I.) uniformly condemned every kind of appeal to the "judgment of God."—Among the different kinds of *peace* (i.e., immunity of person, property, office, and duty), next to the *peace of the King*, that of the *Church* was most respected. For injuries to ecclesiastical personages and property, or offences committed in consecrated places, a threefold compensation was exacted. A bishop was regarded as equal to a duke, and a common priest to a count.—Comp. also *Robertson*, Charles V., First Section, and Notes 21, 22.

5. ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE AND PENANCES. In Germany, the State fully recognised the jurisdiction of the Church and its right to inflict punishment, so that an offence was considered expiated only when, besides the requirements of the secular, those of the ecclesiastical tribunal also had been satisfied. This gave rise to a system of regular episcopal visitations, called *SENDS* (Synodus from send?), which came into use during the reign of Charlemagne. The bishop was every year to visit the whole of his diocese, accompanied by a royal *Missus*, and, with the aid of *bailiffs* specially selected (from every congregation) and sworn, to institute a searching inquiry into the moral and religious state of every parish, and to punish the sins or misdemeanours brought to light. Both *Regino of Prüm* and *Hincmar of Rheims* composed instructions for conducting these visitations.—The State also lent its sanction and force to the sentences of *ecclesiastical excommunication*. *Pepin* enjoined that those who had been excommunicated should not enter a church, and prohibited Christians from eating and drinking with, or even saluting such persons. The public exercise of discipline was repugnant to German notions of propriety, and the Church, generally, yielded in this matter to popular feeling. The numerous *PENITENTIAL BOOKS* which date from this period, gave ample direction about the ADMINISTRATION OF DISCIPLINE, and, adopting the custom of judicial compensations, prescribed certain fines for every conceivable kind of offence. *Wasserschleben* has collected and edited all the documents of this character still extant ("The Penitential Books of the Western Church, with Hist. Introd." Halle 1851). They appear to have been generally constructed after the penitential order of *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Manifestly, the fundamental idea of these arrangements implied an entire misunderstanding of Christian discipline; and their frequent contradictions, their confusedness and arbitrary regulations, led to very sad consequences. Even the rendering of the term *pœnitentia* by "penance," i.e., compensation, shows how superficial were the views entertained by the Church on this important subject. Thus, in the Penitential books, "pœnitere" is represented as entirely identical with "jejunare." But if the idea of *pœnitentia* once resolved itself into merely external acts, the penance of fasting might readily give place to other spiritual exercises. Again, if it was only requisite by some penance to make compensa-



tion for sins committed, the services of another might fairly be employed as a substitute for those of the guilty person. Accordingly, a system of REDEMPTION was gradually introduced, which involved utter disregard of all moral earnestness on the part of penitents. Thus, for example, the penitential books indicate how a rich man might, by hiring a sufficient number of persons to fast in his stead, in three days go through a course of seven years' penance, without incurring any personal trouble. This moral decay led in the eighth and ninth centuries to determined opposition against penitential books, and the dangerous principles involved in their arrangement. The reaction commenced in Britain at the *Council of Cloveshoo* in 747, and soon spread to the Continent, where it found vent at the Synods of Chalons in 813, of Paris in 829, and of Mayence in 847. The Council of Paris ordered all penitential books to be delivered up and burnt. Still such practices continued.—At this period, *confession* was not yet regarded as incumbent on the faithful generally. In theory at least, it was still held that it sufficed to confess to God alone. But already the custom of confessing once a year—during Easter Quadragesima—seems to have been so general, that its omission was severely reprimanded at episcopal visitations. The *formula of absolution* adopted was only of a deprecatory, not of a judicial character.

#### § 119. PUBLIC WORSHIP AND THE FINE ARTS.

So long as Arianism remained the creed of Germany, the services of the Church were no doubt conducted in the *vernacular*. But when these races joined the Catholic Church, Latin became the ecclesiastical language. Among the tribes which were converted to Christianity by Catholic missionaries, the use of Latin in the public services had from the first been introduced. The Slavonians alone were allowed to worship in their own language (§ 109, 1).—As the language, so also the *liturgy* of Rome was everywhere enforced, except within the diocese of Milan and in the Spanish Church. When *Pepin* entered into negotiations with the Papacy, he consented to have the forms of worship common among the Franks altered to suit the Romish model (745). For the same purpose Hadrian I. furnished *Charlemagne* with a Romish Sacramentarium, and that monarch insisted on having the desired uniformity carried out. At first sight, it may appear strange that the peculiar characteristics of the German mind should not have expressed themselves in corresponding modifications in the services of the Church. But it must be remembered that the Romish ritual, when imported into Germany, was not only in itself complete, but so constituted as scarcely to admit improvements of a fundamental character; and that, besides, the vernacular



was excluded from the Liturgy, and the people really took no active part in the services. Where, as in this case, so much depends on the choice of expressions, the national mind could not find full or free utterance so long as the use of a foreign idiom was enforced.

1. LITURGY AND PREACHING. Besides the Roman or *Gregorian*, other liturgies were in use; differing from it in some respects. Such was the attachment both of the people and clergy of Milan to their old *Ambrosian* Liturgy, that even Charlemagne was not strong enough to displace it; and to this day has Milan preserved its possession of this relic. Not less tenacious were the Spaniards in their adherence to their national or so-called *Mozarabic* Liturgy (§ 111, 1). In several points it resembled the Eastern liturgies; after having been recast and enlarged by Leander and Isidore of Seville, it was adopted throughout the Spanish Church by the national Synod of Toledo in 633. This similarity to Eastern liturgies is also noticeable in some of the older *Gallican* liturgies, before the time of the Carolingians.—Throughout the West, the SERMON always occupied a comparatively subordinate place in public worship. The intellectual decay subsequent on the migration of nations, almost banished it entirely from the services of the Church. But when, in the seventh cent., the Latin Church addressed itself to missionary work, the great importance of this means of diffusing the truth was deeply felt. Few, however, of the clergy were capable of composing sermons. *Charlemagne* therefore commissioned *Paulus Diaconus* (§ 120, 3), in 782, to collect from the writings of the Fathers a (Latin) Homiliarium for Sundays and feast-days, to serve as a model for similar compositions, or, where this could not be expected, to be read to the people either in the original or in translation. Of course the missionaries preached in the vernacular; in established congregations the sermon was mostly delivered in Latin. But *Charlemagne* and the synods of his time enjoined preaching, either in German or in the Romanic. (Comp. also *Johnson*, English Canons; *Maskell*, Ancient Liturgy.)

2. According to the rule laid down by Gregory, the CHANTING in churches was performed by the clergy. The ordinance of *Charlemagne*, that the people should at least take part in singing the "Gloria" and the "Sanctus," was not obeyed. Between the seventh and the ninth centuries flourished a number of Latin hymn-writers, among whom we specially mention *Beda Venerabilis*, *Paul Warnefried*, *Theodulf of Orleans*, *Alcuin*, and *Rabanus Maurus*. The beautiful hymn for Pentecost, "Veni creator Spiritus," is commonly ascribed to *Charlemagne* himself. Instead of following, as formerly, the tone and style of the classics, the religious compositions of that age became gradually more German and Christian in their spirit, being characterised by deep simplicity and genuine feeling. Towards the close of this period a considerable impulse was given to his species of compositions by the adoption of what were called

SEQUENCES (*sequentiæ*) into the service of the Mass. Instead of the long series of notes without words—intended to indicate that the feelings were too strong for expression (hence the term *Jubili*)—which formerly had followed upon the Hallelujah of the Mass, suitable rhythmical language in Latin *prose* was adopted, which by and by was cast into metre, rhyme, and stanzas. *Notker Balbulus*, a monk of St Gall (*ob.* 912), was the first distinguished writer of sequences.—The only part which the people were allowed to take in the services of the Church was to sing, or rather to shout, the “Kyrie Eleison” in the Litany, and that only at extraordinary seasons, such as processions, pilgrimages, the transportation of relics, funerals, the consecration of churches, and other similar occasions. In Germany, during the second half of the ninth century, short verses in the vernacular were introduced at such times—the Kyrie Eleison forming the refrain of every stanza. This was the humble commencement of German hymnology. The only monument of this kind of poetry still extant from that period is a hymn in honour of St Peter, composed in the old high German dialect.—The Ambrosian CHANT (§ 89, 3) had entirely given place to the *Gregorian* (the so-called *Cantus firmus* or *choralis*). When Stephen II. visited France in 754, *Pepin* ordered that the Romish chant should be universally adopted. To this injunction *Charlemagne* gave general effect throughout the West, by entirely abolishing the Gregorian chant, by instituting excellent singing-schools at Metz, Soissons, Orleans, Paris, Lyons, and in other places, over which he placed musicians sent from Rome for the special purpose, and by introducing music as a branch of education in all the higher schools throughout the Empire. The first ORGAN brought to France was that which the Byzantine Emperor Copronymus presented to Pepin in 757. A second organ was given to Charlemagne by the Emperor Michael I. and placed in the church at Aix-la-Chapelle. After that it was gradually introduced throughout the Church. But these instruments were still very imperfect; they had only from nine to twelve notes, and the keys were so ill constructed that they required to be struck with the fist.

3. THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. The idea of a sacrifice attaching to the Eucharist, which led to the celebration of masses for the benefit of the dead (§ 88, 3), *i.e.*, for alleviating and shortening the torments of purgatory, was gradually developed and applied to other purposes. Thus private masses were celebrated for the success of any undertaking, as for the restoration of a sick person, for favourable weather, etc. This increase of masses was somewhat limited by the enactment, that only one mass might be celebrated at the same altar and by the same priest in one day. The desire to secure as many masses as possible after death, gave rise to associations of churches and monasteries on the principle that a certain number of masses should be said in all these churches and monasteries for

every member of the association that died. The idea of such fraternities—into which, by special favour, kings, princes, and lords were sometimes received—seems to have originated with St Bonifacius.

4. Among the Germans THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS was in great repute, especially as they served as substitutes for the displaced deities of former days. Far above the other saints towered in popular esteem the Mother of God, the fair and gracious Queen of Heaven—the full ideal of woman, that object of ancient veneration among the Germans. Partly from the want of artistic accomplishments, and partly from national dislike, THE WORSHIP PAID TO IMAGES was little in vogue in the German Church. Indeed, during the time of the Carolingians, the Frankish Church formally protested against such services (§ 122, 1). But all the greater was the zeal displayed in THE WORSHIP OF RELICS, in which the saint reappeared, as it were, in concrete and bodily form. Innumerable relics existed in the West, supplied partly from the inexhaustible treasury at Rome, and partly from the band of zealous missionary martyrs, from the solitudes of hermits, or even from monasteries and episcopal sees. The bones of these saints were the objects of enthusiastic veneration. When a church or a monastery acquired a new relic, the whole country rejoiced in the accession; the concourse of multitudes, and an abundant harvest in the shape of donations by the pious, attended the deposition of the prized memorial in the crypt of the sanctuary. In the ninth century the Frankish monastery of Centula boasted of a large quantity of such relics; among them, memorials from the grave of the Innocents at Bethlehem, part of the milk of the Virgin, of the beard of St Peter, of his casula, of the Orarium of St Paul, nay, even of the wood with which Peter was about to construct the three tabernacles on Mount Tabor.—Among the Germans, and especially the Anglo-Saxons, who were so fond of travelling, the PRACTICE OF MAKING PILGRIMAGES was very general. The favourite places for such devotions were the tombs of the princes of the apostles at Rome, the grave of St Martin at Tours, and, towards the close of this period, that of St Jago de Compostella (Jacobus Apostolus the Elder, the supposed founder of the Spanish Church, whose bones were discovered by Alphonse the Chaste). But the demoralising influences attendant on these pilgrimages, which formed subject of complaint even in older times, were painfully felt. Accordingly, St Boniface insisted that his countrywomen should be prohibited joining them, since they only served to provide loose women for the towns of Gaul and Italy.—The idea of *patron angels* proved specially attractive to the Germans. More particularly did they accord their sympathies to Michael, the warrior Archangel, who had defeated the great dragon.

5. ECCLESIASTICAL SEASONS AND PLACES. Besides the Easter *Quadragesima*, another was introduced after Pentecost, and a third before Christmas. The ecclesiastical year now commenced at Christ-



mas, instead of Easter. In the ninth century, the Feast of *All-Saints* (§ 87, 1), which at first had been only celebrated at Rome, was observed throughout the Church.—In consequence of the number of relics and the increase of masses, additional *altars* were erected in the churches. Charlemagne enjoined them to be limited to the number actually required. The HIGH ALTAR stood unsupported in the centre of the niche in the choir. The other altars were either placed in juxtaposition or supported by pillars. Pulpits and confessionals had not yet been introduced into churches. Special baptistries adjoined those churches in which the sacred rite was administered (§ 114, 2). But when this privilege was extended to all churches, a *baptismal font* was placed at the left side of the principal entrance, or at the point where the nave was crossed by the transept. This change contributed to the general introduction of the practice of sprinkling instead of immersion in baptism. *Bells and towers* were common; the latter stood at first by themselves, but since the time of Charlemagne they were connected with the main building. Charlemagne prohibited the *christening of bells*, but the practice still continued.

6. During the domination of the Ostrogoths, the FINE ARTS were chiefly cultivated on the other side, during that of the Carolingians on this side, the Alps. In our own country also, considerable attention was paid to their cultivation. The German monasteries of St Gall and Fulda bore, in the ninth cent., the palm in artistic taste. Thus *Tutilo*, a monk of St Gall (*ob.* 912), was greatly distinguished as an architect, painter, sculptor, poet, and general *savant*. The old Roman Basilica still formed the model for ecclesiastical architecture. At Ravenna—the Byzantium of Italy—some splendid churches were built in the Byzantine style during the domination of the Goths. *Einhard* was the favourite architect of Charlemagne. Among the various churches built by that monarch, the Münster of Aix-la-Chapelle, constructed after the model of these Ravenna churches, is the most beautiful. Being intended to serve as royal chapel, it was connected with the palace by a colonnade. For the same reason, it was originally of moderate size; but being also used for coronations, it was enlarged in 1355 by the addition of the grand principal choir, in the Gothic style. The ceremonies of the Church tended to the promotion of the *plastic arts*, as costly shrines were required for relics; and the crucifixes, candlesticks, ciboria, censers, and other vessels, called forth the skill of artists. The liturgical books were covered with boards elaborately carved, and the doors of churches, the stalls of bishops, reading-desks, and baptismal fonts adorned with decorations in relief. Among the various kinds of pictorial representations, miniature painting was employed in adorning copies of ecclesiastical books.—Comp. *G. Kinkel*, *Gesch. d. bildenden Künste*. I. Bonn 1845; *E. Förster*, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Kunst*. Leips. 1851–55. 3 Vols.



## § 120. STATE OF SCIENCE AND OF THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

COMP. *J. C. F. Bähr*, *Gesch. d. röm. Liter. im karoling. Zeitalter*. Karlsr. 1840.

So long as Arianism continued the creed of the German races independent scientific pursuits seem not to have been followed, with the exception of those of *Ulfilas*. But *Theodoric*, the generous monarch of the Ostrogoths, patronised and distinguished the representatives of ancient Roman literature. Among them *Boethius* and *Cassiodorus* have the merit of preserving the remnants of classical and patristic learning in Italy. A similar service *Isidore* of Seville (*ob.* 636) performed for Spain, and his works were for centuries used also on the other side of the Pyrenees as text-books and guides for students. The numerous *monasteries of Scotland and Ireland* were, till late in the ninth cent., equally famed for the extensive learning and the deep piety of their inmates. The learned Greek monk, *Theodore of Tarsus*, whom the Pope elevated to the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury (*ob.* 690), and his companion *Hadrian*, awakened among the Anglo-Saxons an ardent zeal for the prosecution of learned investigations, while *Beda Venerabilis*, though he never left his monastery, was regarded, throughout the Western Church, as a leading authority. For a time the Northmen pirates swept away the traces of this high civilisation, till *Alfred the Great* (871 to 901) again restored it. This monarch, equally great in peace and in war, distinguished as a general, a statesman, and a legislator, and renowned both as a poet and prose writer, raised the literature of his country to a height never before attained—though, unfortunately, only for a time. In *Gaul*, *Gregory of Tours* (*ob.* 595) was the last representative of Roman ecclesiastical lore. After him came that chaos which only under the reign of Charlemagne (768 to 814) gave place to a new day, of which the light shone throughout the West. The encouragement which that monarch gave to literature dates from the period of his first visit to Italy, in 774. There he made the acquaintance of such men as *Petrus of Pisa*, *Paul Warnefried*, *Paulinus of Aquileja*, and *Theodulf of Orleans*, whom he attached to his court. From the year 782, *Alcuin*, an Anglo-Saxon “Levite,” was the leading spirit at the Frankish court. Charlemagne had made his acquaintance the year before in Italy. Study now became one of the main pursuits, which even the royal family, the court, and all connected with it, encouraged or followed; but among these noble scholars, Charlemagne himself was the most zealous and docile pupil

of Alcuin. At the *court school* (*schola palatina*), which, like the court itself, was migratory, the sons and daughters of the king received, along with the children of the noblest families in the empire, a liberal education. From England, Ireland, and Italy, continual additions were made to the staff of teachers employed in it. At last Charlemagne issued, in 787, a circular letter addressed to all the bishops and abbots of his empire, in which, under pain of his royal displeasure, he commanded that schools should be attached to all monasteries and cathedral churches. And, in truth, the result of these measures was most encouraging, although as yet the course of study was limited to the acquisition of classical or patristic lore, to the neglect of anything like national literature. The great, the liberal, and patriotic mind of Charlemagne perceived, indeed, the importance of encouraging the growth of a national literature; but, with the exception of Paul Warnefried, his other learned advisers had lost every sympathy with the spirit, the language, and the nationality of Germany. They even regarded such studies as endangering Christianity and encouraging the spread of former heathen notions; hence their influence was rather in the way of discouraging these views of their monarch.—The weak administration of Louis the Pious (814 to 840), disturbed as it was by party fights and civil wars, was far from favourable to the promotion of science; but as yet the fruits of his father's labours had not disappeared. *Lothair*, his son, issued an edict by which the scholastic arrangements of Italy were entirely reorganised, and indeed completely remodelled. But that country, with its factions and tumults, was not the place where such institutions could for any length of time prosper. It was otherwise in France, where, under the reign of *Charles the Bald* (840–877), a new period was inaugurated. At his court, as at that of his grandfather, the choice spirits of the West gathered; under the guidance of *Johannes Erigena*, a Scotchman, the high-school rose rapidly; the cathedral and monastic schools of France emulated the most celebrated institutions of Germany (such as St Gall, Fulda, Reichenau); and the French sees were occupied by men of the most extensive learning. But after the death of Charles this high state of cultivation rapidly disappeared, and, amidst the troubles of that period, gave place to deep ignorance, confusion, and barbarism.

1. It was the primary object of these monastic and cathedral schools, to train persons for the Church. The writings of Cassiodorus, of Isidore, Beda, and Alcuin, were the manuals and text-books

chiefly in use. The inmates of monasteries were in the habit of making careful copies of books, for the twofold purpose of founding libraries and of diffusing celebrated works. Alcuin arranged all knowledge under three branches, viz., Ethics, Physics, and Theology. His Ethics included what was afterwards designated as *Trivium* (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectics); Physics corresponded to the later *Quadrivium* (Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy); both together constituting what were called the Liberal Arts. Conversation and instruction were to be carried on in Latin. In the higher schools Greek, of which Theodore of Tarsus and his pupils had promoted the study, was also taught. Acquaintance with Hebrew was a more rare accomplishment; some scholars obtained a knowledge of it by intercourse with learned Jews. The writings of Boethius were the principal source for the study of philosophy; Plato and Aristotle were known, however, to some extent, and in the ninth cent. the Byzantine Emperor Michael presented Louis the Pious (§ 122, 1) with a copy of the so-called writings of Dionysius the Areopagite. He was regarded as the same Dionysius who had founded the Church of Paris, and on this ground his writings, even when not understood, were vaunted. *Hilduin*, Abbot of St Denis, and afterwards *Johannes Erigena*, translated them into Latin. — *Isidore of Seville* and *Rabanus Maurus* composed encyclopædias which embodied a summary of the lore of their times. The work of Isidore, which bears the title of *Originum s. Etymologiarum* Ll. XX., is a remarkable monument of industry and comprehensive learning. Almost the same meed of praise is due to the Ll. XXII. *de Universo*, by *Rabanus*. Both writers group theology along with the other sciences.

2. The following were the most celebrated THEOLOGIANS BEFORE THE TIME OF THE CAROLINGIANS: 1. GREGORY OF TOURS, the scion of a noble Roman family. While on a pilgrimage to the grave of St Martin, to implore the removal of a disease (in 573), he was elevated to the See of Tours, which he occupied to his death (*ob.* 595). His family connections, his office, his character, learning, and piety, contributed to make him one of the most celebrated men of his time. Posterity is indebted to his writings for its knowledge of public and private affairs at the time of the Merovingians. (Best edition by *Th. Ruinart*. Par 1699 f. Comp. also *J. W. Loebell*, *Gregor von Tours u. s. Zeit*. Leips. 1839.)—2. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (*Hispalensis*), the scion of a distinguished Gothic family, who succeeded *Leander*, his brother, in the archiepiscopal See of *Hispalis* (*ob.* 636). He composed excellent and careful compilations, in which information and fragments not otherwise known are preserved. For his cotemporaries he did a more important service, by making the German Church acquainted with classical and patristic lore. (Best ed. by *F. Arevalo*. Rom. 1797. 7 Voll. 4.)—3. BEDA VENERABILIS, an Anglo-Saxon, educated in the monastery of Wear-



mouth, which he afterwards left for that of Jarrow, where he died in 735. His fame for learning, in all branches of science known at the time, was very great. These acquirements were combined with great modesty, piety, and amiability. While his numerous disciples attained the highest posts in the Church, Bede himself continued in quiet retirement, a simple monk, satisfied with this his chosen lot. Even on his death-bed he was engaged in teaching and writing; and immediately before he expired, he dictated the last chapter of an Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospel according to John. (Best ed. of his writings by *J. A. Giles*. London 1843.)

3. The most eminent theologian during the reign of CHARLEMAGNE (768–814) was an Anglo-Saxon, **ALCUIN** (Albinus), surnamed *Flaccus*. He was trained in the celebrated academy of York, under Egbert and Elbert. When the latter was elevated to the archiepiscopal see, Alcuin became president of this academy. On a journey to Rome (781), he was introduced to the notice of Charlemagne, who invited him to his court, where he became the teacher, friend, and most intimate adviser of the monarch. To the period of his death (in 804), he continued the great authority on all religious, ecclesiastical, and scholastic questions. In 790 he went as ambassador to his own country, whence he returned in 792, no more to leave France. In 796 Charlemagne bestowed on him the Abbacy of Tours; and the school connected with it became henceforth the most celebrated in the empire. (Best ed. of his writings by Frobenius. 2 Voll. f. 1777. Comp. *Fr. Lorentz*, Life of Alcuin, transl. by *J. M. Slee*, London 1839; *F. Mounier*, Alcuin. Par. 1853.)—After Alcuin, the most learned man of that age was **PAULUS DIACONUS** (son of) **WARNEFRID**, a Langobard of noble family, and chancellor of King Desiderius. From grief over the decay of his own country, he retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino, whence Charlemagne drew him to his court in 774. His attainments were vaunted as those of a Homer in Greek, of a Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus in Latin, and of a Philo in Hebrew. But love to his country induced him to return to his monastery (in 787), where he died at a very advanced age. The story of his having conspired against Charlemagne, and being sent into exile, is devoid of historical foundation. It deserves special notice that this learned and amiable man was also distinguished for qualities rare in his time, such as openness, enthusiastic admiration of the language, the national legends, the poetry, and the ancient laws and customs of his own people. Besides these two divines, the names of **PAULINUS**, Patriarch of Aquileja, a native of Friaul (*ob.* 804), of **LEIDRAD** of Lyons (*ob.* 813), and of **THEODULF** of Orleans, deserve particular notice. The latter acquired fame, not only as a poet and a man of learning, but from his zeal in establishing elementary schools. Under the reign of Louis the Pious, he was accused of traitorous communications with Bernard of Italy, deposed and exiled (in 817), but



afterwards pardoned. He died before again reaching his own diocese (in 821).

4. The following were the most celebrated theologians under the reign of LOUIS THE PIOUS (814-840):—1. AGOBARD OF LYONS, by birth a Spaniard, *ob.* as Bishop of Lyons in 840. His anxiety for preserving the integrity of the empire, and his position as chief of the national party among the Frankish clergy, implicated him in the conspiracy against Louis the Pious, in consequence of which he was deposed and exiled (835). Two years afterwards he obtained the royal pardon. Agobard was a man of rare mental endowments and learning; withal a keen opponent of ecclesiastical and other superstitions (§ 122, 2).—2. CLAUDIUS, BISHOP OF TURIN (*ob.* 840), also a Spaniard, and a pupil of Felix of Urgellis (§ 121, 1); whose heretical views, however, he did not share; well known as a bold reformer. Comp. § 122, 2.—3. JONAS OF ORLEANS, the successor of Theodulf (*ob.* 844), one of the most renowned prelates of his age, who completely succeeded in restoring discipline and order in his own diocese.—4. AMALARIUS, a priest of Metz (comp. § 114, 4).—5. CHRISTIAN DRUTHMAR, a monk of Corbey, and celebrated as at the time the only advocate of a grammatical and historical exegesis.—6. WALAFRID STRABO, teacher and Abbot of Reichenau (*ob.* 849).—7. FREDEGIS, an Anglo-Saxon, who came with Alcuin from England, and succeeded him both in the school and Abbacy of Tours,—a man whose philosophical investigations constitute him in a certain sense the precursor of mediæval scholasticism.

5. The following were the most celebrated theologians during the reign of CHARLES THE BALD (840-877):—1. RABANUS MAGNENTIUS MAURUS, the descendant of an ancient Roman family which had early settled in Germany, and a pupil of Alcuin, who designated him St Maurus (§ 115). He was first a teacher, then became Abbot of Fulda, and finally Archbishop of Mayence (*ob.* 856). Maurus was the most learned man of his age, and under his tuition the academy of Fulda rose to highest distinction. Comp. *N. Bach*, Hrab. Maur., *der Schöpfer d. deutsch. Schul-wesens* (Rab. Maur., the Originator of the Schol. System in Germ.). Fulda 1835; *Fr. Kunstmann*, Hrab. Magn. Maur. Mayence 1841.—2. HINCMAR OF RHEIMS, comp. § 113, 1. (Best ed. of his writings by *J. Sirmond*. Par. 1645. 2 Voll. f).—3. PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS, from 844 Abbot of Corbey, an office which he resigned in 851, when he dedicated himself exclusively to studies and writing (*ob.* 865). Despite occasional ultraisms, he was deservedly celebrated (§ 121, 3).—4. RATRAMNUS, a monk of Corbey, the opponent of Radbertus; a clear and acute thinker, but somewhat rationalistic in his views.—5. FLORUS MAGISTER, a clerk at Lyons, celebrated both for his learning and for the share he took along with Agobard in certain controversies.—6. HAYMO, Bishop of Halberstadt, a friend and class-fellow of Rabanus.—7. SERVATUS LUPUS, Abbot of Ferrières,

a deep and independent thinker, distinguished alike for his interest in science and in public instruction.—8. PRUDENTIUS of Troyes.—9. ANASTASIUS, papal librarian at Rome.—10. REGINO, Abbot of Prüm (*ob.* 915);—and lastly, that enigma and wonder of his time JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA. By birth a Scotchman (more probably an Irishman), he unexpectedly appears at the court of Charles the Bald, and as suddenly disappears; and we are left in ignorance whence he came and whither he went. He was undoubtedly the most learned man, and the deepest, boldest, and most independent thinker of his time. His speculations have not been surpassed for centuries before or after him. Had he lived three centuries later, he might have occasioned a complete revolution in the learned world; but in his own time he was neither understood nor appreciated, and scarcely deemed even worthy of being declared a heretic. The latter omission, however, was rectified by the Church after the lapse of three and a half centuries (§ 138, 2). For further details see below, Note 7. (Comp. *F. A. Staudenmaier*, *J. Sc. Erig. u. d. Wiss. sr. Zeit.* Frankf. 1834; *M. Taillandier*, *Sc. Erigène et la philos. scholast.* Strassb. 1843; *N. Möller*, *J. Sc. Erig. u. s. Irrthümer.* Mayence 1844; *A. Torstrick*, *Phil. Erigenæ.* Gött. 1844; and *Ritter*, *Gesch. d. chr. Phil.* Vol. III.)

6. THE THEOLOGICAL investigations of the German Church at that time were specially directed to the immediate wants of the Church, and hence chiefly of a practical character. Withal, such was the reverence paid to the Fathers, that, whenever practicable, their words and thoughts were employed in teaching, writing, preaching, demonstrating, and refuting. But the reformatory movement initiated under Charlemagne led, in the domain of theological science, also to greater freedom; while the controversies of the ninth century necessitated independent thinking, and gradually inspired theological writers with greater confidence.—Among the various branches of theology, most attention was paid to EXEGESIS, although commentators still confined themselves to making notes on the *Vulgate*. Charlemagne commissioned Alcuin to make a critical revision of its text, which had been greatly corrupted. The first to oppose the theory of a mechanical inspiration was Agobard of Lyons. He started from the principle, that the prophets had not been merely passive instruments like Balaam's ass, and that only the *sensus prædicationis* and the *modi vel argumenta dictionum*, but not the *corporalia verba*, had been inspired by the Holy Ghost. One only among the numerous exegetical writers of that age, *Christian Druthmar*, perceived that it was the first and most important work of an interpreter to ascertain the grammatical and historical meaning of the text. All other interpreters set lightly by the literal meaning of the text, while they sought to discover the treasures of Divine wisdom by an allegorical, tropical, and anagogic interpretation. After Druthmar, it was probably *Paschasius Radbertus* who devoted greatest attention to a calm investi-

gation of the literal meaning of Scripture. Besides these, the most celebrated exegetical authors at that time were *Beda Venerabilis*, *Alcuin*, *Rabanus Maurus*, and *Walafrid Strabo*, whose "Glossæ ordinariæ" formed, on account of their convenient size (next to the more full commentaries of Rabanus), the exegetical manual in common use during the Middle Ages. The work, however, contains little that is original, by far the greater part being derived from the Latin Fathers.

7. In the study of SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY, proportionally least attention was bestowed upon *apologetics*. Though the illiterate character of the *heathen* around called not for any elaborate refutation of their superstitions, this remark applies not either to *Mohammedanism* or to *Judaism*. In Spain, a large number of Jews were obliged to submit to baptism, or else expelled; but in the Frankish Empire, especially under the reign of Louis the Pious, wealth and bribes ensured them ample protection. Thus encouraged, they not only prohibited their Jewish and heathen slaves from being baptized, but obliged their Christian servants to observe the Sabbath, to work on the Lord's day, and to eat meat during Lent. Occasionally they even openly blasphemed the name of Christ, derided the Church, and sold Christian slaves to the Saracens. *Agobard of Lyons* was very active in opposing them, by his preaching, writings, and measures; but they enjoyed the protection of the court. *Isidore of Seville* and *Rabanus Maurus* also refuted their distinctive tenets.—The department of *polemical theology* was more fully cultivated than that of apologetics, especially since the time of Charlemagne (comp. §§ 121, 122).—In his *Ll. III. Sententiarum*, *Isidore of Seville* collected from the writings of the Fathers a system of dogmatics and ethics, which for several centuries continued the text-book in use. Another manual of dogmatics, chiefly derived from the writings of Augustine, was *Alcuin's Ll. III. de fide sanctæ et individuæ trinitatis*.—Philosophical mysticism, which was first introduced by the writings of the so-called Areopagite, was represented by *Johannes Scotus Erigena*, a mind far in advance of his age. Following up the gnosticism of the school of Origen, the theosophic mysticism of the Areopagite, and the dialectics of Maximus Confessor, his work "*De Divisione Naturæ*" embodied a system of speculative theology of vast dimensions. Though Erigena felt anxiously desirous to retain the fundamental doctrines of the Church, his system, from first to last, was one great heterodoxy. He started from the principle, that true theology and true philosophy were essentially the same, and differed only in point of form. Faith had to do with the truth as "*theologia affirmativa*" (*καταφατική*), revealed in the Bible, and handed down by the Church in a metaphorical and figurative garb, and in a manner adapted to the limited capacity of the multitude. It was the task of reason to strip off this envelope (*theologia negativa*, *ἀποφατική*), and, by means of speculation, to convert faith into knowledge. The peculiar title of the



work was intended to express its fundamental idea, viz., that nature—i.e., the sum of everything existent and non-existent (as the necessary opposite of what existed)—manifested itself in a fourfold manner, as *natura creatrix non creata* (i.e., God as the potential sum of all existence and non-existence), *natura creata et creatrix* (i.e., the eternal thoughts of God as the grand eternal types of everything created, the source and medium of which is the Logos), *natura creata non creans* (the eternal, invisible, and ideal world), and *natura nec creata nec creans* (i.e., God as the final end of everything created, to which, after all antagonisms have been overcome, everything created returns in the ἀποκατάστασις τῶν παντῶν). It is evident that this system must speedily have merged into Pantheism; but in the case of Erigena himself genuine Christian feeling seems to have prevented these consequences, and he was anxiously desirous of preserving at least the fundamental truths of Christian Theism.

8. The HOMILETIC literature of that period was comparatively very scanty. Besides the Homiliarius of *Paul Warnefrid* (§ 119, 1), only *Bede*, *Walafrid*, *Rabanus*, and *Haymo* appear to have been known as writers of original sermons. But the *Theory of Worship* (its description and mystical interpretation) attracted considerable attention. The first work of this kind was that of *Isidore*, ‘de officiis ecclesiasticis.’ Charlemagne invited his theologians to discuss the import of the rites connected with baptism. During the reign of Louis the Pious, *Agobard of Lyons* proposed to reform the Liturgy, and defended himself with considerable vehemence in several tractates against the attacks of *Amalarius of Metz*, whose liturgical work (de officiis ecclesiasticis) he sharply criticised. *Florus Magister* (de actione Missarum) also entered the lists against *Amalarius*. Of other important works on this subject, we mention those of *Rabanus* (de institutione Clericorum), of *Walafrid* (de exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum), and of *Remigius of Auxerre* (expositio Missæ). The great authority on questions connected with ecclesiastical law and church-politics was *Hincmar of Rheims*, and next to him *Agobard* and *Regino of Prüm* (§ 118, 5).

9. The scanty knowledge of ancient CHURCH HISTORY which theologians possessed, was solely derived from the works of *Rufinus* and *Cassiodorus*. The ecclesiastical history of *Haymo* consists only of a compilation from *Rufinus*. All the more diligent were writers throughout the Middle Ages in chronicling the current political and ecclesiastical events, and in recording those which had taken place within the memory of man. To these labours we owe a threefold kind of literature:—1. That of NATIONAL historians. Thus the Visigoths had an *Isidore* (Hist. Gothorum, Hist. Vandal. et Suevorum); the Ostrogoths a *Cassiodorus* (Ll. XII. de reb. gestis Gothorum—a work which unfortunately has been lost; or at least only preserved in extracts, in the tractate of *Jornandes*, in 550, de Getarum orig. et reb. gestis); the Langobards a *Paul Warnefrid* (Ll. VI. de ges-



tis Langobardorum); the Franks a *Gregory of Tours* (Hist. eccles. Francorum); the Britons a *Gildas* (about 560: Liber querulus de excidio Britanniae) and a *Nennius* (Eulogium Britanniae s. hist. Britonum, about 850); and the Anglo-Saxons a *Bede* (Hist. eccles. gentis Anglorum). 2. ANNALS or CHRONICLES, chiefly composed in monasteries, and continued from year to year. 3. BIOGRAPHIES of prominent political or ecclesiastical personages. Among the former, the most important are the Vita Caroli M., by *Einhard*, and the Vitae Ludovici Pii, by *Theganus*, by *Nithard*, and by an anonymous writer commonly designated as *Astronomus*. The number of *Vitae Sanctorum*, compiled in a most credulous spirit, chiefly in honour of local saints, was very great. In the same class we also reckon the numerous martyrologies, generally arranged according to the calendar. The best known of these compositions were compiled by *Bede*, *Ado* of Vienne, *Usuardus*, *Rabanus*, *Notker Balbulus*, and *Wandelbert*. The *Miraculorum hist.*, by *Gregory of Tours*, deserves special mention. Books III. to VI. give an account of the miracles of St Martin; while Book VII. (de vitis patrum) describes the lives of other twenty-three Frankish saints.—The Biographies of the Popes in the Liber pontificalis of *Anastasius* the Librarian, the *Historia Mettensium Episcoporum* by *Paulus Warnefrid*, and the continuation of Jerome's Catalogus s. de ecclesiast. scriptoribus by *Isidore*, deserve to be ranked among more solid historical contributions.

#### § 121. DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE AND DOGMATIC CONTROVERSIES.

COMP. *C. G. Fr. Walch*, hist. Adoptionarum. Gottg. 1755, and his "Ketzerhist." (Hist. of Heret.); against him: *Frobenius*, Diss. in his ed. of Alcuin.—*J. G. Walch*, Hist. controversiæ Græcorum et Latin. de process. Spir. s. Jenæ 1751.—*G. Mauguin* (a Jansenist), Vett. auctorum, qui in Sec. IX. de prædest. scripserunt opera et fragmenta. Par. 1650. 2 Voll. 4; with hist. dissert. Against him: *L. Cellot* (a Jesuit), Hist. Gotteschalci. Par 1655. *Jac. Usserii*, Gotteschalci et controversiæ ab eo motæ hist. Dubl. 1631. 4.

The first important heresy of Germanic origin (at the time of Charlemagne) was that to which the name of *Adoptionism* has been given, and which originated in Spain. Following up the doctrine about the person of Christ, as it had been defined by the 6th Œcumenical Council of Constantinople in 680 (§ 82, 8), it was argued that the idea of a twofold nature and of a twofold will implied also that of a twofold Sonship. But the Frankish divines regarded this innovation not as a further development of the doctrine in question, but as connected with Nestorianism, and accordingly carried its condemnation.—About the same time the doctrine of the *procession of*

the *Holy Spirit* became the subject of discussion, when the Frankish Church defended orthodox truth against the objections of Eastern theologians.—Several controversies took place during the reign of Charles the Bald. In the *Eucharistic Controversy*, the principal Frankish divines opposed the views of Radbertus about transubstantiation. Connected with this was another discussion about the *parturition of the Virgin*. On neither of these questions did the Church give any formal or synodical deliverance. It was otherwise in reference to the *controversy about predestination*, which soon afterwards broke out. Although discussed in councils, the question was not finally settled. Of less importance was the controversy about the appropriateness of the expression "*trina Deitas*."

1. THE ADOPTIONIST CONTROVERSY (785–818). Of all the doctrines of Christianity, none was so repugnant to Moslem feelings, or excited their ridicule more than that of the Divine Sonship of Christ. It was probably with the view of meeting these Moslem objections that a number of Spanish bishops, headed by *Elipandus*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, and *Felix*, Bishop of *Urgellis*, addressed themselves anew to the elucidation of the doctrine concerning the person of Christ. These divines held that Christ was *properly the Son of God* (*filius Dei naturâ* or *genere*) only in reference to His divinity; in reference to His humanity He was properly a *servant* of God, as all of us, and only *adopted* as *Son* (*filius Dei adoptivus*) by the determination of God, just as all of us are by Him, and after His similitude to be transformed from servants to children of God. Hence, according to His Divine nature, He was the *ONLY-begotten*, according to His human nature the *FIRST-begotten* Son of God. This adoption of His human nature into Sonship had commenced at His conception by the Holy Ghost, appeared more fully at His baptism, and had been completed at the resurrection. The controversy occasioned by these views first broke out in Spain. Two representatives of the Esturian clergy (§ 111), *Beatus*, a presbyter of Libana, and *Etherius*, Bishop of Osma, attacked the views of Elipandus both by word and writing (785). The doctrinal divergence between these divines probably received a keener edge by the desire of emancipating the Esturian Church from the See of Toledo, which was still subject to Saracen rule. The Esturians appealed to Pope *Hadrian I.*, who, in an encyclical addressed to the bishops of Spain, condemned Adoptionism as essentially akin to the Nestorian heresy (786). Another stage of this controversy commenced with the interference of *Charlemagne*, occasioned by the circumstance that Adoptionism was rapidly spreading in the portion of Spain subject to his sceptre. Most probably he gladly seized this opportunity of coming before the West in the character of Protector of Orthodoxy, and hence as Emperor *in spe*. At the *Synod of Ratisbon* in 792, Felix was obliged

to abjure his heresy, and was sent to Pope *Hadrian I.* In Rome he was made to repeat his recantation; but escaped from captivity and gained Saracen territory. Meantime *Alcuin* had returned from his journey to England, and immediately took part in the controversy by addressing to Felix a kind, monitory letter. To this the Spaniards replied in strong language, when *Charlemagne* convoked the celebrated *Synod of Frankfort* (794), at which Adoptionism was again fully discussed and condemned. The judgment of the Synod was accompanied by four detailed memorials (to represent the different national churches and authorities—in order to give it an œcumenical character). Although despatched with such formalities to Spain, it produced little impression. No greater was the success of a learned controversial work by *Alcuin*, to which Felix replied in a clever tractate. Meantime *Charlemagne* had sent a commission, with *Leidrad* of Lyons and *Benedict* of Aniane at its head, into Spain, in order to put an end to the spread of this heresy. The commissioners persuaded Felix to submit to a second investigation. At the great council held at *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 799 he disputed for six days with *Alcuin*, and at the close declared himself perfectly convinced. *Alcuin* and *Paulinus* of Aquileja now published controversial tractates on the subject; and *Leidrad* went a second time into Spain, where he succeeded in almost extirpating the heresy from the Frankish provinces. But the bishops who were subject to Saracen rule continued to defend these opinions; and when *Alcuin* addressed a flattering and conciliatory letter to *Elipandus*, the latter replied in the most violent and coarse language. *Felix* was, till his death in 818, committed to the charge of the Bishop of Lyons. *Agobard*, the successor of *Leidrad*, found among his papers clear evidence that *Felix* had to the end continued in heart an adoptionist. *Agobard* now published another controversial tractate, which happily proved the last written on the subject. In Spain Proper, also, Adoptionism became extinct, with the death of its leading representatives.

2. CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. At the *Synod of Gentilly* in 767, held for the purpose of meeting a Byzantine embassy in connection with the iconoclastic controversy, the question of the enlargement of the Creed by the addition of the expression "*filioque*" (§ 80, 6; 97, 1) was also discussed. The result of this conference is not known. At the time of *Charlemagne*, *Alcuin* and *Theodulf* wrote special tractates in defence of the Latin view. At the *Synod held in Friaul* in 791, *Paulinus* of Aquileja vindicated the insertion of the expression in the Creed—a view also defended by the Caroline books (§ 122). The question was discussed anew, when the Latin monks on Mount Olivet appealed to the practice of the Frankish Church in reply to the attacks of the Greeks. Pope *Leo III.* communicated on the subject with *Charlemagne*, and a Council held at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in 809, gave its solemn sanction to the addition. But although the



Pope did not question the correctness of this tenet, he disapproved of the alteration of the Creed. Accordingly, he erected in the Church of St Peter two silver tablets, on which the Creed was engraved *without* the addition—manifestly as a kind of protest against the ecclesiastical interferences of the Emperor.

3. CONTROVERSIES OF PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS.—I. EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY (844). So late as the ninth century the views of theologians concerning the Eucharist were expressed in ambiguous terms (§ 88, 2). But in 831, *Paschasius Radbertus*, a monk of Corbey, wrote a tractate, “De sanguine et corpore Domini,” for the purpose of proving that the elements were completely changed—an opinion which, even before his time, had been current in ecclesiastical practice and in popular belief. The work of Radbertus breathes a spirit of genuine piety; manifestly, it was his chief aim to present the deep import of this sacrament in all its fulness, power, and depth. Withal, the tractate was popularly written. Already the author could, in the course of his argumentation, appeal to a number of supposed facts in the “*Vitis Sanctorum*,” in which this internal *veritas* had also become outwardly manifest. For the circumstance that such was not always the case, he accounted on the ground that the Eucharist was intended to be a *mysterium* for faith, and not a *miraculum* for unbelief; as also, on that of the Divine condescension, which had regard to the infirmity of man and his shrinking from flesh and blood, and which, besides, would cut off all occasion for the heathen to blaspheme. The tractate at first remained unnoticed. But when Radbertus became Abbot of Corbey, he recast and handed it to *Charles the Bald* in 844. This monarch commissioned Ratramnus, a learned monk of Corbey, to express his opinion on the question; and the latter gladly seized the opportunity of controverting the statements of his abbot. In his tractate “De corp. et sang. Domini ad Carolum Calvum,” Ratramnus submitted the views of his abbot (without naming him) to a searching criticism, and then explained his own opinions, according to which the body and blood of Christ was present in the Eucharist only “*spiritualiter et secundum potentiam*.” In the same sense, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Scotus Erigena*, and *Florus of Lyons* wrote against Radbertus’ view of a magic transformation. *Hincmar* and *Haymo* took the side of Radbertus; while *Walafrid Strabo*, and that able interpreter of Scripture *Christian Druthmar*, sought to avoid either extreme, and propounded the doctrine of consubstantiation, as adequately expressing the import of this mystery. But *Radbertus* had only given publicity to what really were the tendencies of the Church generally; and the opposition of so many great divines could only retard, but not prevent, the spread and prevalence of these views.—II. CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE PARTURITION OF THE VIRGIN (845). In entire accordance with his fundamental views about the marvellous influences of the Divine power and presence,



*Radbertus* soon afterwards composed a tractate, "*De partu virginali*," for the purpose of defending the view that the Virgin had given birth "*utero clauso*," and without pain—an opinion which *Ambrosius* and *Jerome* had already broached. *Ratramnus* opposed this tenet as savouring of Docetism (*De eo, quod Christus ex Virgine natus est*).—In the controversy about predestination, *Ratramnus* took the side of *Gottschalk*, and *Radbertus* that of his opponents.

4. CONTROVERSY ABOUT PREDESTINATION (847-868). The former discussions on this subject (§ 83, 5) had not issued in the final settlement of the question. Indeed, the views of theologians varied from the extreme of semi-Pelagianism to that of a predestination to condemnation, which went even beyond the statements of *Augustine*. In the ninth century the controversy broke out afresh. *GOTTSCHALK*, the son of *Berno*, a Saxon count, had as a child been devoted by his parents to the monastic profession, and trained at *Fulda*. At a *synod held in Mayence* (829), he obtained permission to leave that monastery; but *Rabanus Maurus*, at the time Abbot of *Fulda*, prevailed on *Louis the Pious* to annul this dispensation. Translated to the monastery of *Orbais* in the diocese of *Soissons*, *Gottschalk* sought consolation in ardent study of the writings of *Augustine*, from which he rose an enthusiastic advocate of the doctrine of absolute predestination. In one point he went even beyond his great teacher, since he held a twofold *predestination* (*gemina prædestinatio*)—one to salvation, and the other to condemnation; while *Augustine* generally spoke of the latter only as God *leaving* sinners to deserved condemnation. While travelling in Italy in 847, he sought to gain adherents to his views. Among others, he addressed himself to *Noting*, Bishop of *Verona*. This prelate gave information to *Rabanus*, who in the meantime had been elevated to the See of *Mayence*. *Rabanus* immediately issued two thundering epistles, in which the views of *Gottschalk* were in some particulars misrepresented, and certain unjust inferences drawn from them, more especially in the way of transforming the "*prædestinatio ad damnationem*" into a "*prædestinatio ad peccatum*." *Rabanus* himself distinguished between foreknowledge and predestination, ranging under the former head the condemnation of the reprobate. But other weapons than those of discussion were employed. A *synod was convoked at Mayence* (848), before which *Gottschalk* appeared, strong in the conviction of the orthodoxy of his statements. But the council took a different view. *Gottschalk* was excommunicated, and handed over to his metropolitan, *Hincmar of Rheims*, for punishment. This prelate, not content with the spiritual sentence which the *Synod of Chiersy* pronounced against him (849), condemned him to the most severe bodily chastisement, since he refused to recant, and consigned him to a prison in the monastery of *Haut Villiers*. In vain *Gottschalk* proposed to submit the justice of his cause to a solemn ordeal. *Hincmar*, though otherwise

favourable to these trials, retorted by characterising this offer as the boast of a Simon Magus.—The inhuman treatment of which the poor monk had been the victim, and the rejection of the doctrine of Augustine by two influential prelates, excited an angry controversy in the Frankish Church, of which the weight was chiefly directed against Hincmar. *Prudentius*, Bishop of Troyes, was the first to publish a tractate in favour of Gottschalk. Upon this *Charles the Bald* requested *Ratramnus* of Corbey, and *Servatus Lupus*, Abbot of Ferrières, to express their judgment on the question, which in both cases was in favour of Gottschalk. The position of *Hincmar* was becoming very difficult, when at last he succeeded in enlisting the advocacy of *Florus*, a deacon of Lyons, of *Amalarius*, a priest of Metz, and of *Johannes Scotus Erigena*. But the aid of Erigena was fraught with almost greater danger to Hincmar than the attacks of his opponents. The Scotch metaphysician founded his opposition to the doctrine of predestination on the principle, hitherto unheard of in the West, that evil was only a *μὴ ὄν*. Accordingly, he argued that condemnation was not a positive punishment on the part of God, and only consisted in the tormenting consciousness of having missed one's destiny. The cause of Hincmar was fast getting into disrepute, as his opponents made him responsible for the heresies of his Scottish friend. Not *Prudentius* of Troyes only, who had long been his literary antagonist, but even *Wenilo*, Archbishop of Sens, and *Florus* of Lyons, who hitherto had espoused his cause, now turned their weapons against him. But *Charles the Bald* came to the aid of his metropolitan. A national synod was convoked at Chiersy in 853, when four articles (*Capitula Carisiaca*), embodying a moderate form of Augustinianism, were adopted, and the doctrine of a twofold predestination formally rejected. Thus the opponents of *Hincmar* in Neustria were silenced. But *Remigius*, Archbishop of Lyons, convoked a *Lotharingian Synod at Valence* in 855, in which both the decrees of Chiersy and the "Scottish mess" (pultes Scotorum) were stigmatised, and six articles of a very different tone adopted, as the test of orthodoxy. At last the secular rulers interposed, and convoked a general synod at Savonnières, a suburb of Toul, in 859. But here also the disputants could not arrive at an agreement. Already the members were about to separate in mutual estrangement, when *Remigius* proposed to leave the settlement of the controversy to a future council in less troubled times, and till then to continue in accord. The Synod unanimously adopted this suggestion; and as the proposed council never took place, the controversy completely terminated. Abandoned by his former friends, Gottschalk now appealed to *Pope Nicholas I.*, who ordered Hincmar to defend himself for his conduct towards the monk before Papal legates at the *Synod of Metz* in 863 (§ 112, 4). Hincmar deemed it prudent not to obey the citation. Happily for him, the Pope himself afterwards annulled the

decrees of this synod on account of the venality of his legates, and the metropolitan soon afterwards succeeded in appeasing the Pope by intercessions and letters. Thus Gottschalk was deprived of his last hope. Twenty years had he lingered in prison, but to his latest breath he rejected with indignation every proposal of recantation. He died in 868, and by order of Hincmar was interred in unconsecrated earth.—From his prison he had charged his metropolitan with another heresy. In the hymn, “Te Trina Deitas Unaque,” Hincmar had substituted the expression “Sancta Deitas” for “TRINA DEITAS.” On this ground his opponents accused him of Sabellianism, a charge which Ratramnus embodied in a controversial tractate. But the reply of Hincmar put an end to this agitation (857).

### § 122. REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS

The independence which Charlemagne restored to the German Church seems to have awakened in the divines of Germany a feeling that they were destined to become the reformers of prevailing abuses. This tendency, though limited, one-sided, and frequently liable to aberrations, manifested itself more or less throughout the Middle Ages until the sixteenth century, when it issued in the glorious Reformation. The series of reformers commenced with *Charlemagne* himself, who vigorously opposed the image-worship of that time. *Louis the Pious* continued in the wake of his father, and allowed *Agobard of Lyons* and *Claudius of Turin* to combat kindred forms of ecclesiastical superstition—in the case of the latter divine, perhaps, even beyond the bounds of evangelical prudence.

1. OPPOSITION OF THE CAROLINGIANS TO IMAGE-WORSHIP (790-825). On occasion of an embassy from the Emperor Constantinus Copronymus (§ 96, 2), *Pepin the Short* had convoked in 767 a synod at *Gentilly* (§ 121, 2), where the question of image-worship was also discussed. But we are left in ignorance of all beyond this fact, as the acts of the synod have been lost. Twenty years later *Pope Hadrian I.* sent to Charlemagne the acts of the Seventh Œcumenical Council of Nice (§ 96, 3). In his character of emperor-expectant, *Charlemagne* felt deeply aggrieved at the presumption of the Greeks, who, without consulting the German Church, had ventured to enact laws which were in direct opposition to the practice of the Frankish Church. He replied by issuing in his own name the so-called *Libri Carolini* (best ed. by *Heumann*, Han. 1731). In this work the attempts of the Eastern prelates are sharply met, and the acts of the Synod refuted *seriatim*. Although Charlemagne disavowed the views of the iconoclasts, and admitted the utility of religious images for exciting devotional feelings, for in-



structing the people, or as suitable decorations in churches—with special reference to the views of Gregory the Great (§ 89, 3)—he reprobated every species of image-worship as a kind of idolatry. On the other hand, the *Libri Carolini* expressed approbation of the reverence paid to saints, to relics, and to the crucifix. Charlemagne sent this significant tractate, which in all probability was composed by *Alcuin*, to the Pope, who rejoined, although in the most guarded language. But this reply made not the slightest impression on the Frankish monarch. Nay, the authority of a great general council of all the Germanic churches was to be opposed to that of the Council of the Byzantine Court. During his sojourn in England (790–792), Alcuin secured for this purpose the co-operation of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The Synod met at *Frankfort* in 794, and solemnly confirmed the principles of the “*Libri Carolini*.” The Pope deemed it prudent to leave this controversy to the operation of time and popular feeling.—Under the reign of *Louis the Pious* the question was again discussed, on occasion of an embassy from the iconoclastic emperor, Michael Balbus. At a national synod held at *Paris* (825), the conduct of Hadrian I. was reprehended, the practice of image-worship reprobated, and the principles of the “*Libri Carolini*” once more confirmed. *Pope Eugen II.* made no reply. This rejection of the Second Nicene Council and opposition to image-worship continued in the Frankish Empire till the tenth century.

2. Soon after the Council of Paris, AGOBARD OF LYONS (§ 120, 4) published a tractate: *Contra superstitionem eorum, qui picturis et imaginibus Sanctorum adorationis obsequium deferendum putant*. But the prelate went much further than the *Libri Carolini*. He proposed entirely to remove all images from churches, as the practice would inevitably lead to abuses. Besides, he also rejected the idea of paying homage to saints, relics, or angels. Our confidence was to be placed only in Almighty God, whom alone we were to worship through Jesus Christ, the sole Mediator. At the same time, he wished to introduce certain reforms in the Liturgy (§ 120, 8). He also opposed those portions of the public services which were merely designed to affect the senses, and would have banished the use of all non-inspired hymns. On the other hand, he insisted on the necessity of diligent study of the Bible, and condemned all appeals to ordeals (§ 118, 4), and all the popular superstitions about witchcraft, and supernatural means for securing favourable weather (*Contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis*); as also the belief, that diseases and other plagues might be averted by donations to churches. On the subject of inspiration his views were somewhat loose (§ 120, 6). Still nobody thought of charging him with heresy.—CLAUDIUS, BISHOP OF TURIN (§ 120, 4), went even beyond Agobard. From the writings of Augustine that prelate had derived views more deep and full than any of his contemporaries of the blessed truth, that man is justified without any works



of his own, only through the mercy of God in Christ. *Louis the Pious* had elevated him to the See of Turin for the express purpose of opposing image-worship in Italy, the great stronghold of this superstition. In his diocese the veneration paid to images, relics, and crucifixes had been carried to fearful excess. These abuses seemed to call for stringent measures. Accordingly, Claudius ordered all images and crucifixes to be flung out of the churches. Popular tumults ensued in consequence, and only fear of the Frankish arms could have preserved the life or protected the office of the bold prelate. When Pope Paschal expostulated with him on the subject, he replied, that he would only recognise his apostolic dignity so long as he did the works of an apostle; if otherwise, Matt. xxiii. 2, 3 applied to him. Claudius expounded his views in some exegetical tractates. In answer to *Theodimir*, Abbot of Psalmody, the Bishop of Turin wrote, in 825, a work entitled "Apologeticus," which is only known from the rejoinder of *Theodimir*. A Scotchman, *Dungal*, teacher at Pavia, also wrote against him, and accused him before the Emperor. Upon this *Jonas*, Bishop of Orleans, was commissioned to refute the *Apologeticus*. The work (*de Cultu Imaginum* Ll. III.), which appeared only after the death of Claudius, embodies the principles of the Frankish Church on the subject of image-worship.

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## SECOND PERIOD

### OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

IN ITS MEDIÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

FROM THE TENTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENT.

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#### I. GROWTH OF THE CHURCH.

##### § 123. MISSIONARY OPERATIONS DURING THAT PERIOD.

COMP. the Literature at §§ 109, 110. *J. v. Mailath*, Gesch. d. Magyaren. Vienna 1828. Vol. I. *C. G. v. Friese*, K. G. v. Polen. Bresl. 1786. Vol. I. *R. Röpell*, Gesch. von Poien. Hamb. 1840.—*L. Giesebrecht*, wendische Geschichten. Berl. 1843; *F. C. Kruse*,

St. Vicelin. Altona 1828. *C. W. Spieker*, K. u. Reform. G. d. Mark Brandenburg. Berl. 1839. *F. W. Barthold*, Gesch. von Pommern. Hamb. 1839. *P. F. Kannegiesser*, Bekehrungs Gesch. d. Pommern. Greifsw. 1824. *K. L. Tetsch*, kurländ. Kirchengesch. 3 Vols. Riga 1767; *Fr. Kruse*, Urgesch. (Origines) d. esthn. Volksstammes. Mosc. 1846. *K. v. Schlözer*, d. Anfänge d. deutsch. Lebens im balt. Norden (Commenc. of Germ. Infl. in the North along the Baltic). Berl. 1850. *E. Pabst*, Meinhart, Livland's Apostel. Reval 1847.—*J. L. Mosheim*, hist. eccl. Tartarorum. Helmst. 1714. *Abel*, memoires sur les relatt. politiques des princes chretiens avec les empereurs Mongoles, in the Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr. T. VI. VII. 1822.—*J. W. Watterich*, d. Gründung d. deutschen Ordensstaates in Preussen (Origin of the Rule of the Teuton. Knights in Pr.). Leips. 1857.

The conversion of the continent of Europe was almost completed during this period, that of *Lithuania* alone being reserved for the following. Both the manner of carrying on, and the results, of missionary operations continued as before. The labours of the heralds of the Cross were supported by armed force; monasteries and fortresses became the bases for the spread of Christianity; political motives and marriages with Christian princesses generally effected the conversion of heathen rulers; and the peoples were either obliged to follow the example of their sovereigns, or submitted in silent resignation; while, under the cover of Christianity, many heathen superstitions continued to exist. It was the policy of the German emperors to place the newly-converted races under the spiritual supremacy of the Metropolitan of Germany. Thus *Hamburg* was made the see for Scandinavia and the Baltic Provinces, *Magdeburg* that for Poland and the adjoining countries, *Mayence* for Bohemia, *Passau* for Hungary. But the Papacy uniformly opposed such attempts of the German clergy and rulers. Each of these countries was to have its independent metropolitan, and thus to occupy a place of equality in the great family of Christian states, of which the See of Rome was to be the spiritual head (§ 113).—The Western Church repeatedly commenced missionary operations among the *Mongols* of Asia and the *Saracens* of Africa, but without leading to any lasting results.

1. The emperors of Germany succeeded in obtaining political influence in DENMARK, which they employed in favour of Christianity. King *Gorm the Old* (ob. 940) was a violent persecutor, till Henry I., in 934, obliged him to extend toleration. His son, *Harold Blaataud* (or Black-tooth), was baptized after having concluded a

peace with Otho I. in 972, and from that period he zealously seconded the labours of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. But Harold was dethroned by his heathen subjects under the leadership of *Sven*, his own son, in 991. *Sven* (*ob.* 1014) again razed the Christian churches and monasteries in the country. *Canute the Great*, his son (1014-1035), who had been educated a Christian, and espoused the pious English princess *Emma*, re-established the Church of his country; and, when on a pilgrimage to Rome, which, however, was partly prompted by political motives, established a close connection between the Danish Church and the great centre of Western Christendom.—Next to the labours of Anskar, the conversion of SWEDEN must be traced to *Unni*, Archbishop of Hamburg, who left his see to devote his last years to the evangelisation of that country (*ob.* 940). Faithful missionaries continued the work he had begun. *Olave Skautkonung* (or Lap-King), in 1008, was the first Christian monarch of Sweden; and in 1075 *Inge* swept away the last traces of heathenism.—On their predatory expeditions, the NORWEGIANS were brought into contact with the Gospel. *Haco the Good*, who was educated in England, was the first Christian king of Norway. But his subjects refused to adopt the new faith (945), and even constrained Haco to take part in a heathen sacrifice. He died deeply penitent for this act of sinful compliance (960). Still, despite the opposition of the heathen party, the conversion of the country gradually progressed under the reign of *Olave Trygvesson* (*ob.* 1000), and especially under that of *Olave Haroldson*, the Fat (*ob.* 1033). These monarchs lost, indeed, their lives in contest with the Danes, whose aid their heathen opponents had called in. But national dislike to the foreign rule thus imposed, caused Olave the Fat to be invested with the glory of patron-saint of Norway, and promoted the diffusion of Christianity of which he had been a martyr.—Under Olave Trygvesson Christianity was also introduced in ICELAND and GREENLAND, and in the ORKNEY and FAROE islands.

2. The Gospel had been introduced into BOHEMIA during the preceding period (§ 109, 2). After the death of *Vratislav*, *Drahomira*, his widow, a heathen, seized the reins of government in name of *Boleslav*, her younger son. The attempt of Ludmilla, with the aid of certain priests and Germans, to elevate to the throne *St Wenceslav*, the elder son, whom she had educated, was frustrated. Ludmilla was killed by order of *Drahomira* (927), and Wenceslav fell by the hand of his brother. *Boleslav* at first attempted to exterminate Christianity from his dominions, but was obliged to relax his former severity after his defeat by *Otho I.* in 950. His son, *Boleslav II.*, established Christianity in the country, and founded the archiepiscopal see of Prague. The Pope gave his consent to the erection of this see, on condition that the Romish Liturgy should be introduced (973).—From Bohemia the Gospel spread to Poland. Duke *Miecislav* was induced by *Dambrovka*, his wife, a Bohemian



princess, to adopt the Christian religion (966). His subjects followed his example, and the See of Posen was founded for the Church of Poland.—During the succeeding period, Christianity was introduced in LITHUANIA. *Jagello*, Grand-Duke of that country, was baptized, in order to acquire, with the hand of Queen *Hedwige*, the crown of Poland (1386). He founded the See of Wilna. His subjects, who at baptism received each a woollen coat, came in crowds to make profession of Christianity.—The Gospel was first carried to HUNGARY from Constantinople, where *Gylas*, a Hungarian prince, was baptized in 950. Byzantine missionaries accompanied the monarch; but this connection with the Greek Church was only temporary. By the combined exertions of a number of German prisoners of war, and of *Piligrin*, Bishop of Passau, the Hungarian Church was detached from the East. *Duke Geysa* (ob. 997) was at least favourably disposed towards Christianity, chiefly through the influence of *Sarolta*, his wife, a daughter of *Gylas*. But the conversion of the country was only accomplished under the reign of his son, *St Stephen* (ob. 1038), who also introduced Christianity into Transylvania and Wallachia. According to some authorities, he received the dignity of king from Pope Sylvester II.,<sup>1</sup> and the Hungarian Church became subject to the Romish hierarchy.

3. THE WENDS, who inhabited the districts bordering the Elbe, the Saale, the Havel, and the Oder, cherished a deep repugnance to Christianity, the introduction of which was associated in their minds with the loss of national independence. *Otho I.* founded many sees and the archbishopric of *Magdeburg* among the Wends. But these institutions were swept away during a revolt of the Wends under *Mistevoi* (983). *Gottschalk*, the grandson of *Mistevoi*, fell a martyr to his Christian zeal (1066). This murder was followed by a general persecution of Christians. Christianity was only established in these regions under the reign of *Albert the Bear*, who founded the Margravate of Brandenburg (1133), and under that of *Henry the Lion*, who vanquished the *Obotrites*, and colonised the districts formerly inhabited by them with Germans (1162). Amidst many difficulties the labours of the devoted Bishop *Benno* of Meissen (ob. 1106), and those of *St Vicelin*, the apostle of the Wends (ob. 1154), were carried on with a zeal truly apostolical.—For a considerable period the efforts of the Dukes of Poland to subject POMERANIA to their rule, and to Christianise the country, remained unsuccessful. At last *Boleslav III.* conquered the country in 1121. He enlisted the services of *Otho of Bamberg* as missionary to that country. The devoted prelate proved the apostle of Pomerania. His ardent zeal, his self-denying love and patience, which neither threats nor persecutions could overcome or exhaust, were fully rewarded. The Pomeranian Church, which was founded during his two missionary

<sup>1</sup> But this point is controverted. See *Robertson*, Hist. of the Chr. Ch. II. Per., p. 443, Note U.



expeditions, continued under his superintendence till his death in 1139. The island of *Rügen*, however, remained heathen, till conquered in 1168 by *Waldemar*, king of Denmark.

4. The duty of carrying the Gospel to the COUNTRIES ALONG THE EASTERN SHORE OF THE BALTIC was first undertaken by the Danish Church. *Sven III.* founded the See of *Lund* in 1050, with the express object of making provision for the spiritual necessities of these countries. Monks were repeatedly sent to evangelise, and armies to conquer them, but in both respects without success. What the Danes failed to accomplish was achieved by the missionaries and the sword of Germany. About the middle of the twelfth century, merchants from Bremen and Lubeck entered into commercial relations with these districts. In their company *Meinhard*, a pious priest from the monastery of Segeberg in Holstein, was sent in 1186 on a missionary expedition by Hartwig, the Archbishop of Bremen. Meinhard founded a church at Yxküll, and was nominated bishop, but died in 1196. His successor, *Berthold of Loccum*, a Cistercian abbot, was expelled the country, but returned at the head of an army of crusaders, and fell in battle in 1198. He was succeeded by *Albert of Apeldern*, a canon of Bremen, who transferred his episcopal see to Riga (1200), and for the protection of the mission established the knightly *Order of the Sword*. By such means Christianity spread from LIVONIA to ESTHONIA, where the See of *Dorpat* was founded in 1223, and in 1230 to SEMGALLEN and to COURLAND. The Danes also effected a landing at *Revel*, where they founded a see, which was placed under the superintendence of the Metropolitan of Lund. In PRUSSIA, *Adalbert*, Archbishop of Prague, commenced missionary operations in 996 with great success, but fell a martyr the following year. *Bruno*, a zealous monk, and eighteen of his missionary companions, met with the same fate on the borders of Lithuania, after having laboured for only one year in the district (1008). Two centuries elapsed ere their work was resumed, when the labours of the evangelists once more encountered fanatical opposition. The order of the *Teutonic Knights* alone proved strong enough—after its amalgamation with that of the *Sword*—to sweep away heathenism from that district.—Christianity was introduced in FINLAND by St *Eric* in 1157, who built the fortress of Abo to protect the missionaries. He was accompanied by *Henry*, Bishop of *Upsala*, the apostle of that country, whose ardent zeal was rewarded with the martyr's crown. In 1279 THE LAPPS became subject to Sweden, and in 1335 *Hemming*, Primate of Upsala, consecrated a church at Tornea.

5. During the pontificate of *Alexander III.*, pretended ambassadors of the Tartar priest-king *John* (§ 103, 1) arrived at Rome, and fabulous accounts of the power and glory of that monarch spread throughout the West. The Pope entered into negotiations with them, which, however, led to no results. Perhaps they may have

been mere adventurers.—In consequence of the threatening attitude of the MONGOLS towards the Western churches, Pope Innocent IV. sent an embassy, consisting of Franciscans and Dominicans, to Khan *Oktai* (1245), for the twofold purpose of inducing him to adopt peaceable measures, and of inviting him to become a Christian. But the application was unsuccessful. *Gajuk*, the successor of Oktai, was more favourable to the Christians. In 1253 *Louis IX.* of France despatched an embassy to Khan *Mangu*, at the head of which the celebrated Franciscan *William de Rubruquis* (Ruisbroek) was placed. The report which he brought to Europe damped the hopes, formerly cherished, of the conversion of Mangu. After the death of Mangu in 1259 the Mongol Empire was divided into the Persian and the Chinese dynasty. In *Persia*, Christianity gave place to Mohammedanism in the fourteenth century. But in *China* missionary labours were repeatedly resumed, not without success. *Pope Gregory X.* despatched, in 1274, two Dominicans to Khan *Kublai*. They were joined by *Marco Polo*, a young Venetian, at the time only sixteen years old, whose account of the journey afterwards excited such sensation. Other missionaries followed these heralds of Christianity; among them we mention especially that venerable Franciscan, *Johannes de Monte-Corvino*, who translated the New Testament and the Book of Psalms into the Mongol language, baptized about 6000 natives, and died in 1330 as Archbishop of Cambalu (Pekin). But in 1369 the Mongols were driven from China, and the fruits of these labours gradually disappeared.—While *Louis IX.* was carrying on the siege of Damiette, *St Francis* (§ 128, 4) arrived in EGYPT in 1219 for the purpose of attempting the conversion of the Mohammedans. He proposed to the Sultan to prove the truth of his religion by undergoing the ordeal of walking through fire; but the offer was declined, and the saint dismissed with rich presents, which *St Francis*, however, refused. Much more successful in this field of labour was *Raimundus Lullus*. After his conversion from a course of worldliness and frivolity, he prepared himself for the work by laborious and careful study of the languages, and then went to preach the Gospel to the Saracens in NORTHERN AFRICA. Having encountered every species of opposition, he died a martyr in 1315. Comp. § 134, 2.

## § 124. THE CRUSADES.

SOURCES: *J. Bongars*, *Gesta Dei per Francos*. Hann. 1611. 2 Voll. *F. J. Michaud*, *Biblioth. des Croisades*. Par. 1830. 4 T.—COMP. *William of Tyre*, *Hist. of the Crus. and of the Kingd. of Jerus.*; *Chronicles of the Crusaders* (in Bohn's Antiquar. Libr.); *J. Michaud*, *Hist. des Croisades*, transl. by *W. Robson*. London 1852, 3 Vols.; *F. Wilken*, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge* (*Hist. of the Crus.*). Leips. 1807. 7 Vols.; *H. v. Sybel*, *Gesch. d. ersten Kreuzzugs*. Düsseld. 1841; *A. H. L. Heeren*, *Versuch u. Entw. d. Folgen d.*

Kreuzzüge für Europa (Essay on the results of the Crus. for Europe). Göttg. 1808.

During the rule of the Arabs, Christian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre had enjoyed ample protection. But under the reign of the Fatimites, at the commencement of the tenth century, persecutions commenced, especially during the Caliphate of *Hakim*, who equally oppressed native Christians and pilgrims, and interdicted their worship under severe penalty, probably in order by such severities to wipe out the disgrace of having sprung from a Christian mother. Under the domination of the *Seljookian* Turks, from 1078, these measures of oppression greatly increased. The feelings evoked throughout the West by these persecutions was all the more deep, since the expectation of the approaching end of the world, which was general in the tenth cent. (§ 136, 1), induced many to undertake pilgrimages to the Holy Land. So early as the year 999 *Sylvester II.* had—ex persona devastatæ Hierosolymæ—made an appeal to Christendom to rescue the Holy Land from the infidel. *Gregory VII.* entered warmly into this project, and had indeed resolved to head a crusade in person; but his dissensions with *Henry IV.* prevented the execution of the plan. Twenty years later *Peter of Amiens*, a hermit, returned from his pilgrimage. In burning language he portrayed to the Sovereign Pontiff (*Urban II.*) the sufferings of the Christians; he recounted a vision in which Christ Himself had charged him with the commission to rouse Christendom for the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre. By direction of Urban, Peter travelled through Italy and France, everywhere exciting the feelings of the people. A council was summoned at *Piacenza* in 1095, where this cause was pled. Still greater success attended the address of Urban at the Council of *Claremont* in the same year. In response to his enthusiastic appeal for a holy war under the standard of the Cross, the universal exclamation was heard: “It is the will of God!” and on the same day thousands enlisted in the cause, and had the red cross affixed to their right shoulder—among them *Adhemar*, Bishop of *Le Puy*, who was named Papal legate for the war. On their return to their dioceses, the bishops everywhere preached the Crusade, and before many weeks had elapsed Western Christendom was stirred to its inmost depths. Thus commenced a movement which lasted for two centuries, and which in its character can only be compared with the migration of nations. By these expeditions Europe lost nearly 6,000,000 of men in bootless attempts. In the end every hope and purpose cherished by the crusaders was frus-



trated. Still the consequences of these expeditions proved of deepest importance, and their influence extended to all departments of life, both ecclesiastical and political, spiritual and intellectual, civil and industrial. New views, requirements, tendencies, and forces were introduced, by the operation of which mediæval history entered on the last stage of its development, and which prepared the way for the modern phases of society.

1. THE FIRST CRUSADE (1096). In May 1096 a motley host of 40,000 men, impatient of the preparations made by the military leaders, took the road, headed by *Peter* himself, and by his nephew *Walter* the Penniless. But the excesses committed by them, and the utter absence of all discipline, aroused the hostility of the populations: half the army was destroyed in Bulgaria, the rest perished by the sword of the Saracens. At length, in the month of August, the regular army of the crusaders set out under the command of GODFREY OF BOUILLON. Originally it consisted of 80,000 men, but by the way it increased to not less than 600,000. The reception which the Byzantine Government accorded the crusaders was by no means favourable. In 1097 they crossed to Asia. Nicæa, Antioch, and Edessa were taken, not without considerable resistance and great losses. But their efforts ultimately proved successful, and on the 15th July 1099 the crusaders scaled the walls of Jerusalem with the shout, "It is the will of God!" By the light of burning houses, and wading in blood, they marched in solemn procession to the Church of the Resurrection, repeating psalms. Godfrey was chosen King of Jerusalem, but refused to wear a royal diadem where his Master had been crowned with thorns. The pious leader of the crusaders died after the lapse of only one year, and was succeeded by *Baldwin*, his brother, who was crowned at Bethlehem. The bestowal of numerous fiefs soon gathered a number of vassals around the new monarch. Jerusalem was made the seat of a patriarchate, to which four archiepiscopal sees and a corresponding number of bishoprics were subjected. Tidings of these events awakened fresh enthusiasm throughout the West. So early as the year 1101 three other large armies of crusaders set out. They marched against Bagdad, with the view of breaking the Moslem power in its great stronghold; but these undisciplined masses never reached their destination.

2. SECOND CRUSADE (1147). The fall of Edessa—the great bulwark of the kingdom of Jerusalem—seemed a loud call for renewed exertions. *Pope Eugen III* summoned the nations to arms. *Bernard of Clairvaux*, the great teacher of that period, preached the Crusade, and predicted victory. LOUIS VII. OF FRANCE took the cross, thereby to expiate the sacrilege of having burned down a church filled with people. Under the impression of the sermons of



St Bernard, CONRAD III OF GERMANY followed his example, not without considerable reluctance. But their noble armies fell under the sword of the Saracens, or perished through the perfidy of the Greeks and the utter dissolution of all discipline, amidst want, pestilence, and fatigue. Damascus was not taken; humbled, and with the scanty remnants of their armies, the Christian princes returned to their own countries.

3. THIRD CRUSADE (1189). A century had not elapsed before the kingdom of Jerusalem had fallen into complete decay. The incessant animosities between Greeks and Latins, the intrigues of vassals, the licentiousness, luxury, and lawlessness of the people, the clergy, and the nobles, and, after the extinction of the dynasty of Baldwin, the disputes of pretenders to the crown, rendered order, security, or stability impossible. Under these circumstances, it was comparatively easy for Sultan *Saladin*—that Moslem knight without fear or stain, who had already dethroned the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt—after the bloody victory of Tiberias, to put an end to the domination of Christians in Syria. Jerusalem was taken in October 1187. Tidings of this calamity once more roused Western Christendom. *Philip Augustus* of France, and *Henry II. of England*, for a season laid aside their disputes, and took the cross at the hand of *William of Tyre*, the historian of the Crusades. They were joined by the Emperor *FREDERIC I.*, in personal courage a youth, but old in years and experience, whose energy, prudence, and ability seemed to insure success. The intrigues of the Byzantine court, and the indescribable difficulties of a march through a desert, could not arrest his progress. He met and defeated the well-appointed army of the Sultan of Iconium, and took his capital, but soon afterwards was drowned in a small river of Pisidia (1190). The greater part of the army now dispersed; the rest were led against Ptolemais by *Frederic of Swabia*, the Emperor's son. Soon afterwards appeared under the walls of that city *PHILIP AUGUSTUS* and *RICHARD CŒUR-DE-LION*, who, after the death of his father, had undertaken his vow, and on his passage to Syria conquered Cyprus. Ptolemais (St Jean d'Acre) fell in 1191; but disputes among the leaders prevented any lasting success from that enterprise. *Frederic of Swabia* had fallen, and *Philip Augustus* returned to France under pretence of illness. *Richard* gained, indeed, a splendid victory over *Saladin*, took Joppa and Askelon, and was about to march upon Jerusalem, when tidings arrived that *Philip Augustus* was arming against England. *Saladin*, who respected the knightly qualities of his opponent, agreed to an armistice for three years, on conditions favourable to Christian pilgrims (1192). The district along the shore, from Joppa to Askelon, was ceded to *Henry of Champagne*. On his return to England, *Richard* was seized by *Leopold of Austria*, whose flag he had insulted before Ptolemais, and kept a prisoner for two years. The Crusade was not resumed even after his liberation.

4. **FOURTH CRUSADE (1217).** Pope *Innocent III.* summoned Christendom a fourth time to the Holy War. The monarchs of Europe were too much engaged with their own affairs to give heed to this call; but *Fulk of Neuilly*, the great penitential preacher of his age, induced the nobility of France to fit out a considerable armament. Instead, however, of marching against the Saracens, they were induced by *Dandolo*, the Doge of Venice, to assist him in subduing Dalmatia, by way of payment for the transport of the troops, and then to advance against Constantinople, where *Baldwin of Flanders* founded a *Latin Empire* (1204–1261). The Pope excommunicated the Doge, highly censured the violent dethronement of a Christian monarch, and appointed an ecclesiastic to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. At the urgent persuasion of Pope *Honorius III.*, **ANDREW II.** of Hungary led another army of crusaders to Palestine in 1217. He gained some advantages; but, being betrayed or forsaken by the barons of Palestine, he returned the following year.

5. **FIFTH CRUSADE (1228).** The Emperor **FREDERIC II.** had also promised the Pope to undertake a crusade, but delayed on various pretexts, till Pope Gregory at length excommunicated him. Frederic now set out at the head of a comparatively small army (1228). *Kamel*, the Sultan of Egypt, was at the time engaged in war with a rival. Under the apprehension that Frederic might co-operate with him, he hastily concluded peace, ceding Jerusalem and several other towns. On the Holy Sepulchre the Emperor crowned himself with his own hands (Jerusalem being the hereditary portion of his spouse *Jolante*), and then returned to make his peace with the See of Rome (1229).

6. **SIXTH CRUSADE (1248).** The ardour in this cause had for a considerable time been declining. But when in 1247 Jerusalem was again taken by the infidels, **ST LOUIS** of France once more set out at the head of a considerable army, and, having wintered in Cyprus, passed in 1248 into Egypt. He defeated the Egyptians both by sea and by land, and took Damiette. His army, however, was decimated by battles, pestilence, and famine, and himself made prisoner by the Mamelukes, who had lately dethroned the dynasty of Saladin. After payment of a heavy ransom, he was allowed to return to his own country in 1250. The pious monarch still felt as if his vow had not been fulfilled. Accordingly, he embarked a second time in 1270 for Tunis, in the hope of making that city the basis of further operations. But half of his army, and the king himself, were swept away by a pestilence that same year. Ptolemais, the last stronghold of the Christians in the Holy Land, fell in 1291.

## § 125. ISLAMISM AND THE JEWS IN EUROPE.

In the eleventh century the dominion of the Saracens in *Sicily* gave place to that of the Normans (§ 111). In *Spain* also the sway of Mohammedanism was drawing to a close. Frequent changes of rulers and dynasties, and the division of the country into small caliphates, had weakened the power of the Moors; while increasing degeneracy of manners, in a rich and luxurious country, gradually diminished the military prowess and ardour of the people. Although the Christian forces of the country were also drawn from a number of small kingdoms, patriotism and religious enthusiasm, which grew as the contest continued, rendered them invincible. *Rodrigo Diaz*, the Castilian hero (called by the Moors the *Cid*, or Lord, by Christians the *Campeador* or Commander)—*ob.* 1099—appeared to these warriors the embodiment of Spanish and Christian chivalry, though it must be confessed that the conduct of these heroes towards vanquished infidels was at times neither Christian nor knightly. The Moors called in the aid of the *Almoravides*; but neither could they nor the *Almohades* from Barbary, who afterwards took their place, restore the former glory of the Moorish arms. Under *Alphonse III.* of Castile the combined Christian princes gained a great victory at Tolosa in 1212, after which only the provinces of Cordova and Granada were left to the Moors. Cordova fell in 1236. In 1469 the two most powerful Christian kingdoms of Spain were united by the marriage of *Ferdinand* of Arragon with *Isabella* of Castile. Soon afterwards Granada also was conquered. On the 2d January 1492, *Abu-Abdilehi* (*Boabdil*), the last caliph, concluded a disgraceful treaty, in consequence of which he evacuated his splendid capital, and a few moments later the Castilian banner waved over the highest turret of the proud Alhambra. The Pope bestowed on the royal pair the title of Catholic. Those Moors who refused baptism were expelled; but even the Moriscoes, or baptized Moors, proved an element so dangerous to the common-weal, that *Philip III.*, in 1609, decreed their final expulsion. Most of them sought refuge in Africa, where they again openly professed the religion which in their hearts they had all along cherished.

1. By trade and usury the JEWS had obtained almost exclusive possession of the coined money. The influence thus acquired was more than counterbalanced by the cruelty and oppression to which, from their wealth, they were exposed on the part of needy princes and nobles. Every public calamity was popularly ascribed to them;



they poisoned the wells, and thus occasioned epidemics; they stole consecrated wafers in order to pierce them through with needles; they abducted Christian children to sacrifice them at their Passover. Popular superstition and enmity, thus excited, frequently found vent in tumults, in which thousands of innocent persons fell victims, and whole quarters, with their defenceless inhabitants, were consumed by the flames. Occasionally the crusaders also commenced their heroic exploits at home with a massacre of Jews. In Spain the synagogue suffered persecutions similar to those of the Moors and Moriscoes. Several of the popes—especially *Gregory VII.*, *Alexander III.*, and *Innocent III.*—published ordinances for the protection of the Jews, interdicted the practice of forced conversions, and called attention to the circumstance that they were destined by Providence to be living evidences to the truth of Christianity.

## II. HIERARCHY, THE CLERGY, AND MONASTICISM.

### § 126. THE PAPACY.

COMP. *V. E. Löscher*, Hist. d. röm. Hurenregimentes (Hist. of the Rule of Harlots at Rome). 2d Ed. Leipz. 1725. 4.—*Vehse*, Otto d. Gr. u. s. Zeit. Zittau 1835.—*Fr. Hock*, Gerbert u. s. Jahrh. Wien 1837.—*Stenzel*, Gesch. Deutsch. unter d. fränk. Kais. (Hist. of Germ. under the Fr. Emp.). Leipz. 1827. *C. Höfler*, die deutschen Päpste (The German Popes). Regensb. 1839.—*J. Voigt*, Hildebr. als Gregor VII. u. s. Zeitalt. 2d Ed. Weimar 1846. *J. M. Söttl*, Gregor VII. Leipz. 1847. *G. Cassander*, d. Zeitalt. Hildebr. für u. wider ihn (The Age of Hildebr. for and ag. him). Darmst. 1842. *A. de Vidaillon*, Vie d. Greg. VII. Par. 1837. 2 T. *J. W. Bowden*, Life of Greg. VII. Lond. 1840. 2 Vols. *H. Floto*, Heinr. IV. u. s. Zeitalt. Stuttgart 1855–56. 2 Vols.—*Fr. v. Raumer*, Gesch. d. Hohenstaufen (History of the Hohenst.). 6 Vols. Leipz. 1823, etc. *W. Zimmermann*, d. Hohenst. od. d. Kampf d. Monar. gegen d. Papst u. d. republ. Freih. (The Hohenst. or the Contest between Royalty, the Pap. and Republic.). Stuttg. 1838. 2 Vols.—*J. Helfenstein*, Gr. Bestreb. u. d. Streitsch. s. Zeit. (The Obj. of Gr. and the Controv. Writ. of his time). Fr. 1856. *H. Reuter*, Alex. III. u. d. K. sr. Zeit. Berl. 1845. I. *Ring*, Friedr. I. im Kampfe gegen Alex. III. (Fred. I. and his Contest with Alex. III.). Stuttg. 1835. *C. de Cherrier*, Hist. de la lutte d. Papes et des Emp. de la maison de Souabe. Par. 1841–51. 4 T. *H. Franke*, Arn. v. Brescia u. s. Zeit. Zurich 1825. *Buss*, d. h. Thomas v. Canterb. Mayence 1856. *Bataille*, Vie pol. et civ. de Th. Beck. Par. 1846. *Giles*, Life and Letters of Th. a Beck. Lond. 1846. 2 Vols.—*Fr. Hurter*, P. Innocenz III. u. s. Zeitgenossen (P. Innocent III. and



his cotemporaries). 4 Vols. 3d Ed. 1845. *O. Abel*, König Philipp d. Hohenst. Berl. 1852. *C. Hüfler* (Rom. Cath.), Kais. Friedrich II. Ein Beitr. zur Berichtigung über d. Sturz d. Hohenstaufen (The Emp. Fred. II., an Ess. on the causes of the fall of the Hohenst. Dynasty). Mun. 1844.—Canon *Robertson*, Life of St Thomas. London 1859.

The history of the Papacy during this period opens amid its deepest degradation. It was Germany which put an end to these infamous abuses ; the Papacy once more recovered from its low state, and remembering its high aims, rapidly rose to the highest point of its influence and power. With the alternative before it of being subject to the secular power of the emperors or of rendering them subject to its spiritual sway, it entered into mortal conflict with that very monarchy to which it owed its recovery. In this contest, which raged most fiercely during the disputes with the Hohenstaufen dynasty, the Papacy carried indeed the victory, but only again to experience that it could neither coexist nor dispense with a strong imperial government. As the overturn of the empire of Charlemagne had reduced the Papacy to utter degradation under the vile rule of Italian nobles, so its victory over the German monarchs issued in rendering it subject to French policy, to an extent scarcely less humiliating.—At the time when the Papacy rose from its decay, the orders of Clugny and Camaldoli (§ 128) proved its strongest supporters and best advisers ; afterwards, the begging friars formed a sort of Papal standing army ; while the Crusades, besides contributing a good deal of enthusiasm in favour of the Church, found employment and a grave for troublesome princes and their armies.—When the Papacy reached its climax, the Holy Father was regarded as absolute head of the Church. Already theologians argued that the position of the Supreme Pontiff in the theocracy must insure the *infallibility* of his official decrees. *Gregory VII.* claimed for the chair of Peter the right of confirming all appointments to vacant sees. From the time of *Innocent III.*, what formerly had been merely papal recommendations to vacant posts (*preces*, whence the parties recommended were called *precistæ*) were issued as *mandata* ; while *Clement IV.* (ob. 1268) insisted that the Pontiff possessed the power of “*plenaria dispositio*” over all ecclesiastical benefices. According to these vicars of Christ, *Universal Councils* had only a deliberative voice. From every tribunal an appeal might be taken to the successors of the apostles ; they might grant *dispensation* from any law of the Church, and they alone

possessed the right of *canonising*. The practice of *kissing the foot* originated in an Italian custom; and even emperors stooped to hold the stirrup to the Pope. In all countries, *legates*, with absolute power, acted as representatives of the Pope. Theirs it was to convoke and to preside over provincial councils. From the time of Nicholas I. it was customary to crown the Sovereign Pontiff, although at first only a simple crown called *tiara* was used for the purpose. The College of *Cardinals*, which consisted of the clergy of the cathedral at Rome, and of the seven bishops in the metropolitan diocese, formed the ecclesiastical and secular council of the Pope. The Romish curia discharged all the ordinary business; the ministry of finance bore the name of *Rota Romana*. Besides the regular revenues derived from the States of the Church and the annual tribute from foreign countries, the bestowal of the pall upon newly-elected metropolitans brought considerable sums into the papal treasury. Under special circumstances, the popes also claimed the right of levying a contribution from all churches.

1. THE PAPACY TO THE TIME OF HILDEBRAND (904-1048). In the contests of the Italian nobles which ensued after the departure of the Emperor Arnulf (§ 112, 5), the party of *Adalbert*, Margrave of Tuscany, proved ultimately victorious. For half a century *Theodora*, the concubine of that prince—a beautiful and noble Roman, but steeped in lowest vice—and her equally infamous daughters, *Marozia* (Maria) and *Theodora*, filled the See of Peter with their paramours, their sons, and grandsons, who surpassed each other in vileness and wickedness of every kind (the so-called *Pornocracy*). The first of these pontiffs was SERGIUS III. (904-911), the paramour of Marozia. He was succeeded by JOHN X. (914-928), whom the elder Theodora summoned from his see at Ravenna, as the distance of that city from Rome put some restraint on her infamous connection with him. John successfully resisted the inroads of the Saracens in Italy, and after the death of Theodora would have put an end to the infamous rule of these women; but Marozia had him cast into prison and smothered. The next occupant of the papal chair was JOHN XI. (931), the son of Pope Sergius and Marozia. But *Alberic*, his brother, deprived this pontiff and his successors of all secular power (*ob.* 954). *Octavianus*, the son of Alberic, and the most dissolute of that race, at the age of eighteen once more combined the spiritual and secular power. He was the first pontiff who on his elevation to the Papal See changed his name, adopting that of JOHN XII. (955-963). Against his enemy Berengar II. he invoked the aid of Otho I. of Germany (936-973), and again bestowed on the German monarch the dignity of Roman Emperor, which had been extinct for thirty-eight years (962); but

immediately afterwards he changed sides, and entered into alliance with Berengar for the purpose of expelling the Germans. Otho hastened to Rome, and at a *synod* held in that city (963) deposed the Pontiff, as guilty of incest, perjury, blasphemy, murder, and other crimes. After the death of Otho, the Tuscan party, under *Crescentius*, a son of the younger Theodora, again obtained the ascendancy, and was only temporarily kept in check by Otho II. (973-983). While in Rome itself the Papacy was thus in the hands of an unprincipled political party, its spiritual supremacy was seriously threatened in France. In 987 *Hugo Capet* had assumed the French crown; he now appealed to Pope *John XV.* to remove *Arnulf*, Archbishop of Rheims, who had opened the gates of that city to the enemies of the new monarch. The Pope hesitated; but the French king summoned a synod which deposed the rebellious prelate, whose place was filled by *Gerbert* (991), the most learned man and the ablest politician of his age. In vain the Pope remonstrated; Gerbert remained resolute. The king and the archbishop had even conceived the plan of wholly separating the French Church from the See of Rome, which only failed from popular opposition to it. *Robert*, the successor of Hugo, was weak enough to abandon Gerbert and to restore Arnulf (996). John XV. called in the aid of *Otho III.* (983-1002) against the oppressions of Crescentius, but died before the arrival of the Emperor (996). Otho directed the choice upon Bruno, his cousin, who assumed the name of GREGORY V., the first German pontiff. This excellent prelate only survived to 999. Gerbert, who after his deposition had acted as tutor to Otho, and had lately been appointed Archbishop of Ravenna, was now elected through the influence of the Emperor. He ascended the chair of Peter by the name of SYLVESTER II. (999-1003). Ignoring all former donations, the youthful Emperor bestowed upon the Pontiff eight lordships in the States of the Church as a mark of his personal favour. But Sylvester succeeded in depriving the Emperors of Germany of the advantages they had gained. He encouraged the youthful monarch in the foolish plan (instilled by his mother Theophano, a Byzantine princess) of discarding the political constitution and ideas which were distinctively German in favour of a grand Occidental Empire, after the model of that of Byzantium, of which Rome was to be the capital. By such measures the German bishops were alienated from their sovereign. At the same time the Pope bestowed the royal dignity on *Boleslav Chrobry* of Poland, the hereditary enemy of Germany, whose great aim it was to found a vast Slavonic Empire, and on *St Stephen* of Hungary. He also freed the churches in those countries from the supremacy of the Metropolitan of Germany, and, in return for a yearly tribute, nominated the two kings papal vicars, giving them full power in all ecclesiastical affairs. The Emperor and the Pope died about the same time; neither of them had attained his object.



According to popular belief, the Pope had practised the black art, and both his learning and success had been due to his connection with the prince of darkness.—The Tuscan party again obtained the rule in Rome, and the old scandals were re-enacted. Thus in 1033 *Benedict IX.* was elevated to the Papacy—a boy of only twelve years of age, but an adept in the most infamous vices. He sold the Papacy to *Gregory VI.*, who incurred the charge of simony in order to rid the Papal See from its worthless incumbent. *Benedict*, however, refused to give place; and as another party among the nobles had elected *Sylvester III.*, there were no less than three claimants to the papal title in Rome. At length *Henry III.* (1039–1056) put an end to this scandal. He summoned a SYNOD AT SUTRI (1046); *Gregory* abdicated, the other two popes were deposed, and a pious German bishop nominated successor of St Peter, by the name of *Clement II.* Henry received the imperial crown from the hands of the new Pontiff, and the Romans took a solemn oath to ask the consent of the Emperor before appointing a pope. Thus imperial power had for the time come triumphant out of the long contest between secular and spiritual authority, and the Church was absolutely subject to the State. This could not long continue; a reaction was both natural and necessary.

2. THE PAPACY UNDER HILDEBRAND (1048–1085). *Clement II.* died of poison. His successor, *Damasus II.*, after a pontificate of only twenty-three days, was removed by the same means. Such prospects made the German bishops more chary in their ambition. At length *Bruno of Toul*, a rigid churchman, consented to accept the papal dignity. He ascended the See of Peter by the name of *LEO IX.* (1048–1054), and with him the Papacy rose from its former depression and impotence. This result must, however, be chiefly ascribed to a monk of the name of Hildebrand, the son of a blacksmith at Saona. An intimate friend of *Gregory VI.*, he had supported his rule at Rome; and after his abdication again retired to Clugny, where he had formerly resided. *Bruno* wished to secure the assistance of this influential monk, and for that purpose visited Clugny on his way to Rome.<sup>1</sup> Hildebrand consented to accompany him only on condition that *Bruno*, who had been elected simply by order of the Emperor, should lay aside the pontifical vestments, and enter Rome in the garb of a pilgrim, to be there elected anew and in a rightful manner. Hildebrand was appointed a deacon at Rome, and from that time to his elevation to the See of Peter continued to direct the affairs of the Church, and succeeded in elevating it to a degree of power and authority hitherto unattained. From the commencement of his activity it was his great object to bring about a complete reformation in the Church. Simony was to be entirely abolished, the liberties of the Church to be secured against any inter-

<sup>1</sup> Opinions differ as to the place where *Bruno* and Hildebrand met. See *Robertson*, u. s., pp. 512, 513.



ference of the secular power, dissoluteness in the clergy to be punished with the utmost severity, priestly celibacy enjoined as the most powerful means of emancipating the priesthood both from the world and the State; while all spiritual offices were in future to be filled with the ablest and most deserving men. After the death of Leo, the Romans wished to appoint Hildebrand his successor. But he declined the honour, and himself headed a deputation to Germany to request from the Emperor another pope. By his influence the imperial choice fell on *Gebhard of Eichstätt*, a well-known prelate, a near relative of the Emperor, and till that time the chief adviser in all his anti-papal measures. The appointment was a masterstroke of policy; by it the anti-papal party in Germany was deprived of its leader, while the high church party gained in Gebhard, who assumed the name of VICTOR II. (1055-1057), an able pontiff. Henry died the year following, and the Papacy was emancipated. Still Hildebrand persisted in declining the pontificate, content to direct the choice as he listed. After the death of *Stephen IX.* the Tusculan party succeeded, indeed, in nominating *Benedict X.*, a man to their own mind. But he was soon obliged to give place to NICHOLAS II. (1058-1061), the anti-Pope of Hildebrand's nomination. This pontiff, at a synod held at Rome in 1059, passed an ordinance by which in future the election to the See of Peter should rest with the Roman College of Cardinals, to the exclusion of the nobles and the people; but "*salvo honore debito et reverentia erga Regem Henricum*"—a concession which, however, was regarded as temporary, and only applying to the reigning Emperor. Pope ALEXANDER II. (1061-1073) was elected in this manner. The German court appointed *Honorius II.*, a simonist and concubiniarius, who was unable to maintain his position; and *Henry IV.* (1056-1106), who in the meantime had attained his majority, confirmed the election of Hildebrand's nominee. Despite this compliance, the Pontiff refused to sanction the divorce of Henry; and when the Saxons complained of his intolerable oppressions and sacrilege, he even summoned the Emperor to Rome. Henry meditated vengeance, but the death of Alexander put an end to his plans.

The Papacy was now sufficiently strong, and Hildebrand no longer hesitated to complete, in his own name, the work which he had so auspiciously begun. He ascended the chair of Peter by the name of GREGORY VII. (1073-1085), and intimated his appointment to Henry IV. in a letter so humble and conciliatory as to procure the Emperor's confirmation. At a synod held in Rome in 1074 he re-enacted the old stringent laws of *celibacy*; declared all priests who lived in wedlock, or had obtained their offices by simony, to be deposed, and their priestly functions invalid. The lower clergy, who were generally married, violently opposed this measure; but Gregory carried the point (comp. § 127, 2). Papal legates visited every country, and, supported by the popular voice,

carried the order of the Pope into execution. At another synod held in Rome (1075), the real contest against simony and the practice of receiving *investiture* from secular lords was commenced. Any ecclesiastic who in future should accept office from the hands of a layman was to be deposed, and the secular lord who bestowed investiture to be excommunicated. This threat was first put in execution in the case of Henry's personal advisers, who had been guilty of the most shameless simony. The Emperor, at the time fully engaged with suppressing a revolt of the Saxons, concealed his anger, and dismissed his advisers. They were, however, restored at the close of the war, and the former simony, spoliation of churches, and oppression recommenced. Meantime Gregory himself met with opposition in Italy. *Cencius*, the leader of that party among the nobles which was opposed to reform, attacked the Pope in church during the celebration of the Christmas festivities (1075); but the Romans set him free, and Cencius had to fly. A papal embassy was now despatched to the court at Goslar, to cite the Emperor to appear personally at Rome under pain of excommunication. Henry no longer restrained his indignation; he insulted the legates, and at a *synod held at Worms* in 1076 had the Pope deposed, on the charges of tyranny, magic, and adultery. Gregory replied by excommunicating all the bishops who had taken part in the synod, and by solemnly deposing and excommunicating the Emperor, at the same time freeing his subjects from their oath of allegiance. The papal ban made a deep impression on the people and princes of Germany, and the prelates submitted one after the other. At a *diet held at Tribur* the election of a new Emperor was even discussed, when the weak monarch, as much dismayed as formerly he had been obstinate and imperious, resolved upon humbling himself to the utmost. Indeed, such a step had now become necessary, and took not the Pope by surprise, although it disconcerted his plans.—In the cold winter of 1077, from the 25th to the 27th January, the Emperor stood barefoot in the garb of a penitent, and fasting the whole day, in the court of the castle of Canossa, belonging to the Countess *Matilda*, whom Gregory was at the time visiting. At length the Pope consented to give him absolution, but only on condition of his not assuming the royal dignity till his cause had been investigated and decided. But Henry immediately broke his promise, and accepted the proffered aid of the Lombards. Gregory again hurled his anathema, Pope and Emperor deposed each other, and both parties set up antagonists. The armies of Henry were successful. *Rudolf of Swabia*, his opponent in the empire, died soon after the battle of Merseburg (1080), and Henry escorted the anti-Pope Clement III. to Italy. Rome was taken; but still Gregory refused all overtures of peace, and shut himself up in the castle of St Angelo, till the Norman duke, *Robert Guiscard*, restored him to liberty in 1084. Gregory died the following year at Salerno.

It was the great object of Hildebrand's life to form a *universal theocracy*, of which the *Pope*, as vicar of Christ upon earth, and hence as possessing supreme power, should be the visible head. Not that the royal power was to be abrogated, or its independence limited; it was an institution of God, but its province extended only to secular matters, and any invasion of spiritual rights was to be corrected and punished by the Pope. In this grand papal theocracy, which itself was subject only to God and His law, all Christian states were to be joined together as members of one body. It was the spiritual power which consecrated and bestowed divine sanction upon secular rulers; they reigned by the grace of God, but mediately, not immediately—the Church being the medium between them and God. The Pope was supreme arbiter and lord over them, to whose decisions they were implicitly to submit. The relation between royalty and the Papacy was similar to that between the sun and the moon, which imparted to the latter its lustre. As the Church gave its divine authority to secular rule, it might again withdraw it where power was abused, and in such cases subjects were absolved from their allegiance.—Admitting that this system was not consonant with the Gospel, it cannot be denied that during this period of transition it formed a necessary counterpoise to the arbitrary and despotic interferences on the part of the secular power. Gregory, and with him the ablest men of his age, considered that in this system alone lay the salvation of society, the sole and true preservation both of Church and State, of princes and peoples. And in a certain sense they were right. If the Church was to accomplish its great mission in the training of *those* nations on whom the future devolved, if it was not to perish amidst the barbarism of that period, it must have been concentrated and secured in a power such as, according to Gregory, the Papacy was intended to establish.—It was not to place his own individuality on the summit of human authority, but to preserve the Church from imminent destruction, that Gregory undertook his gigantic work. Not vulgar love of power nor vain ambition animated him, but the idea of the high destiny of the Church, to which he devoted his life with enthusiastic ardour. In such a service only would he have spent his high intellectual and moral powers. True, a strong individuality supported him in his struggles, but at the same time he always preserved the consciousness of being a poor sinner, who could find mercy only through the merits of the Saviour. Occasionally, indeed, his energy degenerated into passionate obstinacy, and his enthusiastic devotedness to the interests of the Church led him to forget what by Divine appointment was the province and authority of the State; but these exaggerations were provoked by the determined perversity with which he was met. Even his bitterest enemies could not impugn the strict morality of his conduct. However strict and unbending in matters which he deemed true or necessary, he displayed at the same time,



not unfrequently, a kindliness and liberality far in advance of his age, as, for example, in the dispute of Berengar (§ 132, 2), and in his decided opposition to the belief in witchcraft and magic, common at that period.

3. TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE ABOUT INVESTITURE (1085–1123).—The immediate successors of Hildebrand had been trained in his views, and adopted his policy. The contest between the imperial and papal parties still continued. URBAN II. (1088–1099), the second in the See of Peter after Gregory, was indeed obliged to vacate Rome in favour of Clement III., the imperial anti-Pope; but the enthusiasm for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre excited by *Peter of Amiens*, and with which at the *Council of Claremont* (1095) the Pope inspired Western Christendom, gave him the greatest influence among his cotemporaries. An army of crusaders chased the anti-Pope from Rome; and Urban was able to resist successfully the opposition of *Philip I.* of France, whom he had excommunicated at Clermont on account of his adulterous connection with Bertrada. Tidings of the *conquest of Jerusalem* (1099) reached the Pope on his death-bed. He was succeeded by PASCHALIS II. (1099–1118), who also had been trained at Clugny. This pontiff completely humbled Henry IV. by supporting the cause of his rebellious son. But no sooner had *Henry V.* (1106–1125) attained the object of his ambition, than the dispute about investiture commenced anew. The Pope, choosing to see the Church poor rather than in bondage, was obliged to conclude a treaty by which the right of investiture was conceded to the Church, on condition that all ecclesiastical fiefs obtained since the time of Charlemagne should be restored to the State (1110). The bishops and abbots, however, resisted this agreement, and rendered its fulfilment impossible. Henry took the Pope prisoner, and obliged him to make a new treaty, by which the investiture of bishops with ring and staff (the symbols of priestly authority) *before consecration* was formally acknowledged as a right belonging to the Emperor. But at a *synod held at Rome* (1112) the party of Hildebrand called the Pope to account. His concessions were declared invalid, and the Emperor excommunicated. The dispute now broke out afresh. Henry took Rome, and the Pope died in exile. At last the controversy terminated, so far as Germany was concerned, by mutual concessions under the pontificate of *Calixtus II.* (1119–1124). THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS (1122) settled that all elections of bishops were to be freely conducted according to the laws of the Church, but under the supervision of the Emperor; and that the right of spiritual investiture by ring and staff belonged to the Pope, while that of secular infiefment with the sceptre was conceded to the Emperor. This agreement was confirmed by the FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL OF LATERN in 1123 (called in the West the Ninth Œcumenical Council).—In *England* the same controversy had been earlier



brought to a close. Even *William the Conqueror* (1066-1087) had been guilty of gross simony. The abuse reached its highest point under the reign of his son *William Rufus*. *Ralph Flambard*, Archbishop of Canterbury, acted as the trusty adviser of the king in this nefarious traffic. During a severe illness William promised amendment, deposed Ralph (1093), and in his place appointed a well-known ecclesiastic, *Anselm*, Abbot of Bec (§ 132, 1, 3). But the good resolutions of the king vanished with his illness; he even ventured to insist upon payment of a large sum from Anselm in consideration of his promotion. As this was resisted by the new archbishop, the king confiscated the estates of the archiepiscopal see, and continued to oppress Anselm till he fled to Rome (1097). *Henry Beauclerc*, the son of William, who usurped the throne in violation of the claims of Robert, his elder brother, required the support of the clergy to maintain his position, and hence recalled the primate (1099), promising to abstain from every form of simony. During his stay in Rome, Anselm had attended and voted at a synod against lay investiture. Accordingly, he now refused to take even the oath of fealty; and as the king insisted upon this, left England a second time (1103), and lived for several years in exile at Lyons. *Pope Paschalis II.* took up his cause, and threatened to launch an interdict. Ultimately, however, the king and archbishop, with consent of the Pope, agreed, at a meeting held in the monastery of Bec, wholly to dispense with the ceremony of investiture by ring and staff, and to go through the formality of taking the oath of fealty (1106).

4. TO THE TIME OF INNOCENT III. (1123-1198).—A division among the cardinals led to a double election to the Papacy in 1130. INNOCENT II. (1130-1143) was for eight years kept out of Rome by his antagonist *Anaclete II.*; but the two oracles of that period, *Peter of Clugny* and *Bernard of Clairvaux*, declared in his favour, nor did they rest satisfied till the authority of Innocent had been recognised in the Eternal City. Meantime a dangerous opponent to the system of Hildebrand had unexpectedly arisen in the person of *Arnold of Brescia*, a young and enthusiastic priest. To him a complete surrender of all worldly possessions and authority appeared necessary for the regeneration of the Church; at the same time the ancient republic of Rome was to be restored, and to take the place of the Papal Government. Arnold was formally condemned by the *Second Lateran Council* (1139). But his appeals to the people had found an echo in many breasts. In 1143 the Romans renounced the secular rule of the Pope. This feeling continued till the time of EUGENE III. (1145-1153), the third Pope after Innocent, who again entered Rome, supported both by the influence of *Bernard of Clairvaux*, his teacher and friend, and by the newly awakened zeal for a *Second Crusade* (§ 124, 2). With HADRIAN IV. (1154-1159) commenced the contest between the Papacy and the *Hohenstaufen*

family, which lasted during a whole century, and ended in the extermination of that dynasty, when the Papacy reached the summit of its power and authority. *Frederic I. Barbarossa* (1152–1190) ascended the throne with the full determination of carrying into execution the ecclesiastical scheme of Charlemagne (whom he afterwards had canonised by his Pope, Paschal III.). In 1154 Arnold of Brescia fell into his hands. Frederic surrendered him to the Pope; the reformer was hanged, his body burned, and his ashes cast into the Tiber (1155). Still the Pope sought an occasion of dispute. At last Frederic consented even to hold the stirrup to the Pontiff, while he rejected with merited scorn the offer of the Romans, to receive from their hand the crown, and with it the government of the world. He was crowned by the Pope in 1155. Fresh dissensions with the Pope and the hostile attitude of the Lombards obliged the Emperor to pass a second time into Italy. There he held in 1158 a diet, at which the rights of the Emperor were expounded for the benefit of the Lombards and of the Pope. The indignation of the Pontiff was about to find vent in an anathema, when death overtook him. He was succeeded by ALEXANDER III. (1159–1181). Three imperial anti-popes died within a short period; and when the Emperor himself was defeated by the Lombard confederates at *Legnano* (1176), he was obliged to recognise Alexander as pontiff.—Shortly before, the Papacy had achieved in England a victory even more complete than this. *Henry II.* (1154–1189) was bent on recovering the former supremacy over the clergy, who now refused to acknowledge any other authority than that of the Curia. Among his councillors none seemed better fitted to aid him in carrying out this plan than *Thomas a Becket*, his chancellor, who accordingly was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. The king convoked an assembly of the estates of the realm at *Clarendon* (1164); and Becket was prevailed upon to take an oath to the anti-papal statutes there promulgated. But the Primate of the English Church soon altered his conduct; he did public penance for his thoughtless oath, from which Alexander III. solemnly absolved him. Becket had to flee, and in his exile in France continued to oppose his monarch. In 1170 a reconciliation took place. Thomas a Becket returned, to pronounce the ban upon all bishops who should submit to the statutes of Clarendon. Four knights took up an unguarded expression of the king, extorted from him in a moment of anger, and murdered the archbishop at the altar of his chapel. The Pope canonised the martyr of the Romish system, and the king was compelled to expiate his offence by submitting on the grave of his sainted enemy to a humiliating penance (1174). At the *Third Lateran Council* (the Eleventh Ecumenical) in 1179, it was decreed that in future a majority of two-thirds of the votes of cardinals should be required to render a papal election valid. *Frederic I.* died far from his country (§ 124, 3). His son, *Henry VI.*

(1190-1197), obtained the crown of Sicily by marrying Constance, the heiress to that country. He continued the measures which his father had taken to secure the supremacy of the Emperor. His opponent, *Pope Celestine III.* (1191-1198), a man ninety years of age, was too weak to resist the monarch. Soon afterwards Henry died, leaving an infant son, Frederic, only three years of age (1197).

5. INNOCENT III. (1198-1216).—For a time, during the pontificate of Celestine, it seemed doubtful whether the results achieved by the policy of Hildebrand would prove lasting. But in 1198 INNOCENT III., the greatest Pope whom Rome has ever seen, ascended the chair of Peter. With him the Papacy rose to the highest conceivable stage of influence and authority. In strength of mind and purpose Innocent was nowise inferior to Gregory; in learning, acuteness, and general ability, he was his superior; while his piety, moral purity, enthusiasm, and devotedness to the interests of the Church were at least as great, and perhaps more deep and ardent than in the case of his great predecessor. He came forward as the avenger of every species of wrong; towards widows and orphans he acted like a father; he proved a peacemaker both to peoples and princes; and although himself living in poverty and simplicity, he succeeded in accumulating such immense treasures as enabled him to adopt measures for protecting the interests of the Papacy. Indeed his history was that of the period, inasmuch as his influence extended to all countries and courts, not excepting that of Constantinople. Even where his theocratic authority as vicar of Christ was not at first recognised, he ultimately succeeded by his power and energy, by his prudence and wisdom, in extorting the homage claimed. It was the great aim of his life to achieve the *political independence* of the Papal See by strengthening the States of the Church, ridding Italy from foreign domination, and emancipating Sicily and Naples from the rule of Germany. But even this was only means to an end, —to secure the power of exercising *unlimited spiritual supremacy* over all Christian states, princes, and peoples.—The most important of his conflicts were those with Germany and England. On her death-bed, *Constance*, the widow of Henry VI., had committed to him the tutelage of her son Frederic, who had been recognised as Emperor even before his baptism. The Pope justified her confidence by giving to his pupil the most ample and liberal education. But the circumstances of Germany required without delay a strong ruler. The choice of the German nobles was divided; the Guelph party elected *Otho IV.*, the Ghibellines *Philip of Swabia*. In virtue of his theocratic authority, Innocent gave his sanction to the choice of the Guelphs. Scarcely, however, had Otho, after the murder of his rival, obtained the imperial crown, than he renewed the old claims upon Italy. The Pope anathematised him (1210), and elevated *Frederic II.* (1215-1250) to the imperial throne, after that prince had ceded Sicily in favour of Henry, his son. In



England, Innocent displayed his authority in a manner even more decisive. In consequence of a divided election there were two claimants to the See of Canterbury (1207). Innocent rejected both, and appointed *Stephen Langton* to the office. The resistance of King John was punished with excommunication and an interdict (1209). John, equally tyrannical and weak, hated by the nobles, despised by the people, and deposed by the Pope (1212), did penance, and received back his kingdom as a papal fief (1213). But soon afterwards the estates obliged the king to grant the *Magna Charta* (1215); the protest of the Pope, his threats of excommunication, and promise that their grievances should be otherwise redressed, were equally vain.—In *France*, Innocent obliged *Philip Augustus* to take back *Ingeburgis*, his wife, whom he had repudiated (1201). *Arragon* and *Portugal* submitted to a yearly tribute; he frequently interposed in the affairs of *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Dalmatia*, and *Norway*; lastly, he gave a king to *Bulgaria* and *Wallachia*. At the close of his life, and looking back upon the work he had achieved, he assembled in 1215 the representatives of the Church at the **FOURTH LATERAN SYNOD** (the Twelfth Œcumenical), where the Eastern patriarchs were also represented. The chief topics discussed in that assembly were a new *crusade*, the condemnation of the *Albigenses*, the doctrine of transubstantiation (which was formally approved), and the coronation of *Frederic II.*

6. To **BONIFACE VIII.** (1216–1294).—After the death of Innocent, *Frederic II.* entirely changed his conduct. Pope **HONORIUS III.** (1216–1227) absolved him from the obligation of separating Sicily from Germany. In return, the Emperor guaranteed to the Church the property left to it by the Countess Matilda, and promised to undertake a new crusade. The latter he delayed under various pretexts, till **GREGORY IX.** (1227–1241) carried into execution the threat of anathematising him. Upon this *Frederic* commenced the *Fifth Crusade* (1228), without, however, even requesting the removal of the papal ban. On his return, an apparent reconciliation took place (1230). But the energetic measures which the Emperor took to establish his supreme rule in Italy, soon brought upon him another anathema (1239)—this time on the charge of infidelity and blasphemy. It was said the Emperor had declared the miraculous birth of the Saviour a fable, and pronounced Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed the three greatest impostors, etc. These charges do not seem to have been wholly ungrounded, although the tractate “*De tribus impostoribus*” was certainly not written by the Emperor, being a later production, erroneously imputed to *Frederic* on the ground of those very charges made by the Pope. *Frederic* conquered the States of the Church, penetrated to the gates of Rome, and prevented the meeting of the General Council which had been summoned against him. Gregory died in 1241, and his successor *Cælestine V.*, after a pontificate of only seventeen days. Two



years the Papal See remained vacant; at length, INNOCENT IV. (1243-1254), formerly the friend of Frederic, but as pope his mortal enemy, was elected. Innocent fled to Lyons; and at the *First Council of Lyons* in 1245 (the Thirteenth Œcumenical) excommunicated and deposed the Emperor, as guilty of blasphemy and sacrilege. Neither Emperor nor Pope would yield. Each insisted on absolute submission, and the contest with pen and sword continued. Frederic died in 1250; Innocent four years later. URBAN IV. called in the aid of *Charles of Anjou*, the brother of Louis IX. of France, for the purpose of conquering Sicily. Treason had prepared the way. *Manfred*, the son of Frederic, fell in the battle of Benevento (1266), and *Conradin*, the grandson of Frederic, and the last of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, died on the scaffold, after the battle of Tagliacozzo (1268).—The Papacy had, indeed, obtained the victory; but its triumph was only apparent. The divisions in Germany and the partition of Italy only increased the power of France, and enabled that country effectually to subjugate the Papacy. The former enthusiasm for crusades was extinct, and with it a powerful bulwark of the Papacy had fallen. By a *pragmatic sanction* (1269) Louis secured, indeed, the French Church against simony, but at the same time, also, against the interferences and extortions of the popes,—thereby laying the foundation of the liberties afterwards claimed by the Gallican Church.—Some ultramontane writers have unsuccessfully attempted to prove that this document is a forgery, dating from the fifteenth century. Compare, for example, *Rösen*, *die pragm. Sanct. Münst.* 1855; and against this ultramontane production, *Soldan* in the “*hist. theol. Zeitschr.*” for 1856, III.—The successors of Innocent IV. could no longer control the supremacy of the French in Sicily; they hated their arrogant liberators, and countenanced the conspiracy which issued in the bloody *Sicilian Vespers* (1282). French influence was even exerted in elections to the Papacy. After the Papal See had remained vacant for three years, GREGORY X. (1271-1276) decreed in 1274, at the *Second Council of Lyons* (the Fourteenth Œcumenical), that in future the election of the cardinals should be conducted *in conclave*; and that, in order to accelerate a harmonious vote, their allowance of food should be daily decreased. Still the evil continued. After another vacancy of the Papal See which lasted two years, the antagonistic parties agreed in the choice of a pious but simple-minded hermit—CÆLESTINE V. (1294), who the same year consented to abdicate at the suggestion of the cunning and ambitious Cardinal Cajetan (§ 142, 6). Cajetan himself now ascended the papal throne, by the name of BONIFACE VIII.

## § 127. THE CLERGY.

After the tenth century, the institution of the canonical life gradually degenerated and decayed. The attempts made to reform these abuses, led to a distinction between “*Canonici seculares*” and “*regulares*.” The latter contended for the ancient discipline and order; but in course of time also shared in the general corruption. The most distinguished among the advocates of a stricter discipline were, *Geroch*, Provost of Reichersberg in Bavaria (*ob.* 1169); and *Norbert*, a canon, the founder of the Order of Præmonstrants (§ 128, 3). The *cathedral chapters* were in the habit of themselves filling up vacancies in their number; since the restoration of the old canonical mode of election, they also chose their bishops generally from among themselves, and without consulting the people. From the large incomes attaching to cathedral stalls, these posts were commonly filled by members of the aristocracy—an abuse against which the popes in vain protested. In the course of time the canons became more and more independent of episcopal control; they generally lived outside their chapters, and employed vicars to discharge their duties. The *bishops* exercised jurisdiction over all the clergy in their dioceses, and punished offenders by deposition or by imprisonment in a monastery. All causes connected with marriage, testamentary dispositions, oaths, etc., were also pled before their tribunals. The peculiarly German institution of *Sends* gave place to the *Roman* form of judicial administration. The *archdeacons* threw off the authority of their bishops, and used their power in so arbitrary a manner that, in the twelfth century, the office had to be abrogated. Their duties were henceforth discharged by episcopal *officials* and *vicars*. The office of *chorepiscopi* had ceased in the tenth century. During the Crusades a number of Catholic sees had, however, been founded in the East, the occupants of which retained their titles even after their expulsion, and found employment as assistants of Western prelates. This gave rise to the institution of *Episcopi in partibus* (sc. infidelium), which has continued ever since, in testimony of the inalienable rights of the Church.—The wealth of churches was greatly augmented, partly by tithes, legacies, donations (especially during the Crusades), and royal fiefs, partly from the increasing value of landed property. Of course the poor shared in the benefits of this growing prosperity. Ecclesiastical property was subjected to taxation only in times of public calamity. The

celibacy of the clergy preserved the Church from inevitable impoverishment, if its property had been allowed to descend to the children of the clergy, as at one time seemed likely to be the case.—Strict moralists, such as *Ratherius* (Bishop of Verona, *ob.* 974), and especially *Petrus Damiani*, Bishop of Ostia (*ob.* 1072)—the friend and admirer of Gregory VII., whose “*liber gomorrhianus*” contains a fearful picture of the dissoluteness of the clergy—and such monitors as *St Hildegard* and the Abbot *Joachim* (§ 138, 4), made fruitless attempts to arrest the moral degeneracy of the clergy. Gregory had, indeed, succeeded by his decrees in enforcing clerical celibacy, but not in putting an end to concubinage, and even to worse offences. The labours of *St Dunstan*, Archbishop of Canterbury (*ob.* 988), were greatly blessed to the moral elevation of the English clergy.—It must not, however, be forgotten, that, despite this corruption, a large number of the clergy were excellent and conscientious men; and that, even with a degenerate clergy, the clerical *office*, which the people knew to distinguish from its occupants, proved the salt of the age. Like other professions, the ecclesiastical reflected the features of a period, big not only with gross abuses, but with exalted virtues, deep thoughts, and great forces. The ignorance of the clergy, especially in respect of religious knowledge, proved even a greater hindrance than their immorality to the progress and prosperity of the Church. The Word of God was locked up from the people in a dead language, and only a very small proportion of the clergy were sufficiently educated or fitted to declare and expound its blessed truths.

1. The POLITICAL INFLUENCE acquired by the HIGHER CLERGY during this period was very great, especially in *Germany*. On more than one occasion did the sagacious, firm, and consistent measures advocated by the German clergy—forming as they did, under the leadership of the primates of Mayence, a united and compact body—preserve the empire from imminent ruin, or from division, through the folly of ambitious princes and lords. The influence of these prelates was not only derived from their sway over the consciences, but also from their having a standing in the Diet, and from the circumstance that they were territorial lords. The possibility of a war frequently depended on the consent or refusal of the spiritual princes to furnish contingents to the imperial army. The clergy desired to see Germany united and strong; the neighbouring countries were to be connected with the German Church, and to form part of the empire, but not, as the emperors wished, in the shape of personal domains, but as incorporated with the State. The

German clergy always opposed those expeditions of the emperors to Rome, which alienated the rulers from the distinctive interests of Germany and ruined the country. They desired to see the chair of Peter free and independent—a European, not a German institution—and the Emperor its protector, not its oppressor; but they also resisted every assumption and interference on the part of the popes. Such a type of the good old German prelates was *Willigis of Mayence*, to whom Germany owed one of its wisest and happiest administrations under the sway of *Henry II.*, whose elevation to the throne he had procured. Under *Henry IV.* the German clergy were divided into three parties. The Papalists were headed by *Gebhard of Salzburg*, and numbered almost all the Saxon bishops; the Imperialists were led by *Adalbert of Bremen*, who intended founding a northern Patriarchate independent of the Pope; while the purely German party was guided by *Anno of Cologne*, the last genuine representative of the ancient episcopal policy of the country. (Comp. *C. Grünhagen*, Adalb. v. Hamb. u. d. Idee eines nord. Patriarchates. Leips. 1854.) *Henry V.* and the first *Hohenstaufens* were vigorously supported by the German clergy. But want of proper respect on the part of *Frederic II.*, and his oppression of the bishops, entirely alienated the clergy from the crown.—During the time of *Otho I.* those *high imperial offices* originated, to whom, under the reign of *Otho IV.*, the exclusive right of nominating successors to the empire was entrusted. Thus the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne were elevated to the rank of *Spiritual Princes Electors*, as holding the office of arch-chaplains or arch-chancellors. These privileges and offices were confirmed and settled by the *Golden Bull* of Charles IV. (1356).

2. THE PATARIA OF MILAN. Among the Lombard clergy more than any other, simony, concubinage, and the marriage of priests were common. Accordingly, the changes introduced by Hildebrand met with most strenuous resistance in that country. The opposition was headed by *Wido* (Guido), Archbishop of Milan, whom Henry III. had in 1046 appointed to that diocese. Indeed, this prelate renewed the former claims of his see to spiritual independence, and even renounced his allegiance to Rome. Wido was supported by the nobility and clergy. But two deacons, *Ariald* and *Landulf Cotta*, organised a conspiracy among the common people, which their opponents, by way of derision, designated Pataria, Paterini (*i.e.*, blackguards). The papal party adopted this name, and began a warfare against married priests, which for thirty years led to continual scenes of violence and bloodshed.

## § 128. THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

COMP. *E. Vogt*, d. h. Franz v. Assisi. Tüb. 1840. *K. Hase*, Franc. v. Ass. Ein Heiligenbild. Leips. 1856.—*Lacordaire*, vie de



St Dominique. Par. 1841. *E. Caro*, d. h. Dominicus n. d. Dominicaner, übers. von C. W. Regensb. 1854.—*M. P. Lorain*, l'abbaye de Cluny. Par. 1838. *C. A. Wilkens*, Petrus d. Ehrw. ein Mönchs-Leben. Leips. 1857.—*W. F. Wilcke*, Gesch. d. Templerord. Leips. 1826. 2 vols. *Fulkenstein*, Gesch. d. T. O. Dresd. 1833. 2 vols. *Addison*, Hist. of the Knights Templars. Lond. 1841. *Vertol*, Hist. des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de S. Jean. 1761. 7 vols. *Falkenstein*, Gesch. d. Joh. O. Dresd. 1833. 2 vols. *Whitworth Porter*, Hist. of the Knights of St John. Lond. 1859.

Despite growing corruptions, *Monasticism* reached at this period its highest stage, and more than ever, before or after it, earned the title of “Knighthood of Asceticism.” A number of new monastic orders were founded as an offset to the degeneracy of older orders, partly in the form of branches (or so-called *congregations*) from the Benedictines, partly as independent institutions under a separate and distinct rule. Almost every day new monasteries rose—frequently also in cities. The *Order of Clugny*, which gave birth to so many of the ablest representatives of the High Church party (such as Dunstan and Hildebrand), proved one of the main instruments in elevating the Church and the Papacy from its decay during the tenth century. A smaller order, that of the *Camaldolites*, was also helpful in that direction. The monastery of *Clairvaux* disputed with that of *Clugny* the veneration of Christendom. To prevent too great a subdivision of the monastic orders, Innocent III., at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, prohibited the formation of any new society. But the Pope himself assisted in founding two new orders which, in importance and influence, soon surpassed all others—we mean the two celebrated *mendicant fraternities*. The monks acted as the standing army of the Papacy, and to them Gregory was chiefly indebted for the success of his policy. The popes readily exempted monasteries from the supervision of their diocesans; princes conferred dignities and offices on abbots; while the people which looked upon monasteries as representing the popular element in the Church, regarded these institutions with the greatest veneration. Legacies, donations, fiefs, and purchases swelled the wealth and increased the landed property attaching to monasteries.—From the tenth century monks were regarded as constituting a special *ecclesiastical* order (*ordo religiosorum*); the secular business of monasteries was entrusted to *lay brethren* (*conversi*). The monastic orders were distinguished from each other by different garbs. Frequently, however, disputes arose between these ecclesiastics and the secular clergy, as the monks too often and improperly

interfered with the duties and emoluments of the regular priests.—Besides these monastic orders, who were bound by a perpetual vow and a fixed rule, voluntary associations of men and women—the *Beghards* and *Beguins*—were formed. The members of these communities were not under any monastic constraint, but voluntarily agreed to retire from the world, and to devote themselves to their own spiritual advancement and to labours of Christian love.—In consequence of the enthusiasm evoked by the Crusades, the profession of monasticism was combined with knighthood. Thus the *knightly orders* originated, of which the members, under their grand-masters and commanders, were arranged into knights, priests, and serving brothers.

1. Soon after the reformation introduced by Benedict of Aniane (§ 115, 2), the Benedictine monasteries again degenerated in discipline and morality. Accordingly, *William*, Duke of Aquitaine, entrusted to *Berno*, a Burgundian count (*ob.* 927), who had already restored order in two Burgundian cloisters of which he was the abbot, the duty of founding a new monastery. Thus arose the celebrated Abbacy of *Clugny* (*Cluniacum*) in Burgundy, which its founder placed under the immediate supervision of the Pope (910). Under *Odo*, the successor of *Berno*, (*ob.* 942), a courtier, who had renounced the world during a dangerous illness, this monastery became the centre of a separate “CONGREGATION”—that of *CLUGNY*—which formed an offshoot from the Benedictine Order. The strict asceticism of these monks, the great splendour displayed in their celebration of all the rites of religion, their zeal for science and literature, their efforts for the education of youth, and lastly a succession of distinguished abbots—among them, especially *Odilo* (*ob.* 1048), the friend of *Hildebrand*, and *Peter the Venerable* (*ob.* 1156)—procured for the “congregation” an influence almost unexampled upon their cotemporaries. In the twelfth century it numbered no fewer than 2000 monasteries in France. At the head of this powerful order was the Abbot of Clugny; he appointed the *priors* of the subordinate monasteries. Under the rule of *Pontius*, a dissolute man who was deposed in 1122, the order decayed, but again rose when *Peter the Venerable* became its head. In Italy, the *CAMALDOLITE ORDER* occupied a position analogous to that of Clugny in France. It was founded in 1018 by *Romuald*, a scion of the ducal family of Ravenna, who built a monastery in Camaldoli (*campus Maldoli*), a desolate part in the Apennines. Nunneries were also erected in connection with these monasteries. Like the Order of Clugny, that of Camaldoli espoused the High Church cause, and acquired considerable influence upon their cotemporaries, although not to the same extent as their French brethren.—Twenty years later, *Johannes Gualbertus*, a Florentine, founded the *VAL-*

LAMBROSIAN Order, after the model of that of Camaldoli, in a shady vale (Vallis Umbrosa) of the Apennines. It was the first to receive *lay brethren* for the purpose of attending to temporal matters, that so the monks might observe their vows of silence and of strict confinement to the walls of their cloister.

2. From the year 1098, the CONGREGATION of CISTERCIANS, founded at *Cîteaux* (Cistercium) near Dijon by ROBERT, proved a rival to the popularity of the Order of Clugny, from which it differed by voluntarily submitting to episcopal supervision, and by avoiding all splendour in their churches and monasteries. Instead of the black garb of the Benedictines, the Cistercians wore a white habit; otherwise, their constitution was similar to the rule of the Order of Clugny. The order enjoyed comparatively small influence, till the fame of BERNARD, ABBOT OF CLAIRVAUX—a monastery dependent on the institution at Cîteaux—elevated it to the highest place in public esteem. In honour of him, the order assumed the name of Bernardines. On St Bernard, comp. below, § 133, 1. In the thirteenth century the order numbered no fewer than 2000 monasteries and 6000 nunneries. The jealousy subsisting at one time between the monks of Clugny and those of Cîteaux gave place to more proper feelings, chiefly through the intimacy of St Bernard with Peter the Venerable.

3. The following were the most important among the numerous other monastic orders at the time of Innocent III.:—1. The ORDER OF GRAMMONT in France, founded by *Stephen of Tigerno* (1073). It professed no other rule than the Gospel; its members led a quiet, humble, and unpretending life. But the arrogance of their lay brethren led to its decay in the twelfth cent. 2. The ORDER OF FONTEVRAUX, founded in 1096 by *Robert of Arbrissel* at Fontevraux (Fons Ebraldi), in Poitou. The founder travelled through the country summoning all to repentance, and reared nunneries for maidens, widows, and fallen females. The lady-abbess, who was regarded as the representative of the Blessed Virgin, the patroness of the order, had the supervision even of the priests employed by these nuns. 3. The CARTHUSIANS, founded by *Bruno of Cologne*, Principal of the Cathedral School at Rheims (1084). From disgust at the dissolute life of Manasse, his archbishop, he retired with some like-minded friends into a solitary valley near Grenoble, called *Chartreuse*. He imposed on his monks the obligations of most rigid asceticism, of strict silence, study, prayer, and contemplation. 4. The ORDER OF PRÆMONSTRANTS. Its founder *Norbert* (1121) had been a rich and worldly canon at Xanthen, in the diocese of Cologne. His conversion was completed during a furious tempest, when the lightning struck close by him. He now changed not only his own conduct, but attempted to introduce a reformation among his colleagues. Baffled in this, he retired with a few friends into the desolate valley of Prémontré (Præmonstratum), near Laon.



His rule imposed on his followers the ordinary duties of the cure of souls, while at the same time it bound them to a life of rigid monasticism. When on a visit to Spire, where at the time the Emperor, papal legates, and deputies from the clergy of Magdeburg were met, he was chosen Archbishop of Magdeburg, and was received with great pomp in his diocese, still wearing the habit of his community. The order numbered many monasteries and nunneries.

5. The ORDER OF THE CARMELITES was founded (1156) by *Berthold* of Calabria, a crusader, who along with some companions settled in the cave of Elijah on Mount Carmel. The Patriarch of Jerusalem drew up a very rigid rule for them. When expelled by the Saracens, the order settled in Europe (1238), and became a mendicant fraternity. The Carmelites traced their origin to no less a personage than Elijah himself, and stoutly denied that their order had been founded by Berthold. They also maintained that the Blessed Virgin in person had handed to *Simon Stock*, the general of the order, the holy Scapulary as its distinctive badge, with the promise, that whoever died wearing it, was sure of eternal bliss. Every Saturday the Virgin descended into purgatory to fetch thence the souls of those who had worn the Scapulary. 6. The ORDER OF TRINITARIANS (called also “ordo sanctæ Trinitatis de redemptione captivorum”) was founded by Innocent III. for the redemption of Christian captives. 7. The HUMILIATI in the eleventh cent.—an association of pious trades-people at Milan, of which the members wrought at their crafts—had their possessions in common, and engaged in spiritual exercises. The fraternity declined in the sixteenth cent.

4. THE MENDICANT ORDERS originated in the desire of literally carrying out the vow of poverty. The idea was first conceived by ST FRANCIS, the son of a rich merchant at *Assisi* (born 1182). He seems to have been greatly struck by the injunction of the Saviour (Matt. x. 8–10) to His disciples, to go forth carrying neither gold nor silver, staff nor scrip. Accordingly, he gave away all his property, and henceforth depended on charity for the necessities of life. Cursed by his father, sometimes derided by the populace as mad, at others worshipped as a saint, he travelled through the East and West, everywhere calling to repentance (from 1208). His complete renunciation of the world and of self, the simplicity of his faith, the ardour of his love towards God and man, and the deep treasures of his poverty, made St Francis appear like a heavenly stranger in the midst of a selfish world. His sympathy with nature was truly marvellous. In childlike simplicity, he would hold converse with the birds of the air and the beasts of the field as with brothers and sisters, calling upon them to praise their Maker; in fact, the saint seemed again to restore the original position of man towards the lower creation. When attempting to address the Pope and his cardinals in a set oration, he utterly broke down;



but when he addressed them in language unprepared, and coming directly from the fulness of his heart, his speech was like a mighty stream sweeping away all resistance. Innocent III., "overcome by his simplicity and humility, allowed the strange saint to go on." (According to an old legend, he had first ordered him to take up his abode with swine,—an injunction which the saint literally obeyed.) *Honorius III.*, the successor of Innocent, gave in 1223 his formal sanction to the association which had gathered around Francis, and bestowed on the order of the *Fratres minores* (MINORS or FRANCISCANS) the right of preaching and exercising the cure of souls in any district or country. But according to the idea of the founder, the order was to preach by deeds of complete self-abnegation rather than by words. Its peculiar garb consisted of a brown habit with a hood; a rope round the waist served as girdle. This contempt of the world, combined with unfeigned humility, and ardent, self-denying love, made a deep impression on their cotemporaries, and procured for the order the designation of *seraphic*. A female branch of the order (the SISTERHOOD OF ST CLARE) was founded in 1212 by *Clara*, a noble virgin of Assisi. St Francis drew up a rule for this sisterhood. The fraternity of TERTIARIES (*Tertius ordo de pœnitentia*) consisted of persons who were allowed to continue in the world, but were bound by a semi-monastic rule, drawn up by St Francis. The church of *Portiuncula*, at Assisi, became the great centre of the Franciscan Order, and successive popes enriched this sanctuary with the most plenary indulgences. St Francis died in 1226, stretched on the pavement of this church, and literally naked as he had entered the world. A legend bears that during the last two years of his life the saint had borne the marks of the crucifixion of the Saviour (stigmata), which, during a trance, a seraph had impressed on his body. The story, though strenuously attested by many witnesses, does not bear the test of impartial criticism (comp. *Hase*, u. s.). *Gregory IX.* canonised him in 1228. In the fourteenth century the General Chapter of the Franciscans at Assisi gave its sanction to a book, entitled "*Liber Conformitatum*," by one Bartholomew of Pisa, which enumerated forty points of similarity between Christ and St Francis. At the time of the Reformation a new edition of it appeared, with a preface by Luther, bearing the title, "*Der Barfüssermönche Eulenspiegel und Alkoran*" (the Joe Miller and Koran of the Barefooted Monks).

Even while St Francis was alive, *Elijah of Cortona*, who during the absence of the saint in the East had been entrusted with the superintendence of the order, had attempted to soften its rigid discipline. St Francis resisted the innovation; but when, after his death, Elijah was nominated general of the order, he carried out his project. The more rigid party joined *St Anthony* of Padua, who lived and acted in the spirit of St Francis, and even preached to fishes when men refused to give audience. Violent discussions

arose within the order, and Elijah was twice deposed. He afterwards supported the cause of *Frederic II.*, and was excommunicated along with him, but again reconciled to the Church before his death (1253). The fanaticism of the rigid party increased in proportion as their more lax opponents grew in number. The popes supported the majority. At length the disputants separated. The milder party (*fratres de communitate*) strove to reconcile the principles of their founder respecting poverty with their actual tenure of property by distinguishing between absolute possession and usufruct, and by the formality of making over their possessions to the Romish Church. The stricter party (*spirituales, zelatores, Fratricelli*) gradually became avowed opponents of the Church and of its rulers, who had disowned them, and even denounced the Pope as Antichrist. Comp. § 138, 4.

The *Order of the Dominicans* was founded by DOMINICUS GUZMAN (born in 1170), the scion of a noble Castilian family. Dominic was a priest at Osma, and a man of considerable prudence and learning. From zeal for the salvation of souls, he, along with some associates, went to the south of France (1208), there to labour for the conversion of the Albigenses. In 1215 he made a pilgrimage to Rome. Innocent III. gave to this order a rule, which was afterwards enlarged by Honorius III. The DOMINICANS, or ORDER OF PREACHERS (*ordo fratrum prædicatorum*), were empowered everywhere to preach and to hear confession, for the special object of restoring heretics to the bosom of the Church by their sermons and teaching. At a later period (1220) Dominic and his order adopted the rule of St Francis, and became a mendicant fraternity. He died in 1221, pronouncing an anathema on any one who should contaminate his order by bestowing upon it worldly possessions. Dominic was canonised by Gregory IX. A female branch of the order was formed by some of his Albigensian converts. Like the Franciscans, the Dominicans had male and female Tertiaries (*fratres et sorores de militia Christi*).

Various circumstances combined to give these two orders an extraordinary popularity. Not only did they specially meet the wants of the time, but the fact that they required no endowment, and obtained considerable privileges from the popes, enabled them to spread rapidly throughout Western Europe. Each of these orders was under the supreme rule of a *general*, who resided at Rome; *provincials* superintended the monasteries of particular countries; while every monastery had its own *guardian* (among the Franciscans) or *prior* (among the Dominicans). From the first the Dominicans gave themselves to literary pursuits; their primary object—the conversion of heretics—rendering such studies necessary. Afterwards, they also displayed considerable zeal in missionary labours; but their influence proved greatest in the academic chair. Thus incited, the Franciscans also began to cultivate these

departments of labour, and sought to obtain a standing in the universities. The veneration shown them by the common people, who preferred confessing their secrets to such migratory mendicants, excited the envy of the secular clergy, as their increasing influence in the universities, that of the learned. The opposition to their growing interference was chiefly carried on by the University of Paris. *William of St Amour*, a doctor of that college in 1256, characterised them, in his controversial tractate, "*De periculis novissimorum temporum*," as the forerunners of Antichrist. To this attack learned members of the order (such as Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura) replied, and they were supported both by papal authority and royal power. But no sooner was this contest ended, than the former jealousy and rivalry subsisting between the two orders reappeared. The feeling of hostility increased as on scholastic questions they took opposite sides. Comp. § 134, 1.

Only two other mendicant orders of later origin attained great influence, viz. : the AUGUSTINES, whom Pope *Alexander IV.* drew from the members of monastic orders which had been scattered (1256); and the SERVITES (*Servi b. Mariæ Virg.*), instituted by seven pious Florentines for the service of the Virgin Mary, in 1233—an order very popular both in Italy and Germany.

5. The BEGUINS AND BEGHARDS.—Comp. *Mosheim*, de Beghardis et Beguinabus. Lps. 1790. *E. Hallmann*, Gesch. d. Urspr. d. belgischen Beghinen (Hist. of the Orig. of the Beg. in Belg.). Berl. 1843.—Female associations of Beguins existed undoubtedly prior to those of the Beghards. But the exact period when they arose, and even the origin of the name, are matter of controversy. Older historians were wont to trace the Beguins to *St Begga*, a daughter of Pepin of Landen, in the seventh century; but on no other ground than the similarity of name. *Mosheim* derived the name from the word *beggen*, to pray; latterly, however, *Hallmann* has shown, on grounds which to us seem convincing, that both the name and the association were derived from *Lambert le Beghe*, a celebrated preacher at Lieges during the twelfth century. The BEGUINS took the three monastic vows, but only for the period during which they remained members of the society. They were free to leave the society at any time, to marry, or to undertake other duties. They placed themselves under the superintendence of a lady-superior and of a priest, and lived in what was called a *Beginagium*, or curtis Beguinarum, which generally consisted of a number of small houses within a common enclosure. Each of the Beguins kept house for herself; on entering the society, they entrusted their property to the community, and received it back on leaving. The Beguins employed themselves in manual labour—such as sewing, washing, or taking charge of the sick; they were also engaged in teaching young females, or attending to the spiritual wants of their own sex. Any profit derived from these employments was applied in works of



charity. Each association wore a distinctive habit. They soon spread over Belgium, Germany, and France. By and by male associations of the same kind, and for the same purposes (the *Beghards*), were founded. These supported themselves also by manual labour, especially by weaving. But in the course of the thirteenth century such associations became greatly demoralised. Brothers and sisters of the Free Spirit (§ 144, 3), Fratricelli, and other heretics, sought refuge among them from the persecutions of the Church, and infected them with their errors. Accordingly, the Inquisition directed its inquiries to their doings, and many of their members were executed, especially in the south of France. At the Fifteenth General Council of Vienne in 1311, eight heretical tenets, supposed to be held by them, were condemned. A number of their houses were closed; others only allowed to continue on condition of their inmates joining the Franciscan or Dominican Tertiaries. Pope John XXIII. (1410–1415) again extended protection to them, when the communities of Beguins once more increased. But their growing dissoluteness, and concubinage with Beghards and secular priests, obliged the secular and spiritual authorities to interfere. At the time of the Reformation these houses were secularised; in Belgium alone, some of their communities still exist.

6. The members of the KNIGHTLY ORDERS took, besides the three monastic vows (of poverty, chastity, and obedience), that of continual contest with the infidels. Among these orders we reckon: 1. The ORDER of the TEMPLARS, founded by *Hugh de Payens* (1118), for the protection of pilgrims in the Holy Land. They wore a white cloak, with a red cross on the breast. St Bernard warmly interested himself in favour of this order, and accordingly procured a large accession to its membership. When St Jean d'Acre fell (in 1291), the Templars retired to Cyprus; but soon afterwards returned to the West, when Paris became the headquarters of the order. The name of the order was derived from the circumstance, that the palace which King *Baldwin* of Jerusalem assigned for their use, was built on the site of the temple of Solomon. 2. Originally the KNIGHTS OF ST JOHN, or *Hospitallers*, were ordinary inmates of a monastery, whose special duty it was to take charge of sick pilgrims, to relieve their wants, and to extend hospitality to them (founded in 1099). With these duties *Raymond du Puy*, the second general of the order, combined in 1118 the obligation of fighting against the infidel. They wore a black dress, with a white cross on the breast, and had a red cross on their banners. When expelled by the Saracens, they settled first in *Rhodes* (1310), and lastly in *Malta* in 1530. 3. The Order of the TEUTONIC KNIGHTS consisted also, at first, of the inmates of an hospital, or inn, founded during the siege of St Jean d'Acre, in 1190, by some citizens of Bremen and Lubeck. The knights wore a white cloak, with a black cross on the breast. At a later period the order



settled in *Prussia*, where in 1237 it amalgamated with that of the BRETHREN OF THE SWORD.—During the contest with the Moors several knightly orders were founded in *Spain*. The most important of these was the *Order of Calatrava*, founded by *Velasquez*, a Cistercian monk, for the purpose of defending the town of Calatrava. In 1164 it obtained the formal sanction of Pope Alexander III. At present, like the Order of Malta, it is only an honorary distinction.

### § 129. ECCLESIASTICAL JURISPRUDENCE.

The forged Decretals of Isidore (§ 117, 2) were not the only collection of ecclesiastical laws made. But with the increase of such works, contradictions only multiplied, and no attempt was made to remove them. Among these compilations, that by *Burchard, Bishop of Worms*, about 1020, that by *Anselm, Bishop of Lucca* (ob. 1086), and that by *Ivo, Bishop of Chartres* (ob. 1025), were the best known. In the twelfth century, *Gratian*, a Camaldolite monk at Bologna, undertook the difficult task of making a complete collection of these laws, and of solving the contradictions with which they abounded, by means of certain scholastic deductions. The work, which appeared about the year 1150 under the title “*Concordantia discordantium canonum*,” commonly bears the name of *Decretum Gratiani*. This work gave a fresh impulse to the study of ecclesiastical law, especially in the universities of Paris and Bologna. While the so-called *Legists* lectured on Roman law, the *Decretists* taught canonical law, wrote commentaries on the work of Gratian, and made compilations similar to his. To put a stop to the confusion which threatened to ensue, *Gregory IX.* commissioned, in 1234, *Raymundus de Pennaforti*, a Dominican, to make a new compilation (*Decretum Gregorii*, consisting of five books), which, besides the older decretals, contained his own and those of his immediate predecessors. This work served as text-book for the lectures delivered at Paris and Bologna. To this collection Boniface VIII. added a sixth book, containing his own decretals; and lastly, *Clement V.*, those issued under his pontificate, with the special title of *Clementina*. To this compilation the most important decretals of later popes were added, in the year 1500, under the title of *Extravagantes*, which completed the *Corpus juris canonici*.

## III. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND CONTROVERSIES.

COMP. *H. Ritter*, *Gesch. d. christl. Philos.* Vols. III. IV.—*H. Schmid*, *d. Mystic. d. M. A. in s. Entstehungssper.* (*Mystic. of the M. A. dur. the Per. of its Orig.*). Jena 1824. *A. Helfferich*, *d. christl. Mystik in ihrer Entw. u. ihr. Denkm.* (*Chr. Myst., its Develop. and Monum.*). Gotha 1842. 2 Vols. *J. Görres*, *d. chr. Myst. Regensb.* 1836. 3 Vols. *Vaughan*, *Hours with the Mystics.*

## § 130. GENERAL VIEW OF SCHOLASTICISM.

Notwithstanding the intellectual decay of the Middle Ages, that period witnessed the growth of one of the most remarkable productions of the human mind, which can only be likened to those cathedrals reared in the Gothic style. SCHOLASTICISM, which derived its name from the cathedral and monastic *schools* where it originated, has aptly been designated as “the knighthood of theology.” In liberality and enthusiasm, loyalty and perseverance, courage and ardour, the schoolmen emulated the knights properly so-called; only that their weapons were not the sword and lance, but speculation and dialectics; and their ideal not knightly honour, but ecclesiastical orthodoxy. It was the great object of scholasticism to analyse Christian dogmas by means of dialectics, to develop them by speculation, and to show their inherent truth and necessity. Generally speaking, scholasticism adopted, expounded, and defended the ecclesiastical views already in vogue (*dogmatism*); sometimes, however, a *sceptical* tendency also appeared—at least for a time. In the latter case, certain philosophical principles were laid down, and it was attempted by means of these to harmonise reason with ecclesiastical dogmas. Along with scholasticism, sometimes in combination, at others in antagonism with it, another tendency appeared. If scholasticism sought rationally to elucidate and develop theology, it was the object of MYSTICISM to apprehend the salvation offered by the Church not by means of the intellect, but by the feelings, and to develop it not by dialectics, but by inward contemplation. These intellectual strivings, which continued throughout the Middle Ages, may historically be arranged into four periods, each of which almost comprised a century. 1. The first traces of the new science occur during the tenth century—a period in other respects intellectually barren, and aptly called the “*Seculum obscurum*.” The distinctive features of scholasticism, however, did not yet appear.

2. These tendencies became more manifest during the eleventh century, at first in the form of dialectics, which again took either a sceptical or dogmatical turn, and led to a contest betwixt these two directions. 3. During the twelfth century, mysticism appeared as a distinct tendency by the side of the dialectics of the schoolmen. The conflict which now ensued between mysticism and sceptical dialectics ultimately ended in an alliance with dogmatic dialectics, which proved mutually useful. 4. During the thirteenth century, dialectic scholasticism, or dogmatism, attained its highest stage. Generally speaking, the former alliance with mysticism was continued, although some of the schoolmen again tended towards scepticism.

1. NURSERIES OF SCHOLASTICISM.—At the close of the eleventh century, UNIVERSITIES were planted for the same purposes as the cathedral and monastic schools, only with a wider range of subjects in view. These seminaries originated independently both of State and Church, of Emperor and Pope. Celebrated teachers appeared in the larger cities; pupils from all countries gathered around them; by and by other lecturers joined those who had first taught in these cities; and then teachers and scholars constituted themselves by mutual agreement into an independent corporation, and thus the University was founded. But this designation did not imply anything like a “*universitas literarum*,” in which all the sciences should be cultivated.—Separate faculties for different sciences did not as yet exist; and where the number of teachers and students rendered some division necessary, it was made according to nations, not sciences. The name University was only intended to designate the “*universitas magistrorum et scholarium*” as an organised society. The studies carried on in these seminaries were called “*studium generale*” or “*universale*,” because every person had free access to the lectures. At first *one* special science was particularly—sometimes even exclusively—cultivated in different universities. Thus theology was studied at *Paris*, at *Oxford*, and at a later period at *Cologne*; jurisprudence at *Bologna*; and medicine at *Salerno*. The first university expressly founded for the cultivation of all sciences was that which *Frederic II.* instituted at *Naples* in 1224. Our present arrangement into faculties originated from the circumstance, that the mendicant orders in Paris, being proscribed by the other teachers in the University (§ 128, 4), constituted themselves into a separate theological faculty (1259). The number of students in the universities—among them many persons advanced in life—was very large, amounting in the most celebrated seats of learning occasionally to from 10,000 to 20,000. All the members of the congregation of Clugny had to pass through a curriculum of ten years (two years being devoted to Logicalia, three years to Literæ Naturales et Philosophicæ, and five years to Theology). The



Council of Tours enjoined, in 1236, that every priest should go through a preparatory course of five years' study. (Comp. *C. E. Bulæus*, Hist. univ. Paris. et aliarum univers. Par. 1665. 6 Voll. f. *A. Wood*, Hist. et ant. univ. Oxon. Oxon. 1674. 2 Voll. f. *Dubarle*, H. de l'Univ. Par. 1829. *Crevier*, Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris. Par. 1761. 7 Tom. 12. *Chr. Meiners*, Gesch. d. hohen Schulen. [Hist. of Univ.]. Göttg. 1802. *V. A. Huber*, d. engl. Univ. Cassel 1839. Vol. I.).

2. The writings of *Aristotle* were introduced among the learned of the West by the Moors of Spain, who since the eleventh century had successfully prosecuted these studies. The PHILOSOPHY OF SCHOLASTICISM was derived from the dialectics of Aristotle, whose works were translated into Latin, either from the Arabic (with the Commentaries of *Avicenna*, ob. 1036, of *Ghazali*, ob. 1111, and of *Averrhoës*, ob. 1217), or else directly from the Greek. Hitherto the philosophy of Aristotle had only been known at second hand, chiefly from the writings of Boethius. But now, when scholars had the opportunity of perusing the works of the "master" himself, their study was prosecuted with great enthusiasm. At the commencement of the thirteenth century this philosophy was for a short time in disrepute, and the study of Aristotle prohibited by ecclesiastical ordinance—the origin of the pantheistic sect of the Holy Spirit being traced to the teaching of the Stagyræite. But when by the extinction of the sect this danger was at an end, *Gregory IX.* again authorised the favourite study (1231); and such was the esteem in which Aristotle was held, that he was ranked with John the Baptist as the precursor of Christ, and that on all scientific questions his writings enjoyed the same authority in the Church as that of the Bible and tradition in matters of faith. At the same time, there was also in the Middle Ages a school attached to the philosophy of Plato. The study of the writings of Augustine and of the Areopagite pointed towards Platonism, while the school of speculative mystics was always opposed to the exclusive claims set up on behalf of Aristotle.—*Scholasticism* started with a speculative inquiry about the relation subsisting between thinking and being, or between the idea of a thing and its essence. In answer to this question, the NOMINALISTS, following up the views of the Stoics, maintained that those general conceptions or generic ideas (universalia) which constitute the common essence of a genus, were merely intellectual abstractions (nomina) derived from the common properties of individual objects, and possessing no real existence beyond the human intellect (universalia POST res). The REALISTS, on the other hand, insisted on the reality of these general conceptions, and believed in their objective existence prior to and beyond the mere thinking of man. The Realists were divided into two sections: the one, adopting the Platonic view of ideas, held that these general conceptions existed prior to the actual origin of individual objects, being their *archetypes* in the



Divine reason ; and that hence they also existed in the intellect of man, even *before* he came to the contemplation of things as outwardly presented to him (universalia ANTE *res*). The other school of Realists, following in the wake of *Aristotle*, held that these general conceptions were inherent *in* the objects themselves, and thence passed by experience into the intellect of man (universalia IN *rebus*). Hence the former school of Realists expected to reach the essence of things (or truth) by pure thinking, through the ideas innate in the intellect of man, while the second school expected to attain that result by a contemplation of things through *experience and thinking*.

3. OBJECT AND METHOD OF SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY.—The theological studies carried on during the rule of the Carolingians had been directed exclusively to practical objects, and fostered or prosecuted by practical men (such as princes, bishops, and abbots) with the view of meeting present ecclesiastical wants. But from the eleventh century this was no longer the case. Gradually practical objects, and the immediate requirements of the Church, gave place to purely scientific pursuits. Theological studies and writings now breathe a spirit of speculation; the ancient dogmas of the Church are explained and defended in a philosophical manner ; and the great aim is to convert what had been object of faith into logical truths, and to arrange Christian doctrines into a compact system. For this purpose the schoolmen employed *dialectics*, in order by means of it to resolve and analyse the dogmas of the Church into their constituent ideas, to explain and to demonstrate them, to marshal and to combat all possible objections raised by scepticism, with the view of thus establishing and proving the rationality of the dogmas of the Church. Withal, no attempt was, however, made to place these doctrines on an exegetical basis, or to prove their truth from Scripture ; philosophic proof was the only object sought, and dogmatics and ethics the only departments of scholastic theology. If exegesis was at all cultivated, writers either adopted the old allegorical method or composed *catenæ*, while historical theology was entirely neglected. The mystics among the schoolmen, on the other hand, sought more than merely to understand, to vindicate, and to compose a system of dogmatics. They recommended the practice of contemplation, by which thinking and feeling would descend directly into the depths of Divine truth, there to behold, to experience, and to enjoy what was Divine. The necessary condition for this was purity of heart, deep love to God, and complete abnegation of self. What had thus been perceived in contemplation, discovered by means of speculation, or experienced in immediate contact with the Divine, was afterwards to be presented in a scientific and systematic form.

## § 131. THE SECULUM OBSCURUM (TENTH CENTURY).

COMP. *A. Vogel*, *Ratherius von Verona u. d. 10 Jahrh.* Jen. 1854. 2 Vols. *M. Büdinger*, *über Gerbert's wissenschaftl. u. pol. Stellung.* (On the Scientif. and Pol. Place of Gerbert). 1 Sect. Kass. 1851. *Fr. Hock*, *Gerbert u. s. Jahrh.* Vienna 1837. *Engelhardt*, *Kirchengesch. Abh.* Erl. 1832. No. 5.

The darkness and ignorance of the tenth century, which also witnessed the deepest decay of the Papacy, contrasts most unfavourably not only with the culture and the science which at the time flourished in the portion of Spain subject to the Moors, more especially at the celebrated school of Cordova, but with the learning and activity of the Church during the preceding (ninth) century. The efforts of *Alfred* the Great, and their results, ceased with the life of that monarch (*ob.* 901). But in 959 the reformatory labours of *Dunstan* (§ 127) were crowned with success, and with them both the interest and the zeal for theological and national culture again revived; while the connection between the family of the Emperor *Otho* and Byzance proved the means of awakening, to some extent at least, a desire for the revival of classical lore. Towards the close of the century, the literary activity of the Moors attracted the attention of Western Christendom, and incited to imitation. Thus the seeds of learning were once more scattered over Europe.

1. The writings of *ROSWITHA*, a learned nun in the convent of Gandersheim (*Helen of Rossow, ob.* 984), who made religious subjects the text of comedies composed after the model of Terence, may serve as index of the classical learning of that period.—*Dunstan* was ably supported in his labours by *ETHELWOLD*, Bishop of Winchester, a prelate who with his followers zealously prosecuted the study of the Anglo-Saxon tongue. The most celebrated of his pupils was *ÆLFRIC* of Malmesbury, a monk, who preached in the Anglo-Saxon, and commenced a translation of the Bible into that language.—*NOTKER LABEO*, Abbot of St Gall, *ob.* 1022, translated the Book of Psalms, the Organon of Aristotle, the Moralia of Gregory the Great, and a number of the tractates of Boethius into the old German. *RATHERIUS*, Bishop of Verona, and afterwards of Lieges (from both which seats he was repeatedly expelled, *ob.* 974), a rigid reformer and reprover of clerical dissoluteness, equally insisted on the duty of studying the Bible, and remonstrated against all mere externalism in religion, against superstition and ecclesiastical abuses of every kind. On this account, and from his attachment to the interests of Germany, he frequently suffered persecution. *Ratherius* was certainly the ablest divine of the tenth century. Along with him we mention *ATTO*, Bishop of Vercelli, distinguished as an exe-

getical writer, a preacher, and a strenuous advocate of the Church against the oppression of the secular power (*de pressuris ecclesiæ*); *ob.* 960. ODO of Clugny composed hymns and homilies;—his *Collationum* Ll. III. contains a philippic against the corrupt morals of his time. Lastly, at the close of the century, we have GERBERT—*ob.* 1003—a man versed in classical and Arabic lore, highly celebrated as a theologian, mathematician, astronomer, and natural philosopher, but regarded by the people as a magician. His presence shed for the last time a passing lustre on the school of Rheims.—Among historians of the tenth century, LUITPRAND, secretary to Otho I., and afterwards Bishop of Cremona, *ob.* 972 (*Antapodosis*, *Hist. of Otho I.*); *Flodoard* of Rheims, *ob.* 966 (*Hist. eccl. Rhemensis*); RICHER, a monk and pupil of Gerbert (author of a history of his own time, 883–896); and *Widukind*, from 940, a monk at New Corbey (author of a Saxon hist. in 3 vols.)—deserve special notice.

### § 132. DIVISION AMONG THE DIALECTICIANS (ELEVENTH CENT.).

When in the eleventh century the Church rose from its late decay, the ardour for scientific and literary pursuits also revived. The anxiety so generally felt to put an end to former abuses and stagnation manifested itself also in every department of theological study. At first this new zeal appeared chiefly among the Cistercian monks and their brethren of Clugny; but towards the close of the century it extended to the various universities. The dialectic method was now almost exclusively employed in the discussion of theological questions; and dogmatism gained its first triumphs over scepticism in the Eucharistic controversy between  *Lanfranc* and *Berengar*, in that concerning the existence of God between *Anselm* of Canterbury and *Gaunilo*, and in the discussion between that prelate and *Roscellinus* about the Trinity.

1. The series of schoolmen opens with FULBERT, a pupil of Gerbert, and from 1007 Bishop of Chartres. Even before his elevation to the episcopate he founded at Chartres a theological school. His fame spread throughout Western Christendom, and students from all countries attended his seminary.—One of his pupils was BERENGAR of *Tours*, a canon and teacher in the cathedral school of his own city, and afterwards Archdeacon of Angers. His fame shed great lustre upon the school of Angers. For further particulars see below.—LANFRANC, the antagonist of Berengar, was first a monk, then Abbot of Bec in Normandy. In 1070 he was elevated to the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. Under his superintendence the school of Bec attained its highest eminence.—PETRUS DAMIANI, *ob.* 1072, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, a friend



of Hildebrand, and a zealous supporter of his views on the subject of simony, of clerical purity, monastic austerity, and priestly celibacy. His tractate, "*Liber Gomorrhianus*," contains an unsparing exposure of the vices of the clergy. His own indulgences consisted in retiring into his cell, there to scourge himself till the blood flowed from his shoulders.—ANSELM OF CANTERBURY, born at Aosta in Italy, educated in the monastery of Bec, of which he was afterwards abbot, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury, *ob.* 1109, *comp.* § 126, 3. It will be remembered that his courageous defence of the independence of the Church, at least in the sense of Hildebrand, cost that prelate three years of exile. Anselm has been compared to St Augustine, whose theology he adopted and developed. By a rare combination, he united acuteness with philosophic depth and ardent Christian feeling—the practical tendency with dialecticism, and even mysticism. Like his great model, he regarded faith as the necessary condition of all true knowledge, while, on the other hand, he aimed at elevating belief into knowledge ("*credo ut intelligam*"). His most celebrated tractate was that on the Incarnation of God ("*Cur Deus homo?*"), in which he defended, on philosophical grounds, and developed the doctrine of the vicarious atonement. Best ed. of his writings by *G. Gerberon*, Par. 1675 f. *Comp. G. F. Frank*, Anselm von Canterb. Tübg. 1842. *F. R. Hasse*, Ans. v. C. Leips. 1843, 1852. 2 Vols. *C. de Remusat*, Ans. de Cant. transl. into German by Würzbach.—ANSELMUS OF LAON (*Laudunensis*), surnamed Scholasticus, a pupil of his namesake of Canterbury. From 1076 he lectured with great success at Paris, where indeed he may be said to have originated the University. Afterwards he returned to Laon, became archdeacon and scholasticus, and founded a theological school; *ob.* 1117. His theological views were the same as those of his teacher. His "*Glossa interlinearis*" (being the Vulgate with brief interlineal exposition) was one of the favourite exegetical manuals of the Middle Ages.—WILLIAM OF CHAMPEAUX (*De Campellis*), the real founder of the University of Paris. He had for some time lectured with great success in that city on rhetoric and dialectics, when the fame of Anselm brought him to Laon. He returned to Paris in 1108, delivered theological lectures, and became archdeacon. Every year the number of his students increased. Among them was Abelard, whose arrogance and continual disputations, in which the celebrated teacher ultimately had to own himself worsted, so embittered his existence, that he retired from the chair. He died in 1113 as Bishop of Chalons.—Among the chroniclers of this century we mention the names of DITMAR, Bishop of Merseburg, *ob.* 1018; HERMANN *the Lame* (*Contractus*), a monk at Reichenau, *ob.* 1054; MARIANUS *Scotus*, a monk at Mayence, *ob.* 1086; LAMBERT of *Aschaffenburg*, a monk at Hersfeld, *ob.* 1100 (*Chronicon historicum apud Germanos*); and SIGBERT *Gemblacensis*, a monk at Gemblours, *ob.* 1113



## 2. EUCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY OF BERENGAR (1050-1079).

Berengar of Tours had adopted views concerning the Eucharist in direct opposition to the prevailing theory of Radbertus on the subject. He taught that the elements were indeed *changed*, and that the body of Christ was really *present* in the Eucharist; but he denied that this change was one of *substance*, or the presence *one of essence* (essentialiter). The presence of the body of Christ consisted in that of His *power* in these elements, and the change of the bread in the real manifestation of this power under the form of the bread. But in order to secure the presence of this power, *consecration alone* was *not* sufficient; it also needed *faith on the part of him who partook of it*, without which the bread remained an empty and powerless sign. These views he disseminated among his numerous pupils at Tours and Angers, without for some time meeting with opposition. But when he expressed them in an epistle addressed to *Lanfranc*, that divine entered the lists against him. At a *synod held in Rome* (1050), he was condemned unheard; at another synod held the same year at *Vercelli*, before which Berengar would have appeared, if in the meantime he had not been imprisoned in France, the tractate of Ratramnus on the Eucharist (which was erroneously ascribed to Erigena) was, in an excess of zeal, torn to pieces and consigned to the flames, and the views of Berengar were again condemned. Meantime Berengar had, by the intercession of influential friends, been restored to liberty, and made the acquaintance of Hildebrand, at that period legate of the Pope. While Hildebrand firmly believed that the bread and wine in the sacrament were really the body and blood of Christ, he probably took a middle view, equally avoiding the gross literalism of Radbertus and the opinions of Berengar. The legate disapproved of the fanaticism displayed by the opponents of Berengar, and at a *synod held in Tours* (1054) declared himself satisfied with a statement upon oath, that so far from denying the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, he regarded the consecrated elements as the body and blood of Christ. But even this formal acquittal did not satisfy the opponents of Berengar, who accordingly in 1059 undertook a journey to Rome, in the hope of securing, through the influence of Hildebrand, the protection of the Papal See. His expectations were doomed to disappointment, and he found himself confronted by a powerful party, under the leadership of Cardinal *Humbert*. At a synod held in Rome (1059) Berengar was obliged to consign his writings to the flames, and to subscribe a formula which in its gross literalism went far beyond even the expressions used by Radbertus. On his return to France he retracted his subscription, and once more defended, against Lanfranc and others, his former views. This step excited a fresh storm. Hildebrand, who in the meantime had been elevated to the Papacy (in 1073), vainly endeavoured to allay the dispute by getting Berengar to subscribe a formula which, in temperate language,

asserted the real presence in the Eucharist. The opposite party even ventured to attain the orthodoxy of the Pope himself; and Hildebrand was obliged, at a *second synod held in Rome* (1079), to insist upon a full and unambiguous declaration of belief in the conversion of the substance of the elements. Berengar was bold enough to appeal to his private interviews with the Pope,—when Hildebrand ordered him immediately to fall down and abjure his errors. Berengar tremblingly obeyed, and was dismissed with testimonials of orthodoxy, and the injunction to abstain from further discussions. Bent under the weight of years and sorrows, he retired to the island of St Come, near Tours, where he lived in solitude and penitence, a rigid ascetic, and died, in 1088, at a very advanced age, reconciled to the Church.—The principal treatise of Berengar, “*de Coena s. adv. Bereng.*,” was discovered by *Lessing* in the library of Wolfenbüttel, and has been edited by *Vischer*, Berol. 1834. Comp. *Lessing*, Ber. Turon. od. Ankünd. e. wicht. Werkes dess. (or Notice of an import. Tract. of his). Bruns. 1770. 4; *H. Sudendorf*, Ber. Tur. od. e. Sammlung ihn betr. Br. (or a Collect. of Letters concern. him). Hamb. 1850.

3. CONTROVERSIES OF ANSELM. I. Following up his philosophical views as a Realist, Anselm of Canterbury deduced an ontological and a *a priori* argument for the being of a God, and maintained that the idea of an entirely perfect Being was inherent in reason, real existence forming one of the necessary attributes of this Being. This argumentation he embodied in two treatises, the *Monologium* and the *Proslogium*. The unsatisfactory character of this ratiocination, however, was ably exposed by GAUNILLO of Marmoutiers, an Aristotelian Realist, who, in answer to *Anselm*, wrote the “*Liber pro insipiente*” (as Anselm had asserted that only an “*insipiens*” would deny that the existence of God could be demonstrated). Anselm replied in a tractate entitled “*Apologeticus c. Gaunilonem*,” and the discussion terminated without leading to any definite result.—II. Of greater importance was the controversy between Anselm and ROSCELLINUS, a canon of Compiègne. The latter, a Nominalist, asserted that our generic conception of the Deity was only an intellectual abstraction, and that the three Persons of the Godhead could not be spoken of as *Una Res* (ὁὐσία), as otherwise they must all have become incarnate in Christ. In a tractate, entitled “*De fide trinitatis et de incarnatione verbi contra blasphemias Rucelini*,” Anselm showed the fallacy of this argumentation. A synod held at Soissons in 1092 condemned Roscellinus as a Tritheist.

### § 133. SEPARATION AND REUNION OF DIALECTICS AND MYSTICISM.

In the writings of Anselm dialectics and mysticism had still been united; soon afterwards, however, their champions were marshalled

in opposite camps. The great representative of dialectic scepticism was *Abelard*, a man of singular boldness and acuteness, who had already come victorious out of many a contest. But he was obliged to succumb before his great opponent, *St Bernard*. Of less importance was the discussion between Bernard and *Gilbertus Porretanus*.—After the defeat of Abelard, the tendency which he represented was for a considerable time in the minority, nor indeed did it ever again assert itself in the same daring and reckless manner. In fact, dialectics was now chiefly employed in the support and explanation of the dogmas of the Church. Thus mysticism and dialectics were once more reconciled and combined for a common purpose. This union was accomplished by *Petrus Lombardus*, so far as dialectics, and by *Hugo* of St Victor, so far as mysticism was concerned. The combination proved mutually helpful; and if dialectics gained in depth and ardour, mysticism acquired scientific distinctness and precision.—But even at that time men were not wanting who perceived and exposed the defects and dangers of scholasticism, however much it was in repute at the period. Such divines chiefly inveighed against the neglect of Scripture in the study of theology, against the barrenness of scholastic speculations so far as the Christian life was concerned, and the vain wrangling and pedantry of the schoolmen.

1. THE CONFLICT.—PETRUS ABELARD was born in 1079 at Palais in Brittany. In acuteness, learning, dialectic readiness, and boldness of speculation, as well as in arrogance and disputatiousness, he far surpassed all his contemporaries. In Paris he attended the lectures of *William of Champeaux*, the most celebrated dialectician of his age. But soon the pupil silenced his teacher in public discussion. Abelard settled in *Melun* near Paris, where thousands of students attended his prelections. Soon afterwards he transported his school to Corbeil in order to be nearer Paris, and thence to the walls of that capital. Nor did he cease to provoke and to humble William, till the latter had to give place to him. In the hope of attaining yet greater distinction, Abelard now commenced the study of theology, under the tuition of *Anselm of Laon*. Very soon, however, the arrogant student deemed himself superior to this teacher also. He returned to Paris, where once more a crowd of enthusiastic students gathered around him. A canon, *Fulbert*, engaged him to instruct his niece *Heloise*—a woman equally distinguished for beauty, talent, and learning. Abelard gained her affections; but disdaining to bear the name of his wife, in order to enable her lover to attain the highest dignities in the Church, she was clandestinely married to him. As *Heloise* persisted in denying this marriage, and on that account was harshly used by her relatives, Abelard carried



her off to the nunnery of Argenteuil. The revenge of Fulbert was fearful; Abelard was surprised during the night, and mutilated. In shame and despair he fled to the monastery of St Denis; Heloise took the veil at Argenteuil. But his former pupils followed him to St Denis; and, yielding to their entreaties, he resumed his lectures. The supercilious and sarcastic manner in which he discussed the doctrines of the Church, excited powerful opposition; and at the *Synod of Soissons*, in 1121, Abelard was obliged to consign his textbook on theology (*Introductio in theologiam*) to the flames, and was condemned to imprisonment in a monastery. By the intercession of friends, he was again restored to liberty, and allowed to return to St Denis. But when he published the discovery that Dionysius of Paris had been a different person from the Areopagite, he was exposed to such violent persecution on the part of the monks, as to render it necessary for him to flee into a wood near Troyes. Thither also his pupils followed, and prevailed upon him again to resume his lectures. His hermitage became transformed into the large Abbey of "the *Paraclete*." Renewed persecutions induced him to transfer this cloister to Heloise, who in the meantime had become Abbess of Argenteuil, in which capacity she had met with opposition from her nuns. Abelard himself became abbot of a monastery in Brittany. After having for eight years vainly endeavoured to restore its monastic discipline, he once more appeared as teacher at St Genevieve near Paris. He wrote a work on ethics, entitled "*Scito te ipsum*;" re-edited his former manual, under the title "*Theologiæ Christianæ Ll. V.*;" and, by way of exposing the follies of traditionalism, composed a tractate, "*Sic et non*," which presented in juxtaposition a number of contradictory passages from the Fathers. His prelections excited great sensation. *St Bernard* was now induced to oppose views which were deemed so dangerous. At a *synod held in Sens* (1140), Abelard was declared a heretic. Pope *Innocent II.* condemned the writings impeached to the flames, and their author to imprisonment in a monastery. His last years were spent in retirement at Clugny, where, by intercourse with *Peter the Venerable*, his spirit mellowed. Ultimately a reconciliation was also effected between him and *St Bernard*. He died in 1142.—Reversing the statements of Augustine and of Anselm, that faith must precede knowledge, Abelard maintained that only what was known could be believed. Though professedly aiming to employ dialectics in defence of the teaching of the Church, yet, as he commenced by calling everything in question, he transformed each dogma into a problem which required to be proved before it could be received. Thus faith became merely an intellectual act, while at the same time the objects of faith were frequently narrowed to bring them in accordance with the requirements of supposed rationality. This remark applies especially to the views of Abelard about the Trinity, which little differed from the ancient heresy of Sabellian Modalism. (Comp. *F. C.*



*Schlosser*, Abälard u. Dulcin, Leben e. Schwärmers u. e. Philosophen. Life of an Enth. and of a Phil. Goth. 1807. *A. Wilkens*, Pet. Abäl. Brem. 1855. *M. Carriere*, Ab. u. Heloise. Giessen. 1844. *J. L. Jacobi*, Ab. u. Hel. Berl. 1850. *Ouvrages inédits d'Abelard publiés par Victor Cousin*. Par. 1836. *J. Berington*, Hist. of Ab. and Hel. Lond. 1787. *J. D. H. Goldhorn*, de summis princ. Theol. Ab. Lps. 1836.)

GILBERT DE LA PORREE (Porretanus)—teacher of theology at Paris, and from 1142 Bishop of Poitiers, *ob.* 1154—soon afterwards excited a fresh controversy. A rigid Realist, he was led to ascribe such real existence to the *universale* God, that in his hands the doctrine of the Trinity became almost transformed into one of Quaternity. His views were opposed by St Bernard, and condemned by the *Synod of Rheims* in 1148; but Gilbert himself was not further molested.

History has recorded the names of few personages who exercised a greater influence on their cotemporaries, than BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX (§ 128, 2); *ob.* 1153. Regarded in popular esteem as able to work miracles, and endowed with a gift of rare eloquence, he was both the support and the reprover of the vicars of Christ, and, while restoring peace among princes, ever stood forward an avenger of wrongs. His deep humility induced him to refuse ecclesiastical promotion; his enthusiastic attachment to the hierarchy prevented his exposing its many abuses and scandals; the power of his eloquence kindled throughout Europe the enthusiasm requisite for a second crusade, and restored many heretics and fanatics to the bosom of the Church. While himself seeking heavenly things, and leading a life of contemplation, prayer, and study, he seemed almost to rule upon earth, and, by his advice, admonition, and reproof, influenced all departments and relationships. In him sincere attachment to the doctrines of the Church was combined with ardent mysticism of a practical and contemplative character. Like Abelard, he controverted the great theological axiom of Anselm—only from very different motives. The theology which he loved was not one whose great object it was to elevate faith into knowledge by means of speculation, but rather to make the light of faith more clear and bright by sanctification of the heart and life. Not that Bernard was opposed to scientific researches; but the dialectic wrangling of an Abelard, which recklessly undermined the eternal foundations of saving truth, in order to rear them again in a manner conformable to his ideas and for purposes of self-exaltation, appeared to him equally destructive of all true theology and of the sanctifying influences of faith. In his view only pectoral theology, based on heart piety, and fostered by prayer, contemplation, inward enlightenment, and sanctification, constituted true divinity. (*Tantum Deus cognoscitur, quantum diligitur.—Orando facilius quam disputando et dignius Deus quæritur et invenitur.*) During his discussion with

Abelard he wrote the "Tractatus de Erroribus Petri Abælardi." Among his other works the most important is that "de Consideratione Ll. V.," in which, with the affection of a friend, the earnestness of a teacher, and the boldness of a prophet, he set before Pope *Eugene III.* both the duties and the dangers of his position. All the depth and ardour of his devout mysticism found utterance in his commentary on the Book of Canticles. Bernard was canonised by Alexander III. in 1173, and in 1830 Pope Pius VIII. solemnly received him into the number of the great Latin Fathers (Doctores ecclesiæ : Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great). Comp. *Neander*, The Life and Times of St Bernard; transl. by *Matilda Wrench*. Lond. 1843. *C. Ellendorf*, Bernh. v. Clairvaux u. s. Zeitalt. Essen 1837. *Th. Ratisbonne*, Hist. de S. Bernarde. 2 Vols. Par.

2. RECONCILIATION.—Among the seats of learning in which it was attempted to combine scholasticism with mysticism, the most distinguished was that "a Sancto Victore," a monastery at Paris, which *William of Champeaux* founded after he had given way before Abelard. But this new school may be said to have originated with HUGO A ST VICTORE, the scion of a noble German family, a friend of St Bernard, and the real successor of Anselm. His contemporaries were wont to designate him as "alter Augustinus" or "lingua Augustini." (Tantum Deus cognoscitur, quantum diligitur. Tantum de veritate quisque potest videre, quantum ipse est.) Hugo was one of the profoundest thinkers of the Middle Ages, a man of great learning, enthusiastically devoted to study, and at the same time of warm and deep affections. Though carried off in the prime of life, he exercised a beneficial influence upon his age, on which he left the impress of his mind (*ob.* 1141). His principal work is entitled : De sacramentis fidei christianæ Ll. II. (Comp. *A. Liebner*, Hugo v. St. Victor u. d. theol. Richtungen sr. Reit. Leips. 1832.)—The exposure of Abelard's errors and his condemnation, made professed students of dialectics more careful; they adhered more closely to the dogmas of the Church, which they endeavoured to explain and support, and, after the precedent of Augustine and Anselm, introduced certain mystical elements into their favourite science. Among the representatives of this school, PETRUS LOMBARDUS, teacher, and from 1159 Bishop of Paris (*ob.* 1164), was the most celebrated. Like Hugo, whom he surpassed in dialectic talent, but not in depth of intellect or of heart, he was a friend of St Bernard. His celebrated manual of dogmatics (Sententiarum Ll. IV.), which procured for him the title "magister sententiarum," consists of a collection of doctrinal statements from the Fathers, strung together, and connected by the author according to the favourite dialectic method. Himself was wont to compare his work to the widow's mite cast into the treasury of the Church; but it became the great standard of orthodoxy during the Middle Ages,

was frequently edited with commentaries, and finally obtained the solemn sanction of the Church at the Lateran Council in 1215. Besides Lombardus, ALANUS AB INSULIS deserves special mention. He was born at Lille or Ryssel (Lat. *Insulæ*), educated under Bernard of Clairvaux, and afterwards became Rector of the University of Paris and Bishop of Auxerre. Alanus died in 1203 at Clairvaux, whither he had retired in 1167. A peculiarity in that writer was his strictly mathematical method of demonstration (almost like that of the school of Wolf in the eighteenth century). Among other tractates he wrote “*de fide catholica contra Waldenses, Albigenes, Judæos et Paganos s. Mohametanos*.”

3. RENEWED CONTROVERSIES.—After the death of Hugo the school of St Victor gradually gave up its former interest in dialectics. Even the successor of Hugo, RICHARD A ST VICTORE (*ob.* 1173), characterised the method of Lombardus as too dry and barren (comp. *Engelhardt*, *Rich. of St Vict.* and *John Ruysbroek*. Erl. 1838). The following abbot, WALTER OF ST VICTOR, published in 1180 a virulent tractate, “*Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciæ s. contra manifestas hæreses, quas Abælardus, Lombardus, Petrus Pictaviensis et Gilbertus Porretanus libris sententiarum suarum acunt, limant, roborant Ll. IV.*” He accused Lombardus of *Nihilism*, because he had maintained that since the human nature of Christ was impersonal, He was in that respect not an aliquid, *i.e.*, an individual.—More moderate in the tone of his opposition was JOHN OF SALISBURY, the faithful friend of St Becket, and afterwards Bishop of Chartres (*ob.* 1182). In his “*Polycraticus s. de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum Ll. VIII.*” he predicted that, in its anxiety for scientific form, scholasticism would by and by lose all divine substance. (Comp. *H. Reuter*, *John of Sal.* Berl. 1843.)—*Petrus Cantor*, teacher of theology at Paris, and afterwards Bishop of Tournay (*ob.* 1197), showed in his “*Summa Theologiæ*” that all the doctrines necessary for salvation might and should be deduced directly from the Scriptures. The Commentaries on Isaiah and on the Epistles of Paul, which HERVEUS of Bourgdieu, a Benedictine, published about 1130, contained a most accurate and clear exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith.—More earnestly than any other divine in the Middle Ages, RUPERT, ABBOT OF DEUTZ, at the beginning of this century, insisted on the necessity of studying the Word of God. To him the Bible appeared the great text-book for all ages and peoples, and the field where the precious pearl of salvation lay concealed, which every person, whose vision faith had enlightened, might there discover. But with all his veneration for the Scriptures, he saw not the absolute necessity of eliciting, in the first place, the literal meaning of the text, and rather endeavoured by means of allegorical interpretations to bring out the dogmatic and mystic import of the Word, although he seems to have consulted the Hebrew and Greek text. Rupert wrote



commentaries on most of the Biblical books, an explanation of the Liturgy (*de Divinis officiis*), a “*Dialogus inter Christianum et Judæum*,” etc. On the subject of the Eucharist, he adopted the view known as that of consubstantiation (since it was not the way of the Holy Spirit, “*destruere vel corrumpere substantiam, quam in usus suos assumit, sed substantiæ, permanenti quod erat, invisibiliter adjicere, quod non erat*”). Rupert died in 1135.

4. The most celebrated among the HISTORIANS of this century were: *Otho, Bishop of Freisingen*, *ob.* 1158, the author of a *Chronicon* in eight books; and an English Benedictine, *Odericus Vitalis*, who wrote a *hist. ecclest.* in forty-three books.

# § 134. HIGHEST STAGE OF SCHOLASTICISM (13TH CENT.).

Mediaeval Theology attained its highest stage in the thirteenth century. After the defeat of William of St Amour (§ 128, 4), the direction of theological studies was almost wholly left to the Dominican and Franciscan monks. Scholasticism, which had now got rid of all sceptical tendencies, was chiefly cultivated in the University of Paris. The introduction of the writings of Aristotle, which had lately been imported from Spain (§ 130, 2), gave a considerable impulse to the labours of the schoolmen. The variety and richness of form characteristic of that philosophy became now for the first time fully known. These logical forms were adopted and employed in the construction of systems of dogmatics, and afforded opportunity for all the acuteness and ingenuity of the schoolmen. Scholasticism addressed itself exclusively to the elucidation of ecclesiastical dogmas by means of the philosophy of Aristotle. To Scripture these divines appealed not; yet, withal, it was not wholly forgotten that the Bible alone was the source and ultimate ground of all belief; and even in the thirteenth century, those were not wanting who insisted on bringing back theology to this its great standard of authority.

1. The most celebrated *scholastics* of this century were:—1. ALEXANDER HALESIUS, educated at *Hales* in England, surnamed “*Doctor irrefragabilis*,” the first Franciscan professor at Paris; *ob.* 1245. He wrote commentaries on Aristotle, and on the sentences of Lombardus (*Summa theologiæ universæ*, in four books). He was the first to assign to the philosophy of Aristotle its peculiar authority, so far as form was concerned; on which ground he has been called the first scholastic (in the narrower sense.) This method of discussing theological subjects became now prevailing; and his successors were called *Summists*, as those of Lombardus had been called *Sententiaries*. —2. ALBERTUS MAGNUS, born Count of Bollstadt in Swabia, a

Dominican, and teacher of theology at Paris and Cologne, afterwards Bishop of Regensburg; *ob.* 1280, at a very advanced age. He surpassed all other scholastics in learning, being equally conversant with philosophy, theology, natural sciences, and even cabbalistic lore. This mass of knowledge he had acquired with much labour; but as he had never repaired to the great fountains of Scripture and nature, his learning was of little real value. The people, however, regarded him as a magician. So far as individuality and native talent are concerned, he was much below the average of the great men of his age. The edition of his works published at Leyden, in 1651, consists of twenty-one folio vols.; among them, five volumes of commentaries on Aristotle, three vols. on Lombardus, a *Summa Theol.* in 2 vols., and a number of works on natural science.—3. The great ornament of the Franciscans, JOHANNES FIDANZA, better known by the name of Bonaventura, commenced his lectures on theology in Paris the same day on which Thomas Aquinas occupied for the first time the chair among the Dominicans (1253). These two divines successfully resisted the opposition of William of St Amour. In gratitude for the service, Bonaventura was chosen general of his order (1256), and in 1273 Gregory X. appointed him Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia. By desire of the Pope, he attended the Council of Lyons in 1274 (§ 97, 4), and took an active part in its deliberations, but died before its close (1274). A few years later he was canonised, and in 1587 Sixtus V. added his name to those of the Church-teachers. When still a youth, his instructor designated him a “*verus Israelita, in quo Adam non peccasse videtur*,” while his cotemporaries, in their admiration of his “angelic purity,” styled him “*Doctor seraphicus*.” His writings have chiefly a practical bearing, and in his case dialectics were always combined with a deep mystic tendency. His works (Rom. 1588) are comprised in eight folio vols.—4. By far the ablest of the schoolmen was THOMAS AQUINAS (*Doctor angelicus*). He was the son of a Count of Aquino in Calabria; became Dominican and a pupil of Albertus Magnus, and afterwards teacher in Cologne, Paris, and Rome, whence he retired into a Dominican monastery at Naples. Gregory X. requested him to attend the Council of Lyons; but he died suddenly soon after leaving Naples, perhaps from the effects of poison administered to him by order of his sovereign, Charles of Sicily (1274). He was canonised, and ranked among the Fathers. Aquinas was undoubtedly the most profound and acute thinker of his age, exceedingly popular as a preacher, and equally enthusiastic in his attachment to the doctrines of the Church and in the prosecution of philosophical investigations. An admirer and disciple of Augustine, he inclined towards mysticism, and was distinguished for genuine and deep piety. His principal work, the “*Summa Theologiæ*,” is in many respects a model for this class of compositions. He also wrote a commentary on Lombardus, a valuable con-

troversial tractate directed against the Jews and Mohammedans (*Summa fidei catholicæ contra Gentiles*), commentaries on Aristotle, and a "*Catena aurea*" on the Gospels. (Comp. *Hoertel*, Thomas Aqu. u. s. Z. Augsb. 1846.)—5. The fame of St Thomas, which shed fresh lustre upon the Order of the Dominicans, excited the jealousy of the Franciscans. At length one of their own number appeared to rival the honours of Aquinas. JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, called "*Doctor subtilis*," was inferior to Aquinas in acuteness and moral depth, though not in dialectic talent. His subtilty in analysing and developing ideas was specially vaunted; but his ecclesiastical orthodoxy was not free from suspicion, while occasionally he laid himself open to the charge of propounding rationalistic views. He was teacher at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne, where he died in 1308.

The views held by these two teachers were afterwards adopted by their respective orders, and rigidly adhered to and defended. Accordingly the Dominicans were called THOMISTS, and the Franciscans SCOTISTS. In philosophy both orders were Realists—only that the Dominicans were Aristotelians, the Franciscans Platonists. More important were their differences in theology. The Thomists adhered strictly to the tenets of the Church, while the Scotists were rationalistic in some of their views. On the doctrines of human depravity and of grace, the Thomists held moderate Augustinian, the Scotists semi-Pelagian opinions. The Dominicans adopted the views of Anselm on the atonement—the merits of Christ as the God-man were of infinite value (*satisfactio superabundans*), and hence *in themselves* a sufficient equivalent for our redemption. The Scotists, on the other hand, maintained that the merits of Christ were an equivalent for our redemption, not in themselves, but only in consequence of the declaration of God that He accepted them as such (*acceptatio gratuita*). Lastly, the Franciscans were strenuous advocates of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (§ 135, 2)—a view easily accounted for from their leaning towards Pelagianism, while the Dominicans rejected this dogma.

2. RAIMUNDUS LULLUS may be designated "the reformer of the scholastic *method*." His zeal for missionary work (§ 123, 5) made him anxious to devise some method more suitable for demonstrating the truths of the Gospel. After considerable labour, he succeeded in inventing a process by which—at least in his opinion—the highest truths might be made patent to the weakest capacity, by using certain letters and figures to represent ideas and their connections. This method he called "*ars magna*" or "*generalis*," and largely employed it in his discussions with the Saracens. He also translated into Arabic the work in which he explained his new method.

3. Among the divines who were OPPOSED to scholasticism, and in its stead insisted on the necessity of STUDYING THE BIBLE, we mention:—1. ROBERT GROSSETESTE, teacher at Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, *ob.* 1253,—a prelate equally eminent for



personal worth, and for his reform of many abuses in his diocese.—2. ROGER BACON (*Doctor mirabilis*), a pupil of Grosseteste and a teacher at Oxford (*ob.* 1294). He was undoubtedly the most learned man in the Middle Ages; thoroughly versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, and conversant with mathematics, the natural sciences, astronomy, and even medicine. With equal clearness and openness, he pointed out the defects and dangers of scholasticism, and at the same time insisted on the necessity of studying the Scriptures in the original. In return for these bold assertions he was charged with heresy and magic, and had to spend great part of his life within prison-walls. The only one of his cotemporaries who seems to have understood and admired the genius of Bacon, was *Pope Clement IV.*, who as legate had made his acquaintance in England, and afterwards restored him to liberty.—3. ROBERT OF SORBONNE in Champagne, a teacher and canon at Paris, and the founder of the *Sorbonne* (originally a seminary for poor young secular priests, but which soon acquired such fame that it became the theological faculty of the University). Robert earnestly recommended his hearers to prosecute zealously the study of the Bible.—4. HUGO A ST CARO (*de St Chers*, a suburb of Vienne), a Dominican and cardinal; *ob.* 1260. This divine likewise insisted on the necessity of having continual recourse to the Scriptures, and endeavoured to promote their study by publishing a “*Postilla* (Commentary) in *universa Biblia*,” and a “*Concordantia Bibliorum*.” To his labours we also owe our present division of the Bible into chapters.—The most celebrated among the chroniclers of that age were, *Matthæus Paris*, *ob.* 1259, and *Martinus Polonus*, Archbishop of Gnesen, *ob.* 1278

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#### IV. THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE.

##### § 135. PUBLIC WORSHIP AND THE FINE ARTS.

In the services of the Church, PREACHING occupied a subordinate place, chiefly owing to the ignorance of the priesthood. On the other hand, the externalism in religion prevalent among the people rendered this want comparatively less felt. Popes and synods, however, insisted on the necessity of employing priests capable of teaching; and the sermons of the Franciscans and Dominicans were eagerly listened to by multitudes. One of the most powerful preachers of Germany at this, or indeed at any period, was a Franciscan, *Berthold of Regensburg*, *ob.* 1272. He travelled from town to town, and preached to vast audiences the great truths concerning the grace of God in Christ. (His sermons, so far as still extant, have been pub-

lished by Kling in 1824.) Except in Spain, the *Romish* LITURGY was now everywhere introduced. At a synod held in Toledo (1088), an attempt was made to set aside the old *Mozarabic* Ritual (§ 119, 1). But the people were violently opposed to such a change; and the decisions of a trial by single combat and of the ordeal by fire were equally in favour of the established order. After that, both liturgies were used. The old Slavonic Ritual had been abolished in Moravia and Bohemia so early as the tenth century. The Latin was and continued the ecclesiastical language of all countries.—The worship of saints, of relics and of images, came more and more into vogue, and at last formed the principal part of the devotions.

1. As yet, the views of divines on the subject of the SACRAMENTS were far from settled. *Petrus Damiani* computed their number at twelve; *Lombardus* reduced them to seven, and his influence prevailed in this respect also (the seven Sacraments: Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Marriage, and Ordination). At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the *doctrine of transubstantiation* was formally sanctioned. Apprehension lest some of the blood of the Lord might be spilt, led in the twelfth century to the withdrawal of the *cup* from the laity, which henceforth was given only to priests. This alteration was vindicated on the ground of what was called “concomitantia,” or the doctrine that communicants necessarily received with the body the blood also. The practice of using *wafers* (the host), instead of breaking bread, arose from a similar anxiety for precaution. At the Fourth Lateran Council it was enjoined, on pain of excommunication, that every one of the faithful should go to confession and to the communion at least once a year, at Easter; and *auricular confession* was declared to be necessary before receiving absolution. As *marriage* was regarded a sacrament in the proper sense of the term, *divorce* was of course absolutely prohibited, even in case of adultery. *Innocent III.*, who enacted this law, diminished, however (1215), the former excessive restrictions, by limiting the prohibition of marriage to the fourth, instead of the seventh, degree of consanguinity.

2. NEW FESTIVALS.—In honour of the Virgin a new feast was instituted, under the name of the *Festival of the Nativity of Mary*, which was celebrated on the 8th September. Another ceremonial in connection with the growing reverence paid to the Virgin, was the feast of the *Immaculate Conception*, on the 8th December, which was introduced in the twelfth century. It will be remembered that *Radbertus Paschasius* taught that both the parturition of the Virgin and her own conception had been exempted from the taint and consequences of original sin (§ 121, 3). In the twelfth century the canons of Lyons followed up this idea, and in honour of it instituted a festival. But St Bernard protested equally against this

doctrine and festival, and Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas were also opposed to it. From the time of Duns Scotus, the Franciscans, however, again contended for this doctrine, which only induced the Dominicans to oppose it all the more energetically. Still the festival, at least, was pretty generally observed during the thirteenth century; and in 1389 Clement VII. sanctioned it as one of the regular feasts of the Church. In 998 the congregation of Clugny introduced the *Feast of All Souls* (on 2d November), which immediately followed upon the *Feast of All Saints* (on 1st November). Its object was to procure, by the prayers of the faithful, the deliverance of souls from purgatory. During the twelfth century, *Trinity Day*, being the Sunday after Pentecost, was observed. The doctrine of transubstantiation gave rise to the institution of Corpus Christi Day, on the Thursday following Trinity Sunday. It originated in a vision vouchsafed during prayer to *Juliana*, a pious nun of Liege. According to her statement, she discerned the full moon with a small speck in it, which, as was revealed, implied that among the festivals of the Church one was wanting in honour of the ever-recurring miracle of the Eucharist (1261). Urban IV. gave his sanction to its observance; but it was not generally celebrated till 1311, when Clement V. enjoined it as a regular ecclesiastical festival. From that time the Church displayed all its pomp and splendour in the celebration of this feast.

3. The ancient opposition of the Frankish clergy to the *worship of images* seems to have entirely ceased in the eleventh century (§ 122, 1). The veneration now paid to images, so far from conflicting with the SERVICE OF RELICS, rather increased the former ardour for this species of devotion. On their return to Europe, the Crusaders brought with them a large quantity of new relics, some of them sufficiently strange in character. Despite their almost endless number, these articles continually increased in value. Castles and domains were occasionally not considered an exorbitant price to give for the relics of some celebrated saint, which not unfrequently were stolen by devotees at the risk of their lives. No story, related by traffickers in relics, was too extravagant to be believed. Frequent canonisations—which, since the twelfth cent., were considered the exclusive right of the popes—furnished ever new objects for the WORSHIP OF SAINTS. *Jacobus a Voragine*, a Dominican (ob. 1298), may be considered the last writer of legends of the saints. His “*Legenda aurea*” consists of a collection of the most extraordinary stories. Yet a French theologian, who had ventured to style the work “*Legenda ferrea*,” was obliged publicly to retract from the pulpit this insult. In the HOMAGE PAID TO THE VIRGIN, the angelic salutation (Luke i. 28) formed a principal part of the devotions. To assist the memory in the frequent repetition of this formula during the prayers, the Dominicans devised the *rosary* (the fundamental idea being that a *garland* of spiritual *roses* was to be formed



from the different prayers). The idea must, however, ultimately be traced to *Macarius*, a monk in the fourth cent., who took 300 little stones into his lap, throwing away one of them after each prayer—a practice which afterwards was frequently imitated. In the monasteries *Saturday* was generally set apart in honour of the blessed Virgin, and a special “*Officium s. Mariæ*” celebrated.

4. HYMNOLOGY.—About the time when scholasticism attained its highest stage, great progress was also made in the hymnology of the Church. The most celebrated among the many religious poets of that age were, *Odo* of Clugny, *Robert*, King of France (“*Veni sancte Spiritus et emitte*”), *Petrus Damiani*, *Abelard*, *St Bernard*, *Adam* of *St Victor*, *Bonaventura*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and the two Franciscans, *Thomas* of *Celano*, ob. 1260 (“*Dies iræ*”), and *Jacobus de Benedictis* or *Jacoponus*, *Giacopone da Todi*, ob. 1306 (“*Stabat mater*”). The last-mentioned author was an eccentric enthusiast, and frequently inveighed against the clergy and Papacy, especially against the ambition of Boniface VIII. When imprisoned by order of that pope, he replied to his taunt, “When will you get out?” by, “When you will get in”—a prediction which soon afterwards was accomplished.—A number of hymns were also composed in the vernacular, although they were not employed in the public services of the Church (§ 119, 2). The oldest German Easter hymn dates from the twelfth century. Some of the poems of the “*Minnesingers*” in the thirteenth century had also a religious bearing, being specially devoted to the celebration of the Virgin, and forming a kind of spiritual “*Minne-Songs*.” Occasionally religious poetry was composed for the use of different classes—such as pilgrims, boatmen, etc.—or to be sung in battle.—But the twofold merit of introducing into the public service the German religious poetry already existing, and of greatly adding to this kind of literature and promoting its spread among the people, belongs to the heretical sects of that period rather than to the Church.—*St Francis* wrote a number of hymns in *Italian*. One of these compositions, written in honour of “brother Sun” (*de lo frate Sole*), with characteristic boldness of figure introduces brother Sun, sister Moon, brother Wind, sister Water, mother Earth, and lastly brother Death, as praising the Creator. The religious poetry of some of the disciples of *St Francis*, however, was greatly superior to that of the founder of their order. Among them we mention the names of *Fra Pacifico* (formerly a troubadour, whom *Frederic II.* had crowned poet laureate), *Bonaventura*, *Giacomo da Verona*, *Thomas da Celano*, and *Giacopone da Todi*. The latter (and not *St Francis*) indited that hymn “*In foco amor mi mise*,” which breathes such ardent love to the crucified Saviour. (Comp. *Hoffmann v. Fallersleben*, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Kirchenliedes bis auf Luther* (*Hist. of Germ. Ch. Poetry to the Time of Luther*). Han. 1854. *A. F. Ozanam*, *les Poètes Franciscans en Italie*; transl. into Germ., with add., by *Julius*.)

5. ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC.—The Gregorian, or *cantus firmus*, soon fell into decay. This result was chiefly owing to the scarcity and expensiveness of the Antiphonaria, as also to the frequent mistakes occurring in them, to the difficulty of their system of notation, and to the paucity of regularly trained singers. Errors committed in copying, and even alterations or embellishments introduced to suit the taste of some of the professional singers, multiplied. Thus the *cantus firmus* became by and by a *discantus*, or *cantus figuratus* (*figuræ* = embellishments), and, instead of singing in unison, duets were introduced. Gradually, definite rules of harmony, of chords and intervals, were framed. The merit of these improvements belongs chiefly to *Hucbald*, a monk of Rheims (about the year 900); to *Reginus*, a German monk (about the year 920); and to *Odo*, Abbot of Clugny. *Guido* of Arezzo (1000-1050) invented, in room of the curious Gregorian mode of notation, our present notes, which rendered it possible, along with the *cantus*, to mark also the *discantus* (hence the term counterpoint, *i.e.*, *punctum contra punctum*). The measurement of the tones was invented by *Franco* of Cologne, about 1200. The *organ* was almost universally in use; and Germany was celebrated as possessing the best builders of, and the ablest performers upon, this instrument.

6. ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE. (Comp. *H. Otte*, Handb. d. kirchl. Kunstarchäol. d. deutsch. M. A. Leips. 1854. *J. Kreuser*, d. chr. Kirchenbau (chr. Eccl. Archit.). 2 Vols. Bonn 1851. *A. H. Springer*, d. Bauk. d. chr. M. A. Bonn 1854. *Quatremère de Quincy*, Hist. de la Vie et des Ouvrages des Architectes du XI. S. jusqu'à la fin du XVIII. 2 T. Par. 1832.)—The general decay prevailing during the tenth century, and the common expectation of the approaching end of the world at the close of the first 1000 years, operated unfavourably on the progress of the fine arts, especially so far as architecture was concerned. But these hindrances were only of a temporary character. The ROMANESQUE style of architecture, which prevailed chiefly in the twelfth century, originated in the desire to give a distinctively German mould to the older forms of ecclesiastical structures. But during the entire period of its prevalence we mark a continual progress; hence, while retaining its fundamental character as a transition style, it appeared in forms more varied than any other. In Romanesque architecture the ancient Christian basilica still continued the type; the chief innovation consisted in introducing the vaulted roof (especially in the shape of a cross) instead of the flat wooden roof, whereby the interior became more lofty, and gained in perspective effect. In other respects also, marked progress was made. To this period belong the general introduction of the rounded arch, and that increase of architectural ornaments, which afforded scope for various symbolical devices and for the vagaries of fancy. Its materials were derived from the peculiar German view of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, from

legend or from local tradition. Finally, ecclesiastical structures were completed by the addition of towers (as it were finger-posts pointing upwards), which it was now attempted to connect with the body of the church (sometimes by rearing them above the entrance to the central nave, at others over one of the aisles, or where the central and the cross nave intersected, or on opposite sides of the choir). Frequently, however, only a cupola rose over the central nave. The finest specimens of this style are the cathedrals of Spire, of Mayence, and of Worms.—But already the GOTHIC (or, more correctly, the Germanic) STYLE of architecture was introduced, which attained highest perfection during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This claims to be an independent branch of the Romanesque style, in which the native genius of Germany cast off its traditional adherence to ancient forms, and displayed all its richness and boldness of imagination, and all its depth and fulness of conception. So far as the vault was concerned, the Romanesque style may be regarded as preparatory to the Gothic—the ancient Christian basilica still continuing the fundamental type. But while the Romanesque cross vault and the rounded arch rendered it impossible to rear a very lofty building, and required heavy walls to support the superincumbent weight, the pointed arch, by which any breadth could be spanned and any height reached, removed the appearance of heaviness even from the most massive structures. Admitting that the first knowledge of the pointed arch was derived from the Saracens in Spain, in Sicily, or in the East, its application in Gothic structures was distinctively German; for whilst among the Saracens it was used merely for decoration, it was in Germany mainly applied for construction, especially for the support of the vault. The stiff wall was transformed into supporting pillars, and formed a grand architectural skeleton, admitting of tasteful and varied designs for windows. On the fundamental type of a cross, the Gothic cathedral rose like a primeval architectural forest, exhibiting rich variety, and far surpassing in beauty every structure for secular purposes. Light and graceful the most massive buildings rose; the tall supporting pillars symbolised the spirit tending heavenwards. Long rows of such columns sprung, as it were from the earth, up towards the lofty vault. Everything seemed to live, to bud, and to bear. The pillars and the walls were covered with leaves and blossoms, exhibited fantastic emblems, or set forth holy persons. An immense rose (or round window) above the entrance—the symbol of silence—proclaimed the fact that everything worldly was excluded from these walls. Those large arched windows, with their gorgeous paintings, threw a strange mellow light into the sanctuary. Everything about the structure seemed to tend upward, even to the towers in which the stone, dug out of the dark depths below, appeared to become light and almost transparent. High upwards they reached, till they were almost lost



to view in the blue sky. The victory also over the kingdom of darkness was represented in that brood of dragons and demoniac forms which lay crushed beneath pillars and door-posts, or were otherwise made subservient to the convenience of the building. Nay, occasionally, by a bold stroke, bishops and popes even were represented in such situations, just as Dante placed some of the popes in hell. The most splendid specimens of this style are the cathedral of Cologne and the Munster of Strasburg. The former was founded in 1248 by Archbishop *Conrad* of Hochsteden, the plan having been designed by *Henry Sunere*, an architect of Cologne; but the choir alone was finished and consecrated in 1322. The building of the Strasburg Munster was commenced by *Erwin of Steinbach* in 1275.

7. THE PLASTIC ART, which had been neglected by the ancient Church, was much cultivated during the reign of the Hohenstaufen. Its first great master in Italy was *Nicholas* of Pisa (Nicolo Pisano, *ob.* 1274). Even before that period a school of sculptors had sprung up in Germany, whose works (in the churches of Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Freiberg, etc.) have descended to posterity, though their names are lost to fame. Similarly, the art of the goldsmith and the coppersmith was largely employed in the service of the Church.—Byzantine artists became the teachers of the Italians in PAINTING, from whom, in turn, the Germans learned the art. A school of painters was formed at Pisa at the commencement of the thirteenth century, which, in honour of its patron saint, was called the *School of St Luke*. It was the aim of these painters to impart life and warmth to the stiff pictures of the Greeks. *Guido* of Sienna, *Giunta* of Pisa, and *Cimabue*, a Florentine, *ob.* 1300, were the great masters of this school. Mosaic painting, principally on a ground of gold, was much in vogue in Italy. The art of *glass painting* originated in Germany (Bavaria), whence it spread through the West.

#### § 136. POPULAR LIFE AND NATIONAL LITERATURE.

This was a period full of strangest contradictions, and presenting most remarkable transitions in popular life. Everything, however, gave indication of unabated vigour, and still on each unhewn block did the Church lay the fashioning chisel. If, on the one hand, rude violence prevailed throughout Europe, on the other, men, willingly or unwillingly, owned the higher and invisible power of thought. The grossest sensuality was found alongside the most entire renunciation of the world; the most unmitigated selfishness side by side with the rarest self-denial and the deepest love; keen and frivolous sarcasm, which made parody even of what was most holy, occurred along with the most thorough earnestness and tender

anxiety for the salvation of souls. If boundless superstition prevailed, so did the boldest liberalism, and in the midst of general ignorance and barbarism, lofty ideas, broad views, and singular individuality of mind, were found to exist. Above all, there was one characteristic distinguishing this from every other age—we mean the capacity and susceptibility for enthusiasm of every kind.

1. POPULAR LIFE.—The consciousness of deep religious and moral decline, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, manifested itself in the confident expectation of the approaching *end of the world*, which in turn led to fresh acts of devotion in the shape of pilgrimages, pious donations, and foundations. If the secular power was too weak to check the *practice of private revenge*, the Church exercised a beneficial influence by enjoining the so-called TRUCE OF GOD (*treuga Dei*), which ordained that during Advent and till eight days after Epiphany, during Lent and till eight days after Pentecost, and during every week from Wednesday evening till Monday morning, all such quarrels should be suspended. This ordinance, which originated in 1032 in France, after several years of famine, gradually spread into all other countries.—Despite its barbarism, there was a religious cast about KNIGHTHOOD, which was greatly fostered in Spain by the contest with the Saracens, and throughout all Europe in connection with the Crusades. All the tendencies and mental peculiarities of the people found their appropriate expression in the various orders of *monasticism*. Nor must we forget the important effects achieved by the CRUSADES. Not only was the religious sense of the people roused, but their narrow horizon was enlarged, and the ardent longing of the age became deepened. But, on the other hand, superstition and moral laxity also increased; and along with expanding commerce, the wants or demands of the people also grew. In the fervent homage paid to saints, the people forgot the worship due to Christ and to the Father. Every business and calling, every age and station, had its patron saint; and under every mischance or disease, there was some special saint to whom to apply for relief. The religion of the people was little other than a kind of magic; salvation was obtained by indulgences and good works. A large amount of superstition had been imported from heathenism. Belief in witchcraft, amulets, dreams, good and bad omens, fairies, brownies, etc., merged with the dogmas of the Church about saints, angels, and demons, and gave rise to a kind of Christian mythology. The poetic spirit of the people found utterance in *legends, traditions, and fables*, mostly rich in meaning, and having some religious bearing. Almost in them all the *devil* plays the chief part; but he is ever represented as a poor stupid being, who at last is only cheated for his pains. Nay, the light-mindedness of the people turned even holy subjects into extravagant follies. At the FEAST OF UNREASON, which was celebrated in

France about New Year's time, popes, bishops, and abbots of Unreason mimicked in the church, with grotesque jokes, the sacred functions of these ecclesiastics. A similar comedy was enacted at Christmas by boys (the so-called *festum innocentum*). At the FEAST OF THE ASS, which was also celebrated at Christmas, in honour of the animal on which Christ had made His entry into Jerusalem, an ass, adorned with a surplice, was brought into the church, and his praises sounded in a comic liturgy composed for the purpose. Bishops and popes inveighed against these substitutes for the ancient heathen festivities of December. But the lower clergy and the people enjoyed the sport. At Easter, instead of preaching of Him who had burst the bonds of death, the priests—to make some amends for the previous long fast—amused their audiences with stories and jokes, to which the people, as in duty bound, responded by the so-called EASTER-LAUGHTER (*Risus paschalis*). When councils and bishops at last succeeded in banishing these follies from the churches, the people took compensation in the *amusements of the Carnival*, which preceded Easter quadragesima.—In imitation of the trade guilds which originated in the twelfth century, a kind of *spiritual guilds* were instituted, which enjoyed the countenance and fostering care of the secular clergy, in the hope of their proving a counterpoise to the influence which the mendicant orders had acquired among the people through their Tertiaries. In many parts of Germany and France associations of priests and laymen were formed, which undertook to say a certain number of prayers and masses for the members and for their relatives, whether living or dead. Such unions were called *Calends*, from the circumstance that their meetings took place on the calends (or first) of every month. By voluntary contributions and legacies, these unions obtained ample means for founding special “calend-houses.” But their original pious object was soon forgotten, and these meetings became by and by only occasions for feasting and revelry. At the time of the Reformation the calends were abolished, and their possessions applied to useful purposes.

2. POPULAR CULTURE.—The learning of the *schoolmen* was entirely beyond the range of the popular mind. But some of the earnest *preachers of repentance* addressed themselves to those who were otherwise neglected, generally with remarkable success, especially in the case of notorious or obstinate sinners. Unfortunately, those who were thus converted retired into monasteries, instead of proving the salt of the earth. No attempt was made to instruct the people; and although the Hohenstaufen endeavoured to establish *elementary schools* in Italy—making attendance on them even obligatory—these institutions did not succeed. From the eleventh century, associations were formed in the south of France for the study of the Bible; but their members by and by generally took up a position hostile to the Church. The spread of the Cathari and Waldenses (§ 138) was mainly due to the fact that, by preaching,



reading the Bible, singing and prayer in the vernacular, they met the felt religious wants of the people. St Dominic proposed to counteract their influence by employing a similar agency. In 1229, *the Council of Toulouse* prohibited laymen from possessing the Old or the New Testament, and even from reading the Psalter or the Breviary, in the vernacular. In lieu of the Bible thus withheld, and of the martyrologies, which, being written in Latin, were inaccessible to the masses, the Church introduced, in the thirteenth century, *legends in rhyme*, composed in the vernacular. The oldest work of this kind in German, by an unknown author, consists of three books comprising about 100,000 lines. Book I. treats of Christ and of Mary; Book II. of the Apostles and the other personages mentioned in the Gospels; while Book III. gives a sketch of the lives of the saints, according to their order in the Calendar. The first two books (edited by *K. A. Hahn*, d. alte Passional. Frkf. 1845) contain a number of apocryphal stories, couched in the genuine mediæval style. As few of the people were able to read, wandering minstrels were wont to relate these stories to the people. Another and more effectual mode of conveying religious instruction was by means of *religious theatricals*, which were introduced in the eleventh century, probably in France. *F. J. Mone* has lately edited a number of these dramas in German (*Schauspiele d. M. A.* 2 Vols. Karlsru. 1846). They originated in those antiphonal chants in which it was the custom to celebrate the hero of a festival during the worship in his honour. By and by these poems were enlarged into dramas; and in course of time a cycle of such pieces existed for all the saints' feasts, which were acted by the clergy in the churches, at first with Latin words, but afterwards in the vernacular (of course with the exception of the prayers introduced in them). During the fourteenth century this mode of instruction was very popular. The *images, mosaics, and reliefs*, which covered the doors and walls of the churches, were also a means of recalling to mind Biblical events and legends of saints.

3. NATIONAL LITERATURE.—The tenth and eleventh centuries produced scarcely any works either in science or poetry. But during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the Church rose from its former decay, German national literature developed rapidly, and in a manner most surprising. The writings of that period occasionally breathe a spirit hostile to the clerical rule—a remark which specially applies to the compositions of Wolfram of Eschenbach. Even the legend of *Reinecke* and *Isegrim* are really, though not intentionally, a cutting satire on the rapacity of the monks, the hypocrisy of the clergy, the avarice of the popes, and the abuse of indulgences. In the mind of the German troubadours, “those nightingales of the Middle Ages, the whole fair sex appeared as the Holy Virgin.” Thus, while *Walter von der Vogelweide* sang in happiest strain of earthly love, he at the same time sounded the praises of the Lord,

of the Holy Virgin, and of the Church. The Lay of the Nibelungen was essentially heathen in its conception, and its last editor, in the twelfth century, imparted to it only a slight Christian gloss. But *Wolfram of Eschenbach*, a Christian poet in the highest sense of the term, completely recast in his *Parcival* the ancient heathen legend of St Grâl, and the Knights of the Round Table. The *Parcival* contains continuous reference to the Christian life, as a contest for salvation through the blood of the Son of God. A strain vastly different was that from the lyre of *Gottfried of Strassburg*, whose "Tristan and Isolt" celebrates the pleasures of earthly love in language of the most fervent and sensuous character, while he completely ignores both the Church and its sacrament of marriage. In the south of France, the merry strains of the *Troubadours* were interspersed with poems in honour of the Church and of its saints; while occasionally their compositions became the vehicle for heretics, giving expression to their indignation against the Romish Babylon. *Gonzalo of Berceo*, the first celebrated Spanish poet (in the thirteenth century), sung of the Virgin, of St Dominic, and the Last Judgment. On the poets of Italy comp. § 135, 4.

#### § 137. ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

Those terrible engines, *excommunication*, which was directed against individuals guilty of open sin, and the *interdict*, which rested on a whole district, rarely missed their aim. Till the interdict was removed, the church-bells were silent, worship was celebrated with closed doors, and only priests, beggars, and children under two years of age, received at burial the rites of the Church. Thus a whole district was made responsible for the sin committed or tolerated in it, and seldom did the people long brook this painful state of matters. Yet all this while ecclesiastical discipline, which *Petrus Lombardus* had described as "*contritio cordis, confessio oris, and satisfactio operis*," continually declined in moral earnestness. The expiation demanded by the Church consisted of *outward works* (alms, fasts, pilgrimages, etc.); and even these might be compensated for by fines, in the shape of contributions for ecclesiastical purposes. This moral aberration increased during the Crusades, when all who took the cross received plenary indulgence for ecclesiastical punishments incurred from any cause; and even those who gave of their means to the promotion of these undertakings, thereby purchased a similar dispensation. The popes bestowed also on individual churches the right of granting more or less extensive indulgences to those who visited them. Sincere repentance and amendment was indeed expressly mentioned, or tacitly understood to be

the condition of such indulgences ; but this important point was too frequently lost to view in mere external observances.—In opposition to this lax mode of discipline, many priests—especially the members of monastic orders—earnestly contended for more serious measures. Some, indeed, fell into opposite extravagance, and seemed to take a pride in excelling each other in their flagellations (administered while reciting the Psalter). A formal account was kept of the number of stripes thus inflicted. Three thousand lashes were the number requisite for one year of penance, etc. Self-inflicted scourging was regarded as a voluntary and meritorious imitation of Christ and of the martyrs. This species of superstition was carried to frightful excess amid the calamities of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (the wars, pestilence, famine, and earthquakes of that period). Compare § 144, 1.

1. The ingenuity of the schoolmen supplied theological arguments and a dogmatic vindication in favour of indulgences. *Lombardus* applied for this purpose the doctrine of *purgatory* (which had received ecclesiastical sanction at the time of *Gregory the Great*), or of the intermediate state in which the souls of believers underwent punishment for those venial sins which they had committed *after baptism*. But according to *Lombardus*, the Church, in virtue of the merits of Christ, possessed the power of changing these purifying torments of purgatory into earthly punishments, from which, in turn, it might grant dispensation, in consideration of certain advantages accruing to the Church as a whole. *Albertus Magnus* and *Thomas Aquinas* went even farther than this, and propounded the view that the Church was the depositary and absolute dispenser of an inexhaustible treasure, consisting of the superfluous merits of Christ and of the saints (*thesaurus supererogationis perfectorum*), since the latter also had, although in the strength of Christ, done more good than was requisite for the discharge of their own transgressions. Still these divines continued to lay great stress on the fact, that such indulgences were not in themselves equivalent to the forgiveness of sins, but that they merely implied the remission of ecclesiastical punishments and exemption from the torments of purgatory, and even these only in the case of such who combined with them genuine penitence. But the generality of preachers of indulgences intentionally concealed or avoided these explanations.



## V. OPPOSITION TO THE PREVAILING SYSTEM OF ECCLESIASTICISM.

## § 138. ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO PREVAILING ECCLESIASTICISM.

COMP. *C. du Plessis d'Argentré*, Col. judic. de nov. error. ab in. XII. S. usque ad ann. 1632. Par. 1728. *J. C. Füsslin*, unparth. K. u. Ketzerhist. d. mittle. Zeit. (Impart. Hist. of the Ch. and of Heret. Part. during the M. A.). Leips. 1770. 3 Vols. *L. Flathe*, Gesch. d. Vorl. d. Reform. (Hist. of the Precurs. of the Ref.). Leips. 1835. 2 Vols. *Ulr. Hahn*, Gesch. d. Ketzer im M. A. Stuttg. 1845. 3 Vols.

With the varied and catholic doctrines of Christianity which had been established during the course of the ancient history of the Church, a number of spurious elements concerning government, doctrine, discipline, and worship had been introduced. Thus, along with the truth, abuses had been imported into the German Church. These seeds of error sprung up and spread during the Middle Ages, fostered by the barbarism of that period, the sensuous disposition of the people, the ignorance of the clergy, and the selfishness of the hierarchy. They manifested themselves chiefly as boundless superstition of every kind, lax and demoralising discipline, spurious asceticism, work-righteousness, secularism in the Church, ignorance and looseness among the clergy, and the abuse of hierarchical power. These evils, however, were not only felt during the Middle Ages, but frequent attempts made to remove them. Throughout that period we can discern a reformatory tendency, which by various agencies—properly or improperly—sought to make way for itself. Sometimes it manifested itself in combination with attachment to the Church, when the attempt was made to introduce an internal reformation, and thereby to bring back the Church to apostolic purity; in other cases, a sense of the hopelessness of such a task led to separation from the Church, and to determined opposition to prevailing ecclesiasticism. Such movements, however, rarely continued within the bounds of evangelical moderation; more commonly, along with error, part of the truth was also rejected, fanaticism and heresy ensued, all social relationships were undermined, and the existence of the State as well as of the Church endangered. Among the numberless sects of that period, the most influential and revolutionary were those who held *Manichean* views, and to whom the general name of *Cathari* has been given. But in other directions

also, parties hostile to the Church sprung up. Thus the enthusiasm of the Montanists reappeared in different *prophetic and apocalyptic* communities; while the *Sect of the Holy Spirit* entertained *pantheistic views*, and even the errors of the Ebionites were again mooted by the *Passagieri*. Another kind of sects owed their origin to the efforts of individuals, whose eyes had, by a perusal of the Scriptures, been opened to the defects in the Church, but who, failing to perceive at the same time the blessed truths of the Gospel, only aimed at a *complete subversion* of the Church, and, along with error, rejected also the truth. Among all these different parties, the *community of the Waldenses* alone continued within the bounds of evangelical moderation.

1. The CATHARI. (Comp. *Dr Maitland, Facts and Documents illustr. of the Hist., etc., of the Albig. and Waldens.* Lond. 1832; and that writer's *Eight Essays.* Lond. 1852. *C. Schmidt, Hist. et doctrines des Cathares ou Albigeois.* Par. 1849. 2 Voll. *E. Kunitz, ein katharisches Rituale.* Jen. 1852.)—From the eleventh century a disposition unfavourable to the hierarchy and the prevailing ecclesiastical system began to manifest itself in many places, chiefly in Upper Italy and in France. This led to the formation of sects, which rapidly spread. It is not difficult to account for the existence of this estrangement; it originated in felt religious wants, which the Church failed to satisfy. Such aspirations became deeper and stronger in proportion as spiritual and intellectual life, in all its departments, was quickened during the period succeeding the lethargy of the tenth century. Accordingly, a strong desire sprung up to procure for oneself what the Church could not or would not give. But this desire must, to some extent at least, have been also quickened and fostered from without. As in the East, so in the West, Gnostic speculations had in all probability continued to exist, though by secret tradition. In point of fact, we know that the Vandals had transported shiploads of Manicheans to the shores of Italy, while the Priscillianists openly avowed their tenets in Spain, so late as the seventh century. Probably, however, the movement issued again from the East, in all likelihood from *Bulgaria*, where, since the time the Paulicians had settled in that district, Gnostic and Manichean views were widely entertained and zealously propagated. Even the names of these sects prove the correctness of this assertion. The most general designation was that of *Cathari* (καθαροί); but they were also called *Bulgari* (whence, in popular parlance, the opprobrious name Bougre) or *Gazari*, perhaps after the inhabitants of the Crimea (the Chazars), or else a different mode of pronouncing the word καθαροί, and *Publicani*, probably a transposition by which the foreign term of Paulicians was converted into a well-known term of reproach. They were also designated *Patareni* or *Paterini*; either

in the original sense of that term (§ 127, 2), or because, since the contest between the Pataria at Milan and the clergy, the term implied in general a spirit of hostility to the priesthood. The name of *Tisserands* originated from the circumstance that many of their adherents were weavers by trade. The common characteristic of all these sects was opposition to the clergy and the hierarchy. They differed in the extent to which, and the grounds on which, they opposed the prevailing ecclesiasticism or attempted to set up a church of their own. Several of the charges preferred against them may probably have arisen from misunderstanding or calumny. The Paulician or Bogomile opinions which they had embraced—while of a practical rather than of a speculative character, and variously modified or kept in check—affected all their tenets and practices. Thus they held Dualistic views, though, in many cases, only in the way of carrying the scriptural doctrine of the devil and of original sin to an extreme (in opposition to the Pelagianism of the Church); they rejected the Old Testament; marriage they regarded as a hindrance to Christian perfection; they contemned baptism, the eucharist, and clerical ordination; prohibited the worship of saints and relics; objected to the use of images and crucifixes; insisted on a literal observance of all the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount; and, despite their spiritualism, laid great stress on fasting, genuflexions, and the frequent repetition of certain prayers, especially the Lord's Prayer. Along with prayer, preaching occupied the most prominent place in their public services. Their adherents were divided into *Crezentz* (credentes = catechumeni) and *bos homes* or *bos Crestias* (boni homines, boni Christiani = perfecti, electi). The so-called "auditores" formed a lower class of catechumens, who were received among the credentes after a term of instruction and probation (*astenenzia* = abstinencia). The admission of credentes was marked by a formal delivery of the holy prayer (or Lord's Prayer) and of the New Testament to the catechumens, by exhortations and other ceremonies, such as washing of hands, etc. The credentes were received into the number of perfecti by the *baptism of the Spirit* (or the *Consolamentum*), without which it was impossible to have part in eternal life. The ordinance was administered by the elder (*Ancia*) laying a copy of the Gospels, and the other *bos Crestias* their hands, on the head of the candidate. Those who were thus set apart were required to abstain from marriage, from the use of animal food, and from all polluting intercourse with those who were not members of the sect, on which account they commonly delayed till death receiving the *Consolamentum*. Generally they took, on their admission among the credentes, a vow (*Convenensa*) of joining the *bos Crestias* (or *Ordo*) at a future period; while some, after having received the *Consolamentum*, underwent the *Endura*, i.e., henceforth abstained from all food and drink. At the time of their greatest prosperity they had a regular hierarchy, with a pope



who resided in Bulgaria, twelve magistri, and seventy-two bishops, each of whom had a filius major and minor as their assistants. Even their opponents admitted their deep moral earnestness; but the doctrine of justification by faith had no place in their system. Prayer, abstinence, and the so-called baptism of the Spirit were regarded as the sole means of obtaining salvation. It may be true that occasionally some went to the opposite extreme of antinomian excesses, but more frequently such charges originated in calumny. Generally they went to the stake with the heroism and joyfulness of martyrs.—Sects of this kind were, since the eleventh century, discovered in different places; first in Aquitaine in 1010; then in 1022 at Orleans, where thirteen of them were bound to the stake; in 1025 at Cambrai and Arras; in 1030 in the diocese of Turin; in 1052 at Goslar, where their adherents were executed by order of the Emperor; and in other places. During the twelfth century they rapidly increased in membership, and spread into different countries. Kindness and rigorous measures were equally unavailing to reclaim them. His deep love to erring sinners made *St Bernard* more successful than any other among them. At a later period learned Dominicans tried the efficacy of preaching and discussions. The principal centres of the Cathari were in Lombardy and in the south of France; but numerous communities also existed in Germany, Belgium, and Spain. Indeed, such was their influence in France, that they ventured to summon a general Council at *Toulouse* in 1167, which was numerously attended.

The contest between the Ghibellines and the Guelphs afforded them an opportunity of manifesting their enmity to the papal hierarchy, and *Frederic II.* openly protected them. They continued so late as the fourteenth century, despite the fearful persecution raised against them (§ 139). *Reinerius Sachoni*, ob. 1259, a Dominican from Lombardy, who at one time had himself been a “heresiarch,” was the most distinguished controversialist against the sect. The liturgy lately discovered by *Kunitz* dates from the close of the thirteenth century, and gives a more favourable view of them than had formerly been entertained.

The small sect of the PASSAGIERI in Lombardy (during the twelfth cent.) went to an opposite extreme from the Manichean rejection of the Old Testament by the Cathari. With the exception of sacrifices, they insisted on the obligation of the whole Mosaic law, including circumcision (along with baptism); they also entertained Arian views about the person of Christ. Their name (from *pasagium* = passage) seems to point to the practice of pilgrimages or crusades to the Holy Land. Indeed, they may have originated in this manner:

2. Towards the close of the twelfth century a *pantheistic* movement commenced in France, and found expression in the so-called SECT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. The party originated with *Amalric of Bena*,

a teacher at Paris. The first germs of this pantheistic mysticism were probably derived from the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius and of Erigena. The University of Paris and Innocent III. obliged Amalric to recant his apparently Christian, but according to his own interpretation of it, really pantheistic statement, that none could be saved who believed not that he was a member of the body of Christ. Chagrin at this humiliation may have hastened his death, which took place soon afterwards (1204). In the hands of his pupil, *David of Dinanto*, the pantheism of Amalric received a more Aristotelian and dialectic cast. Besides these two, *Simon of Tournay*, a celebrated dialectician at Paris, entertained similar views. While professing to teach the doctrines of the Church, he took care to indicate sufficiently that it was much easier to refute than to demonstrate them. The opinions of these men found way among the laity. Soon afterwards a goldsmith proclaimed the advent of the age of the *Holy Spirit*, when all positive religion and every form of outward worship should cease, and God be all in all. As formerly in Christ, so now in every believer, did God become incarnate; and on this ground the Christian was God in the same sense in which Christ had been. The Pope was Antichrist. These views were condemned at a *Synod held at Paris in 1209*, the writings of *Erigena* were reprobated, and several members of the sect consigned to the stake. The bones of Amalric shared the same fate. (Comp. *Engelhardt*, Am. v. Bena, in his "kirchengesch. Abh.;" and *J. H. Krönlein* in the "theol. Studien u. Kritt." for 1847. II.)

3. REVOLUTIONARY REFORMERS. (Comp. *H. Francke*, Arn. v. Bresc. u. seine Zeit. Zur. 1825; *Mosheim*, Gesch. d. Apostelord., in his "Vers. e. unparth. u. gründl. Ketzergesch." Helmst. 1748; *J. Krone*, Frà Dolcino u. die Patarener. Leips. 1844; *Schlosser*, l. c., § 133, 1; *Mariotti*, Frà Dolcino and his Times. Lond. 1853.)—Among them we reckon: 1. The PETROBRUSIANS, founded by *Peter of Bruys*, a priest in the south of France, about 1104. He rejected the outward or visible Church, and only acknowledged the true (invisible) Church in the hearts of believers. In his opinion all churches and sanctuaries should be destroyed, since God might be worshipped in a stable or tavern. He used crucifixes for cooking purposes; inveighed against celibacy, the mass, and infant baptism; and after twenty years of continual disturbances, ended his days at the stake by the hands of an infuriated mob (1124). He was succeeded by one of his associates, *Henry of Lausanne*, formerly a monk of the order of Clugny. Under him the sect of the Petrobrusians greatly increased in numbers. St Bernard succeeded in converting many of them from their errors. Henry was seized and condemned to imprisonment for life. He died in 1149.—2. Among these revolutionaries we must also include ARNOLD OF BRESCIA (ob. 1155, comp. § 126, 4), a pupil of *Abelard*. His fervent oratory was chiefly directed against the secular power of the Church, and

its possession of property,—views which probably were based on a more spiritual conception of what the Church really was. Otherwise his doctrinal opinions seem to have been in accordance with those commonly entertained. Long after his death a party of so-called *Arnoldists* cherished the political and ecclesiastical dreams of their founder.—3. During the thirteenth century the “*APOSTOLIC BRETHREN*,” or “*Apostolicals*,” caused considerable excitement, especially in Italy. In opposition to the luxuriousness of a wealthy clergy, they formed religious societies which were to be entirely destitute of earthly possessions. As the popes prohibited their associations, they took up an attitude of hostility to the clergy and the Church, and retired from persecution to caves and woods. *Gerhard Segarelli*, their leader, was seized, and died at the stake in Parma in 1300. His successor, *Dolcino*, excited these sectaries to utmost fanaticism by his denunciations of the new Babylon and by his apocalyptic predictions. With 2000 followers he retired to a mountain, where he entrenched himself, and for two years defied the army of crusaders summoned for the suppression of the sect. Ultimately he had to succumb to superior forces and to famine, and died at the stake in 1307.

4. PROPHEPIC AND APOCALYPTIC OPPOSITION. (Comp. *Engelhardt*, d. Abt Joachim u. d. ewige Evangel., in his “*kirchenhist. Abhandl.*” Erlg. 1832; *Ulrich Hahn*, d. apokal. Lehren d. Joach. v. Floris, in the “*theol. Studien u. Krit.*” for 1849. II.; *J. K. Dahl*, d. h. Hildeg. May. 1832.)—The opposition to prevailing abuses which appeared in all directions, found also vent in *prophetic denunciations*. 1. *ST HILDEGARDIS*, the founder and abbess of a nunnery near Bingen, where she died in 1197 at the advanced age of ninety-nine years, had visions and revelations, and was considered an oracle by persons of all ranks. Even St Bernard and Pope Eugenius III. regarded her as divinely commissioned. Her prophetic denunciations were specially directed against the looseness of the clergy and the assumptions of the hierarchy, to both of which she traced the decay of the Church. She announced impending terrible judgments for the purification of the Church.—2. *ST ELIZABETH*, Abbess of the nunnery of *Schönaue*, ob. 1165, an elder cotemporary of Hildegard, also claimed to be a prophetess, and in that capacity inveighed against the luxuriousness of the clergy. Her predictions were translated and published by *Ecbert*, her brother. The well-known legend about *St Ursula*, a British princess, who, along with her 11,000 virgins, had been martyred in the neighbourhood of Cologne while on a pilgrimage, rests on the authority of her visions.—3. The prophetic visions of *Joachim of Floris*, an abbot in Calabria (ob. 1202), deserve fuller notice. These apocalyptic predictions breathe a spirit of deep sorrow on account of the corruptions in the Church, and of ardent longing for better times. According to Joachim, scholasticism had paralysed the energies of theology,



while the deification of man in the Papacy, the avarice and abuses of the clergy, and the practice of indulgences, had converted the Church into a harlot. Hence fearful judgments were impending. These were to be executed by the German Empire, in which Antichrist should become manifest. The only source of spiritual restoration still extant was to be found in the monastic orders. Work-righteousness and pilgrimages were devices of the enemy, but asceticism and contemplation delivered from destruction. The history of revelation was comprised within three periods—that of the Father in the Old Covenant, that of the Son in the New Testament, and the approaching period of the Holy Spirit. Peter was the representative of the first, Paul of the Second, and John of the third of these periods. During the third era, which was to commence about 1260, but to last only a short time, the glory of Christianity would be fully manifested.—Joachim was held in high esteem by all ranks, and their protection proved his safeguard against the enmity of the hierarchy.—4. The views broached by Joachim were eagerly adopted, especially by the Franciscan sectaries or FRATRICELLI (§ 128, 4), and the Beghards who had joined them (§ 128, 5). In their hands the tenets of Joachim became what was called the doctrine of the “*Eternal Evangel*,” or the message concerning the age of the Holy Spirit. These views were expressed in the “*Introductorius in Evangelium æternum*,”—a treatise composed either by *John of Parma* (formerly General of the Franciscans, but deposed and succeeded by Bonaventura), or by *Gerhard*, a monk whose tenets were impeached about the same time. At the request of the University of Paris, the book was condemned by *Alexander IV.* in 1254. At length *Nicholas III.* decided in 1279 the controversy so long raging among the Franciscans as to the lawfulness of holding property. The Pontiff ruled that the disciples of St Francis were only prohibited the possession, but not the usufruct of property. This decision gave great offence to the extreme party, and their leader, *Johannes Petrus Oliva* (ob. 1297), fulminated apocalyptic visions and prophetic denunciations against the Romish Antichrist. Such visions and outbursts of fanaticism rose almost to the pitch of madness in the case of TANCHELM, a Dutchman, who designated himself God in virtue of his having received the Holy Ghost, celebrated his affiancing to the Virgin Mary, and was killed by a priest in 1124. A similar remark applies to another fanatic, a native of Gascoigne, EON, or *Eudo de Stella*, who, applying to his own name the ecclesiastical formula “*Per EUM, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos*,” claimed to be the judge of the quick and the dead, and died in prison in 1148.

5. THE WALDENSES. (Comp. *Jean Leger*, hist. générale des églises evang. de Piemont ou Vaudoises. Leyde 1666. Transl. into German by *Schweinitz*. Bresl. 1750. 2 Vols. *A. Monastier*, Hist. des egl. Vaud. Gen. 1847. 2 T. *A. Muston*, l'Israel des Alpes.

Par. 1851. 4 T. (repeatedly transl. into Engl.). *F. Bender*, Gesch. d. Wald. Ulm. 1850. *A. W. Dieckhoff*, d. Wald. im M. A. Gött. 1851. *J. J. Herzog*, d. roman. Wald. Halle 1853. *Maitland*, u. s. Note 1.)—*Waldus* (Valdez, or, as later authorities also call him, *Petrus Waldus*) was originally a rich citizen of Lyons. For his personal instruction he got the New Testament and a selection of pregnant passages from the Fathers translated into the Romaunt by some clerical friends. By such studies his mind became imbued with Gospel truth, when the sudden death of a friend aroused and decided him to change his former mode of life (about 1170). In pursuance of this resolution, he distributed all his goods among the poor, and founded “an apostolic association” for preaching the Gospel to the country people. In literal obedience to the directions of Scripture, these missionaries were to go forth by two and two, without staff or scrip, their feet shod with wooden sandals (*sabates*, *sabots*), they were to devote themselves to preaching and teaching, and in every respect to imitate apostolic poverty and simplicity. They were called *Pauperes de Lugduno*, *Leoniste*, or *Sabatati*. It certainly formed not part of the original plan of Waldus that his adherents should take up a position of hostility to the Church; but when the Archbishop of Lyons prohibited their preaching, when Pope *Alexander III.* sullenly refused his sanction to their associations, and when, soon afterwards, a papal Council at Verona, under *Lucius III.* (1183), excommunicated them, the Catholic Church, by driving them from its bosom, swept away those barriers which had hitherto restrained them in their search after truth. Waldus himself was obliged to flee from France. He laboured for some time in Italy and in other countries; lastly in Bohemia, where he died in 1197. Even at that early period his adherents had already spread throughout the West. They were most numerous in the south of France, in the east of Spain, and in the north of Italy; but many of their converts were also found in Germany, in Switzerland, and in Bohemia. The so-called “Winkeler” (or conventiclers), who were discovered and persecuted in the districts along the Rhine in 1212, were probably also Waldenses.—*Innocent III.*, with his wonted sagacity, perceived the injustice and impolicy of his predecessors, whose blind zeal had deprived the Catholic Church of what might have proved valuable auxiliaries. Accordingly, he attempted (1210) to transform the community of *Pauperes de Lugduno* into a monkish association of *Pauperes Catholici*, to whom, under the superintendence of the bishops, he granted permission to preach, to expound the Scriptures, and to hold meetings for religious purposes. But the concession came too late; already the Waldenses had sufficiently advanced to know the unscriptural character of the papal Church, and they now refused to purchase immunity by a sinful compromise. The cruel persecutions to which they were exposed, and in which thousands were brought to the stake, proved even less efficacious

than the advances of the Pope in restoring them to the bosom of the Church. They gradually retired from France, Spain, and Italy into the remote valleys of Piedmont and Savoy.

According to modern Waldensian tradition, which a number of Protestant writers (most notably *U. Hahn, ut supra*) have followed, the name and origin of the Waldenses should be traced much beyond Waldus of Lyons. By their account, Waldensian or Vallensian congregations existed in *the valleys* of Piedmont from the time of Claudius of Turin (§ 122, 2), if not from apostolic times, and among them the doctrines of the Gospel had throughout been preserved in their purity. From them Petrus of Lyons had derived his religious knowledge and the surname of Waldus, *i.e.*, the Waldensian. In support of this tradition they refer to the ancient Waldensian literature. But the impartial and full investigations of *Dieckhoff* and *Herzog* have unfortunately shown that these statements are wholly ungrounded. The ancient Waldensian literature may be divided into two very different classes. The writings of the first period, dating from the close of the twelfth and the commencement of the thirteenth century, bear evidence that at that time the community had not completely separated from the Church. Accordingly, while the corruptions of the Church are indeed deplored, the Catholic Church itself is not denounced; fasting and almsgiving are urgently recommended as meritorious works, auricular confession is approved, the service of the Virgin and of saints is still acknowledged, the priesthood of the Catholic Church recognised, monasticism extolled as the highest stage of evangelical perfection, and lastly the seven sacraments and the mass are owned. On all essential points these writings tally with the statements of the Catholic controversialists (*Reinerius*, l. c., Note 1; *Alanus ab Insulis*, § 134, 2; *Stephanus de Borbone*, and others). Above all, they make no allusion to the existence of Waldenses in Piedmont before the appearance of Waldus. It is otherwise with the writings which belong to the second period of their history. In them Rome is denounced as Babylon, the Pope as Antichrist, the worship of saints as idolatry, monasticism is reprobated, while the doctrine of indulgences and of purgatory, the mass and auricular confession, are rejected. If the writings of the former period show what the Waldenses were, and what they sought, before their separation from the Church, those of the second disclose what they became after their expulsion, and in consequence of the fearful persecutions to which they had been subjected. But from the very first there was this fundamental difference between them and the Romish Church, that they were deeply impressed with the right and duty of every Christian to study the Scriptures for himself; that they ardently desired to restore the pristine purity and simplicity of Christian life—an object they sought to accomplish by a literal observance of the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount; and lastly, that, like some of the



later reformers, they believed that reverence and obedience were due only to pious priests. In imitation of monastic arrangements, their adherents were divided into the "perfecti" and the "credentes," the former alone being bound to celibacy and absolute poverty. After their expulsion from the Church, they were of course obliged to make ecclesiastical provision for themselves. The apostolic succession in their ordination was preserved by means of some bishops who had joined them. The presidents of particular congregations were called *Barbes* (uncles). Even their opponents were obliged to admit the purity of their morals and their separation from the world; they were struck chiefly, however, with the knowledge which they possessed of the Scriptures. A third era in their history, when their dogmatic views underwent a complete change, and they received the doctrine of justification by faith alone, commenced about the time of Hus, and was completed under the influence of the Reformers, specially of Zwingle and Calvin.

#### § 139. REACTION IN THE CHURCH.

It will readily be understood that the rapid spread of heretics and sectaries during the eleventh and twelfth centuries excited considerable alarm in the Church. Indeed, its very existence seemed now endangered. So early as the eleventh century leading ecclesiastics saw no other remedy than the stake (a kind of prelude to those torments which hereafter awaited heretics). Only *one* voice, that of Bishop *Wazo* of Lieges (*ob.* 1048), was lifted against this iniquitous mode of conversion. Happily the opponents of this favourite and easy method of terminating controversy were more numerous in the twelfth century. *Petrus Venerabilis* (§ 128, 1), *St Hildegard*, and *St Bernard*, protested against attempts at conviction by fire and sword; while the latter, by his own example and success, proved that affectionate admonition and kindly teaching were likely to produce more satisfactory results than measures which only converted simple minded men into enthusiastic martyrs. But executioners and stakes were more readily procured than men like *St Bernard*, of whom even in the twelfth century there was not a superabundance. At a later period *St Dominic* despatched his disciples to teach and convert heretics by preaching and discussions. So long as they confined themselves to these means their labours were not unsuccessful. But by and by *they* also found it more easy and efficacious to employ the thumbscrew than syllogisms. The crusade against the Albigenses and the tribunals of the Inquisition finally arrested the spread of heresy. The scattered members of these sects sought safety in concealment. Throughout, the Church made no distinction between

different sectaries, and one and the same sentence was pronounced on Cathari and Waldenses, on Petrobrusians, Arnoldists, and Fratricelli (species quidem habentes diversas, wrote Innocent III., sed caudas ad invicem colligatas); and indeed, so far as their opposition to the Papacy and hierarchy was concerned, they were all at one.

1. CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES (1209-1229). Comp. *Sismonde di Sismondi*, les croisad. contre les Alb.ig. Par. 1828; *J. S. Barrau et A. B. Darragon*, Hist. des crois. c. les Alb. Par. 1843.—The great stronghold of the numberless sects which were designated as Cathari, Bulgarians, Manicheans, etc., was in the south of France, where they had secured the protection of *Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse*, and of other powerful vassals. *Innocent III.*, who stigmatised them as worse than the Saracens, commissioned the order of Cistercians to effect their conversion, but their labours were unsuccessful. Upon this the Pope despatched, in 1203, *Peter of Castelnau* as his legate, with ample powers for their suppression. Peter was murdered in 1208, and suspicion fell on Raymond. By order of the Pontiff, *Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux*, now proclaimed a crusade against the sectaries. The army thus raised was commanded by *Simon, Count of Montfort*. The little town of *Albi*, in the district of Albigeois, was regarded as the great centre of the party; whence the name of ALBIGENSES, by which all these sects were designated, though in many respects they greatly differed. The murderous war which now ensued, and which in fanaticism and cruelty (on both sides) was unparalleled, lasted for no less than twenty years. Alike the guilty and the innocent, men and women, children and aged persons, fell its victims; the country was changed into a desert, and the Albigenes were almost exterminated.

2. THE INQUISITION.—So early as at the *Fourth Lateran Council* (1215), measures had been concerted against a revival of the Albigenian heresy. No sooner was the crusade finished than a *synod* met at *Toulouse* (1229) to carry out these precautions. Bishops were enjoined to employ persons, whose sole duty it should be to hunt out heretics, and to hand them over to the proper tribunals. Any secular or clerical official who spared a heretic was to lose his property and office, every house in which a heretic was sheltered should be levelled with the ground; the people were to take the sacrament three times a year; every two years they were again to make declaration of their adherence to the Romish Church; those suspected of heresy were to be refused every assistance, medical or otherwise, even in case of mortal illness, etc. But the bishops were slow in enforcing these iniquitous ordinances. On this account Gregory IX. instituted special TRIBUNALS OF INQUISITION (*Inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis*), which were confided to the *Domini-cans* (1232). Let loose against the heretics as “*Domini canes*” (a

designation which they coveted as an honour), the inquisitors possessed unlimited power. Any party suspected or denounced could be imprisoned and tried without being confronted either with accuser or witnesses, and torture was freely employed to extract confession. Those who recanted were generally condemned to imprisonment for life; those who proved obstinate were (in accordance with the principle, *ecclesia non sitit sanguinem*) handed to the secular tribunal to be consumed at the stake.

The first Grand Inquisitor of Germany was a Dominican, *Conrad of Marburg*, known also for his unyielding harshness as confessor to *St Elizabeth*, princess of Thuringia and Hesse. After having for two years carried on his dreadful occupation with implacable severity and cruelty, he was killed by some noblemen (1233). It was also due to Conrad that Gregory IX. ordered a crusade to be preached (1234) against the "*Stedingers*," a tribe inhabiting Oldenburg, who, in their indignation at the oppression of the nobility and clergy, refused socage and tithes, and on that ground were declared Albigensian heretics.

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## THIRD PERIOD

### OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

IN ITS MEDÆVAL AND GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

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#### I. THE HIERARCHY, THE CLERGY, AND MONASTICISM.

##### § 140. THE PAPACY.

AT the accession of Boniface VIII. the see of St Peter still possessed that power and influence with which Gregory and Innocent had invested it. The first breach was now to be made in the proud fortress. During the *seventy years of* (so-called) *Babylonish exile at Avignon* the Papacy became the tool of French intrigue, and fell into fearful decay. Nor was this all. When at length the Curia was again transported to Rome, a *papal schism* ensued. For forty years



Europe had the spectacle of two, or even three, pretended representatives of God on earth, hurling against each other the most awful anathemas. At the *Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle*, an attempt was made to put an end to these abuses, and to introduce a thorough *reformation in head and members*. Yet so deep was the conviction still entertained of the necessity for some central government of the Church generally, such as the Papacy had hitherto represented, that even the most determined reformers, the Fathers of Constance and Basle, were the most strenuous advocates for its continuance. But the abuses and the degeneracy of the Papacy, the vileness and dissoluteness of most of its occupants at the time, and of those by whom they were surrounded, the continual demands for money made by the Curia under every kind of pretext, which led to almost incredible simony, obliged the divines of that age to fall back upon the old principle, that the infallibility of the Church rested not in any one individual, but in the representation of the Church universal in *General Councils*, and that these assemblies were superior to the popes. The general acknowledgment and establishment of this principle depended, however, on the union and combination of individual or *national churches*—which now more than ever felt that they were independent members of the great hierarchical body—in their opposition to the corrupt Papacy. Unfortunately the different churches were not prepared for such measures. Content to make separate treaties with the Papacy, in which even the most selfish demands of a particular church were scarcely met, they neglected the general good. Most successful, but also most selfish, were the policy and measures of the Gallican Church. Thus papal cunning ultimately succeeded in disappointing and frustrating the hopes and labours of these councils. From this its severest conflict the Papacy issued once more triumphant; but only, as in the tenth, so now in the fifteenth century, again to descend to the lowest depth of moral degeneracy and vileness.—Luxuriousness and dissoluteness, pomp and worldliness, nepotism, and, since the return to Rome, incessant wars, had helplessly disordered the papal finances. The felt necessity of opening fresh sources of income led to the adoption of new devices. Among them we reckon the *Annatæ*, a full year's income being claimed at every vacancy by the pontiffs, as those who conferred benefices; the *Reservations*, the popes claiming the right of appointing to rich benefices, and exacting large sums for the nomination; the *Expectantiæ*, the popes nominating successors to rich benefices before the death of the incumbent, as

that event did not always take place at the period when papal requirements rendered it desirable; the *Commendæ*, appointments being made, not definitely but provisionally, "in commendam," on condition of paying an annual tax; the *Jus spoliorum*, the see of Peter declaring itself the sole rightful heir of all property acquired by dignitaries of the Church during their tenure of office; the *tithing* of the property of churches for urgent wants; the innumerable *indulgences, dispensations, appeals*, and many other rights, all of which swelled the treasury of the Church.—*Boniface VIII.* added to the papal *tiara* a *second* crown, in token of spiritual and secular rule; Urban V. surmounted it with a third, to indicate that its wearer was the representative of Christ.

1. BONIFACE VIII. (1294-1303). Comp. *W. Drumann, Gesch. Bonif. VIII. Königsb. 1852. 2 Vols.*—In point of sagacity and energy, Boniface was no way inferior to any of his predecessors. Otherwise, however, he was more concerned about the gratification of his immoderate personal ambition than the welfare of the Church. He commenced his reign by expelling the influential Roman family of the Colonna's, who had declared the abdication of Cœlestine V. to be unlawful. But a more dangerous opponent to the Pontiff was *Philip the Fair* of France (1285-1314). The first collision between them arose during the war of Philip with Edward I. of England. In virtue of his hierarchical supremacy, the Pope claimed to be arbiter between the monarchs (1295). These pretensions were disdainfully rejected by the King of France, who also levied on the clergy a heavy contribution for the payment of the expenses of the war. Upon this Boniface issued in 1296 the bull "*Clericis laicos*," which pronounced excommunication against all laymen who exacted contributions from the clergy, and against those of the clergy who paid such taxes. Philip avenged himself by prohibiting the exportation of money from the country. The Pope soon felt the inconvenience of being deprived of his French revenues; he made overtures to the king, consented to certain concessions, and canonised Louis IX., the grandfather of Philip. The king, on the other hand, accepted his arbitration, but only in the character of a *personal* confidant, not as Pope. But when the sentence of the Pontiff proved adverse to Philip, the breach between them became irremediable. The legate of the Pope—a French bishop—was seized on a charge of treason; Boniface denounced Philip as a heretic, and the latter retorted by calling the Pope a fool. (The Pope wrote: *Scire te volumus, quod in spiritualibus et temporalibus nobis subes. Aliud credentes, hæreticos reputamus.* The king replied: *Sciat maxima tua fatuitas, in temporalibus nos alicui non subesse. Secus credentes fatuos et dementes reputamus.*) The view that, in its own province, the secular power was perfectly independent of the spiritual, was branded as Maniche-

anism in the bull "Unam Sanctam" (1302). This measure was soon followed by excommunication and the interdict, by suspension of the clergy and absolution of the people from their oath of allegiance. The French Parliament now proffered some most serious charges against the orthodoxy and the life of the Pope, and appealed to a general council (1303). *William of Nogaret*, the French chancellor, and one of the expelled Colonna's, by force of arms seized the Pope, who received his executioners in the most dignified manner, sitting on his throne and arrayed in all the gorgeousness of his robes. The people soon restored Boniface to liberty. He died the same year of an inflammatory disease. *Dante* has assigned him a place in hell.

2. THE PAPACY IN ITS BABYLONISH EXILE (1309-1377).—After the brief interregnum of an Italian pope, *Bertrand de Got*, Archbishop of Bordeaux and a favourite of Boniface, was unanimously elected as CLEMENT V. (1305-1314). But this prelate had previously made a secret compact with Philip, and bound himself to support French policy. Clement preferred remaining on the other side of the Alps, and in 1309 formally transferred the papal Curia to Avignon, where it continued for nearly seventy years. Throughout this period the Papacy was almost entirely the tool of the French rulers, while at the same time it assumed the most arrogant tone towards other countries. If, on the other hand, the secular power in France supported these hierarchical pretensions, it also took precautions to secure the liberties of the Gallican Church. At Avignon the papal court became increasingly the centre of moral and religious frivolity and looseness. At the *Fifteenth General Council held in Vienne* (1312), Clement sacrificed to the rapacity of Philip the rich order of the Templars; in return, he had the satisfaction that the memory of Boniface VIII., whom Philip would have had condemned, was vindicated. Clement died in 1314. For two years the French and Italian parties among the cardinals contended for the succession; at last the former prevailed, and *John XXII.* was chosen Pontiff. He had promised the Italians upon oath, never to mount horse except for the purpose of going to Rome—and took ship to Avignon. At the time, *Louis of Bavaria* (1314-1347) and *Frederic of Austria* contended for the crown of Germany. The Pope declared that the right of settling the question rested with him alone. But victory decided for Louis, who, in vindication of his title, appealed to the vote of the princes electors, and referred the objections of the Pope to a future general council. The pontiff replied by pronouncing excommunication and the interdict (1324). But Louis went to Italy (1327), received in Rome the imperial crown, and appointed a pious Franciscan of the extreme party in that order (*Nicholas V.*) counter-pope. This rival, however, was not properly supported; and fresh anathemas issuing from Avignon, imperilled the position of the Emperor. John died in 1334. His successor, *BENEDICT XII.* (ob. 1342), was sincerely desirous of



setting himself free from French domination and making his peace with the Emperor, but he was unable to carry out his intentions. It was at this time that the *princes electors* solemnly declared, at their first meeting in *Rhense* (1338), that the office of Roman king depended not on the Pope but only on the choice of the electors. *Clement VI.* (ob. 1352) again pronounced the ban upon Louis, and appointed as his successor Charles IV. of Bohemia (1346), who after the death of Louis was acknowledged by the electors. In 1347 *Cola di Rienzi*, the new tribune of the people, restored the ancient Republic of Rome, in the full anticipation that it would again achieve the conquest of the world. These and other disturbances in Italy rendered it increasingly necessary for the popes to return to their ancient capital. Accordingly *URBAN V.* left Avignon in 1367; only a few of the cardinals unwillingly accompanied him, and so early as 1370 the Pope was obliged to go back to Avignon. But under the rule of his successor, *GREGORY XI.*, in 1377, the papal court was again transported to Rome, where Gregory died the year following.

3. THE PAPAL SCHISM AND THE REFORMING COUNCILS (1378–1443). Comp. *J. H. v. Wessenberg*, die grossen Kirchenversamml. d. 15. 16. Jahrh. (the Great Councils of the 15th and 16th Cent.) Const. 1840. 4 Vols.—After the death of Gregory, the Romans obliged the cardinals to choose an Italian pope (*Urban VI.*). After the election, the French party in the conclave fled, declared the election illegal, and appointed a Frenchman (*Clement VII.*), who took up his residence at Avignon. Thus commenced the PAPAL SCHISM (1378–1409), in consequence of which two popes, each surrounded by a college of cardinals, anathematised each other, and jointly contributed to the destruction of that fabric which Gregory VII. had reared. For thirty years Europe submitted to this state of matters,—not, however, without strenuous protestation against the scandal, especially on the part of the University of Paris (the chancellor *Pierre d'Ailly*, and the rector *Nicholas de Clemangis*). After much fruitless negotiation even the cardinals on both sides became tired of this state of matters, and summoned a General COUNCIL AT PISA (1409) to pronounce on the claims of the two popes (*Gregory XII.* in Rome, and *Benedict XIII.* in Avignon). This seasonable measure was chiefly due to the exertions of *John Charlier de Gerson* (§ 198), at the time Chancellor of the University of Paris. That divine, while admitting the necessity of a visible chief of the Church at Rome, insisted on the necessity of a reformation in head and members, and laid down the principle that a general council was superior to the Pope. The assembly at Pisa numbered among its members the most influential churchmen of the time. The two popes were summoned to its bar; they failed to appear, and were deposed. But instead of now addressing itself to the work of reformation, the Council hastened to elect another pontiff. *Alexander V.*, the new

Pope, immediately adjourned the Council for three years, on pretext that the necessary preparations for the proposed reformation had not yet been made. Accordingly, the only result achieved was—that there were *three* instead of two popes anathematising each other.

Alexander V. died in 1410 at Bologna, probably in consequence of poison administered to him by *Cossa*, the cardinal legate, a most depraved person, who in youth had been a pirate, and now exercised at Bologna the most despotic sway. *Cossa* ascended the papal throne as *John XXIII.* The new Pontiff was bold enough, in 1412, to summon the long-promised General Council to Rome. At the same time, he took care that all the passes leading into Italy should be occupied by his friends the banditti. Hence only a few Italian bishops appeared, and the Council came to nothing. But D'Ailly and Gerson continued their exertions. They were supported by the Emperor Sigismund (1410–1437), who insisted on a free and general council to initiate a thorough reformation. As John required the aid of the Emperor against Naples, he had reluctantly to yield, and accordingly the COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE (1414–1418) was summoned. This assembly was more numerous and influentially attended than any previous or subsequent council (by 18,000 clerics, and innumerable princes, counts, and knights). From the first, the calculations and intrigues of John proved futile. D'Ailly and Gerson carried it, and the Council immediately declared itself supreme in every respect, and competent to depose all the three popes if it saw cause; also, that the reformation in head and members was taken in hand as the main business before them; and that the vote was taken, not according to persons, but according to nations, which previously met and deliberated in separate assemblies. When an accusation was now laid before the Council, charging the Pope with murder, immorality, and simony, John hastily fled in the disguise of a groom. It was with some difficulty that Gerson managed to keep the Council together. The Pontiff was deposed, and soon afterwards made prisoner. Of the other two popes, one abdicated, the other was deposed (1417). The Emperor and the Germans now insisted that the proposed reformation should precede a new election to the Papacy; but they were unsuccessful. Cardinal Colonna was chosen as MARTIN V., and all hopes of a reformation were again at an end. The intrigues of the new Pontiff proved only too efficacious; separate agreements were made with individual nations; and the Council, which had at any rate grown tired of its protracted labours, was dissolved after the forty-fifth general session. The Pope granted to all the members plenary indulgence to the hour of their death, and left the town in triumph. (Comp. also *Lenfant*, Hist. du Conc. de Const. Amst. 1727. 2 T.; *Royko*, Gesch. d. k. Vers. zu Kostniz. Vienna 1782. 4 Vols.; *Aschbach*, Leben K. Sigism. Frcf. 1838.)

It had been resolved at Constance that the next General Council

should meet at *Pavia* in 1423. But before its members assembled, the Pope transferred the assembly to *Sienna*, and then dissolved it after a few sessions, on pretext that it did not command sufficient sympathy. The next council was to have been convened seven years later at Basle. Pope Martin V. died shortly after that term. His successor, EUGENIUS IV., sent Cardinal *Julianus Cesarini* as legate to the COUNCIL OF BASLE (1431-1443). The Council from the first took an independent position, and re-asserted the principle of the absolute authority of general synods. The Pope now proposed to transfer the Council to Bologna—a measure against which even Cesarini protested. After some fruitless negotiations, the Pontiff formally dissolved the Council (1433). But the assembled fathers continued their deliberations, and the Pope was obliged, from political reasons, again to recognise their validity (1434). But as measures were now introduced for a reformation in head and members, Eugenius once more transferred the Council, after its twenty-fifth session, to *Ferrara* (1438), and thence to *Florence*. The solemn reconciliation of the Greeks to the Romish Church which there took place (§ 97, 6), gave it the appearance of work and success. Meantime the Council of Basle continued its sittings, although Cesarini had left it. Its new president, *Cardinal d'Allemand*, filled the places of the bishops who absented themselves with the relics of the churches at Basle. The Pope excommunicated the Council, which in turn deposed him (1439), and chose another Pontiff (*Felix V.*). Europe, however, was tired of these disputes. The authority of Felix was scarcely acknowledged by any, and the Council itself daily lost in numbers and influence. One by one the ablest members left its ranks; many even joined the party of Eugenius, among them, the astute *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini*, a native of Sienna, and the learned and worthy *Nicholas of Cusa* (§ 148, 2, 3). After its 45th session in 1443, the Council continued merely in name; its last representatives ultimately recognised, in 1449, the authority of Nicholas V., the successor of Eugenius. (Comp. also *G. Voigt*, *Enea Silvio*, Pius II. u. s. Zeitalter. Berl. 1856.)

4. THE LAST POPES BEFORE THE REFORMATION (1443-1517).—From its contest with the reforming councils the Papacy had issued triumphant. It almost seemed, like a phoenix, to have sprung from its ashes. But the abuses prevalent in the Church—most notably those caused by the Papacy itself—were as deeply and generally felt as ever. The desire among all the more noble-minded, both princes and subjects, for a reformation in head and members, was not abated; and so long as it continued, the Papacy, as then constituted, was imperilled. The man who was now at the helm of the Church was nowise fitted for the emergency. Even under the successors of Eugenius, *Aeneas Sylvius*, who had left the ranks of the Basle reformers to make his peace with the Holy See, really wielded the authority of the Papacy. Shortly afterwards he was elevated



to the Chair of Peter as PIUS II. (1458–1464). Æneas would fain have been a second Hildebrand, but times had changed; besides, the Pontiff was in every respect inferior to his great model. Hildebrand's accession took place after a period during which the Papacy had reached its lowest depth. In the case of Æneas it was exactly the reverse; a similar degradation followed his pontificate. In point of learning, astuteness, and energy, he was however equal to any of his predecessors, while in diplomatic skill he surpassed them. The French Church alone succeeded in concluding a *second pragmatic sanction* (1438), by which the principles asserted at Basle were secured, and maintained even against Pius II. The attempts of the German Church to obtain similar privileges proved fruitless. All the efforts of the Germans and their princes were frustrated by the callousness of the Emperor Frederic III. (1439–1493), and by the manœuvres of Æneas. At a *General Council held in Mantua* in 1459, the principles laid down at the Council of Constance were condemned as heretical; and shortly before his death the Pope himself expressly retracted, in a bull addressed to the University of Cologne, his own former liberal principles and writings.—The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) seemed a loud call to take measures of precaution against the great enemy of Christianity. Like his two predecessors, Pius II. entered with spirit into this question. Even before this time Calixtus III. had despatched a fleet of his own against the Turks, after having in vain appealed to the secular princes on the subject. But the victories it achieved led to no lasting result. Calixtus had next demanded tithes from all churches for the purpose of carrying on the holy war; but the call was treated as merely a pretext for raising money. Pius II. again reverted to this plan; but his enthusiastic appeal at the Council of Mantua failed to evoke the spirit which fired the Council of Clarendon. Like Hildebrand of old, he would fain have headed a crusade in person; but the most important element—an army—was wanting. He also addressed a letter to Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople, in which he earnestly urged the claims of Christianity on his reception—it need scarcely be added, without effect. (Comp. *G. Voigt, ut supra.*—For Alex. VI. comp. Mr. D. B. la vie d'Alex. Lond. 1737; *Tommasi*, la vita di Cesare Borgia. Montechiaro 1670; *Gordon*, la vie du P. Alex. trad. de l'Angl. Amst. 1732.—For Julius II., *Dubos*, Hist. de la ligue faite à Cambray.—For Leo X., *Roscoe*, Life and Pontificate of Leo X. London (Bohn) 1846. 2 Vols. Also generally, *L. Ranke*, Hist. of the Popes in the 16th and 17th Cent. London 1847. 3 Vols.; and *Bower*, Hist. d. Päpste. Edit. by *Rambach*.)

Almost all the successors of Pius II. till the Reformation, were distinguished for their dissoluteness, vileness, or at least for want of piety. Probably the best among them was PAUL II. (ob. 1471), though he also was fond of pomp and extravagance. *Sixtus IV.*

(*ob.* 1484) increased the revenues of his see by instituting brothels in Rome. Under his pontificate the nepotism of his predecessors reached the highest stage; nor did the Pope scruple to take part in the frightful conspiracy against the Medici at Florence. INNOCENT VIII. (*ob.* 1492), while summoning Christendom to a war against the Turks, was at the same time in receipt of regular pay from the Sultan for keeping his brother a captive. To his zeal it was due that criminal procedure against witches was introduced into Germany. His paternal care for his sixteen illegitimate children procured for him, in common parlance, the title of "father of his country" (*Octo Nocens genuit pueros, totidemque puellas,—Hunc merito potuit dicere Roma patrem*). ALEXANDER VI. (*ob.* 1503) was not without political abilities, and proved an energetic although despotic ruler. He never scrupled at any measure to attain his own objects, and even entered into a league with the hereditary enemy of Christendom against the most Christian King (of France). In short, nepotism and immorality were at no time carried to a higher pitch than in the person and under the reign of Alexander. Among other enormities, he was generally suspected of incest with his daughter *Lucrezia*. Under his pontificate, Savonarola, the Florentine preacher, had to expiate his zeal and devotion at the stake (§ 149, 2). The Pontiff died in consequence of poison, which his son *Cæsar Borgia*, a monster of every vice, had destined for a wealthy cardinal. JULIUS II. (*ob.* 1513) was a great warrior. His main object was to liberate Italy from foreign domination in order to aggrandise the States of the Church. He expelled the French from the Peninsula, on account of which a French *National Council assembled at Tours*, in 1510, renounced his allegiance. Germany also showed signs of rebellion; and the Emperor *Maximilian* (1493–1519) commissioned the learned and liberal *Wimpfeling* to draw up a list of many and serious grievances against the Papacy, and to make a draft of a pragmatic sanction for Germany. At last the French and German monarchs summoned a general *Council at Pisa* in 1511, when the resolutions of Basle were re-enacted, and the Pope was deposed. As Julius was at the time dangerously ill, Maximilian, who had just lost his wife, conceived the idea of assuming the Papacy himself. But Julius recovered, and with his Swiss mercenaries dispersed the Council of Pisa, which fled to Lyons. At the *Fifth General Lateran Council* in 1512, Louis XII. of France was excommunicated, and a concordat concluded with Maximilian, by which the most crying grievances of the Germans were removed. Upon this Louis had a medal struck, bearing the inscription, "*Perdam Babylonis nomen*," and marched against the Pope. But his army was beaten by the papal troops in the Milanese territory, and obliged to retire from Italy. Julius was succeeded by LEO X. (*ob.* 1521), one of the Medici—a man of the highest culture and the finest taste, but luxurious and lavish, light-minded and careless, and destitute of all genuine inte-

rest either in religion or in the Church. In 1517 the Pontiff celebrated, at a splendid *Lateran Council*, the triumph of the Papacy, when Francis I. of France, in return for other concessions, surrendered the pragmatic sanction. The Councils of Constance and Basle were also again condemned. In the same year, and only a few months later, the word of a poor German monk effected what the combined power of all the nations of the West had failed to achieve in these councils.

### § 141. THE CLERGY.

During this period *Provincial Synods* lost almost all their former importance. They were rarely held, and only under the presidency of a papal legate. At Constance and Basle the *bishops* attempted to break the yoke of papal despotism and pecuniary exactions; but the selfishness which marked the policy of the nations represented at these councils, prevented the success of such beneficial measures. Despite the proposals made at Basle, the *cathedral-chapters* continued to furnish a provision for the younger and unportioned sons of the nobility, who in worldliness and excesses yielded nothing to their brothers. The clergy no longer gave itself to the pursuit of study. In France the political influence of the hierarchy was small; and the liberties of the Gallican Church were protected, not by the prelates, but by the University and the Parliament. In England the bishops formed an important part of the estates. In Germany also they occupied an influential position, as holding temporal sovereignty, while the spiritual princes electors frequently swayed the destinies of the empire. The moral condition of the clergy was sufficiently sad. The bishops commonly lived in open concubinage. The lower secular clergy followed their example, and in many cases paid for this indulgence a yearly tax to the bishop. To this arrangement the people—who distinguished between the office and its holder—made no objection; in fact, it secured their wives and daughters from the temptations of the confessional. Thousands of loose women from all countries had assembled at Constance and Basle during the sittings of the councils. Unnatural vices also were too common among the clergy, at least in Italy. Any movement at Constance and Basle towards putting an end to these vices of the clergy, by giving them leave to marry, was checked by the fear that benefices might become hereditary, and that the clergy would be made still more dependent on the State. Accordingly the advice of *Gerson* was taken in the matter, who held, that as the vow of celibacy



only referred to the marriage of priests, concubinage was not a breach of that obligation, but merely of the general commandment of chastity.

### § 142. THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

The *Monastic Orders* shared the general corruption of the clergy. Too frequently the cloisters became the seats of dissoluteness, debauchery, idleness, crimes, and unnatural vices. Monks and nuns of adjoining cloisters lived in open immorality, on which account Nicholas of Clemangis was wont to say that “*virginem velare*” was in reality little else than “*virginem ad scortandum exponere*.” The Councils of Constance and Basle had their attention directed to these dreadful abuses, which bishops and secular princes also endeavoured to remedy. But all such attempts proved unavailing. The papal Curia, so far from seconding any measures of reform, rather interposed to arrest them. Among the various orders, the Benedictines, with their different branches, were probably most deeply tainted, while the mendicant orders stood highest in the moral scale. Following the example of the cathedral chapters, the rich monasteries distributed their revenues among their inmates (*Proprietarii*). The gratification of the palate, and not the pursuit of science, was the object of study in these cloisters. A general chapter of the Benedictines had been convened at Constance, under the superintendence of the Council, for the reformation of that order; but the meeting led to no result. By suggestion of the Council of Basle, congregations of reformed monasteries were instituted, which for a short time observed a stricter discipline, but soon they also gave way to the old practices. The Franciscans and Dominicans were still the great representatives of monasticism; they proved the bulwark of the Papacy, and in some measure contributed, at least in the fourteenth century, to theological science. In the fifteenth century, however, they became involved in the general corruption. The *Carthusians* alone continued their ancient practice of asceticism.

1. The DOMINICANS, who were entrusted with the conduct of the Inquisition, and were largely employed as confessors among the higher classes, gradually ceased to be a mendicant order. Accordingly, they now explained their vow of poverty as applying only to personal, not to common possessions, and maintained that the latter had been held even by Christ and His apostles. This proposition was controverted by the FRANCISCANS, who, in virtue of the nominal surrender of all their property to the Church of Rome, professed still to adhere to their original vow. When in 1321 the

Inquisition at Narbonne condemned a Beghard to the stake for asserting that Christ and the apostles had held neither personal nor common property, the Franciscans maintained the orthodoxy of this statement, and accused the Dominicans before Pope *John XXII.* The Pontiff took the part of the Dominicans, and declared that the nominal donation of Franciscan property was merely an illusion. This decision occasioned a rupture among the Franciscans. The more rigorous members, with the general, *Michael of Cesena*, and the celebrated *William Occam*, joined the party of the "spiritualists," and took the side of Louis of Bavaria against the Pope. Forcible measures against them proved unavailing. Accordingly, they were appeased at Constance by their formal recognition as brethren of the stricter observance (*observantes*). The more lax party among the Franciscans took the name of *Conventuales*, and continued to regard their properties as really belonging to the donors, and themselves as only enjoying their usufruct. The controversy about the *Immaculate Conception* still continued to rage. St Catharine had visions which confirmed the dogma of the Dominicans, while St Bridget gave the same kind of sanction to the opinions of the Franciscans. The latter, however, gained influence and authority. It was sanctioned by the University of *Paris* in 1387; while the Council of Basle (in 1439) and Pope Sixtus IV. anathematised any one who should declare the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception to be heretical, or the festival in its honour sinful. For the same purpose a comedy was enacted at Berne in 1509, which, however, had a tragical termination. The Dominicans of that city imposed on the simplicity of a poor tailor called Jetzer. The tailor had visions and revelations of the Virgin. Even the prints of the nails which pierced the Saviour were reproduced in him by a red-hot iron, and a picture of the Virgin shed in his sight bloody tears over the godless opinions of the Franciscans. The clumsy imposture was at last discovered, and the prior, with three of his monks, were condemned to the stake.—In 1462 another controversy broke out between the two orders. In Brescia, a Franciscan, *Jacob of Marchia*, had on Easter day maintained in the pulpit that the blood which Christ shed on the cross had, till His resurrection and consequent reassumption of it into His nature, continued beyond the hypostatic union with the Logos, and hence had not, during that time, been an object of adoration. The Grand Inquisitor, *Jacob of Brescia*, declared this sentiment heretical. A controversy arose; and during Christmas 1463 three Dominicans and as many Minors discussed the question for three days before the Pope and cardinals, but without leading to any result. The Pope at the time reserved his decision, which, indeed, was never pronounced.

*St Catharine of Sienna*, the daughter of a dyer, was one of the chief ornaments of the Dominicans (*ob.* 1380). Even when a child she had visions and ecstasies, during which Christ was said to have

formally betrothed Himself to her, and to have given her His heart instead of her own. She also bore the prints of the nails, but only inwardly. Notwithstanding her deep humility, the influence and authority which she enjoyed were unparalleled. She became the oracle of the Dominicans, and all Italy almost worshipped at her feet. Contrary to her inclination, she was made the arbiter of the religious and political controversies of the time. To her admonitions, and to those of St Bridget, it was mainly due that the Babylonish captivity at Avignon came to a close.

THE ORDER OF ST AUGUSTINE had also its congregations for the restoration of pristine discipline. But these branches continued in connection with the order itself, though they were subject to a vicar-general of their own. Such a congregation existed in Saxony from 1493, and to it both *Staupitz* and *Luther* belonged.

2. ABOLITION OF THE ORDER OF TEMPLARS, 1312. (Comp. *Michelet*, *procès des Templiers*. Par. 1841–51. 2 T. *Maillard de Chambure*, *Règle et statuts secrets des Temp.* Par. 1841. *W. Havemann*, *Gesch. d. Ausgangs d. Templerord.*—Hist. of the Cess. of the Order of T.—Stuttg. 1846. *J. v. Hammer-Purgstall*, d. Schuld d. Templer—the Guilt of the T.—Vienna 1855.)—Among all the knightly orders, the Templars, who since their return to Europe chiefly resided at Paris, had attained greatest power and wealth, but were also charged with most pride, rapacity, and dissoluteness. Their independence of the State was as galling to *Philip the Fair* of France, as their untold riches were attractive to his cupidity. Among the common people rumours circulated that the members of the order were secretly Mohammedans, that they practised the black art, and indulged in unnatural vices. It was whispered that they even worshipped an idol called *Baffomet* (Mohammed); that a black cat appeared in their meetings; that at their reception into the order the knights blasphemed the Saviour, and spat and trampled upon the crucifix. On these grounds, or at least on such pretences, Philip ordered all the Templars in his dominions to be imprisoned, and forthwith commenced a process against them (1307). *Pope Clement V.* was obliged, at the *Council of Vienne* (1312), formally to dissolve the order. *Jacob of Molay*, the last grand master, with many of the knights, suffered at the stake. It is difficult, at this period of time, to pronounce with certainty as to their guilt or innocence. Thus much at least is true, that they had deserted the Christian cause in the East. Besides, it is also supposed by many that they entertained Gnostic and Antinomian views akin to those formerly held by the Ophites.

3. The principal NEW ORDERS founded at this time were:—  
1. The Order of the CŒLESTINES, founded by *Peter of Murrone* (afterwards Pope Cœlestine V., comp. § 127, 6), who lived in a cave on Mount Murrone, in Apulia, in the practice of strictest asceticism. The fame of his sanctity soon attracted companions of his solitude,



who built a monastery on Mount Majella. Urban IV. imposed on them the rule of the Benedictines. When Peter was elevated to the papal see (1294), his companions adopted in his honour the name of Cœlestines. The new congregation rapidly extended throughout the West.—2. The JEROMITES. This order arose from associations of hermits, to whom Gregory XI. in 1374 gave a rule similar to that of the Augustines. They chose St Jerome as their patron saint. From Spain, where the order originated, it spread into Italy.—3. The JESUATES, founded by *Johannes Colombini* of Sienna. With an imagination inflamed by poring over the legends of saints, Colombini, with some likeminded companions, resolved to found an association for the twofold object of self-chastisement and attendance on the sick. Urban V., after his return to Rome, imposed on them the rule of the Augustines (1367). Their name was derived from the circumstance that they hailed every one whom they met with the name of Jesus.—4. The MINIMI, a kind of Minors, founded by *Franciscus de Paula*, in Calabria (1435). Their rule was exceedingly strict; the members were prohibited the use of animal food, of milk, butter, eggs, etc., on which account their mode of life was also designated as “*vita quadragesimalis*.”—5. The NUNS OF ST ELIZABETH, an order founded by *St Elizabeth of Thuringia* (ob. 1231). After having in the most exemplary manner discharged the various duties of a wife, a mother, and a princess, Elizabeth took the grey habit, confined at the waist with the Franciscan cord, as also the three vows, and retired to a wretched cot near Marburg, where she devoted herself to prayer, self-chastisement, and deeds of beneficence. Her example was followed by a number of pious women and maidens. These were in the fourteenth century regularly organised into an order, which devoted itself exclusively to the care of the poor and the sick.—6. The NUNS OF ST BRIDGET. *St Bridget* was a Swedish princess, who early in life had visions, in which the Saviour appeared to her, smitten and wounded. But her father obliged her to marry, and she became the mother of eight children. On the death of her husband, she subjected herself to the most rigid ascetic exercises, and in consequence of some visions, founded at Wadstena near Linköping a nunnery for sixty inmates, who devoted themselves to the service of the Virgin. Connected with this institution was a separate dwelling for thirteen priests (in imitation of the apostles), for four deacons (after the four great fathers), and for eight lay brethren who had charge of all secular affairs. All these persons were subject to the rule of the lady abbess. The order spread, especially in the north of Europe.

4. The most famed among the HERMITS of this period, was *Nicholas von der Flüe*, in the Alps, a worthy and pious man, who, after an active life in the world, spent his last twenty years in solitude and communion with God (ob. 1487). Like St Anthony of

old, he acted as peacemaker and adviser not merely to the shepherds around him, but amid the political troubles of his own country.

5. THE BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE were an association of pious clergymen founded by *Gerhard Groot* at Deventer, in the Netherlands (1384). *Gerhard* died that same year of pestilence; but the work was continued by *Florentius Radewin*, his likeminded pupil. The house of the brethren at Deventer became the centre and nucleus of similar institutions throughout the north of Europe. The members of this association consisted of clergy and laity, who, without submitting to any formal vow or rule, devoted themselves to the concerns of their own souls. Their earnest and evangelical sermons, their attention to the spiritual interests of those with whom they were brought into contact, and their schools, gave them a wide and very beneficial influence among the people. The most frequented of their seminaries were those of Deventer and of the Hague, which at times numbered more than 1200 scholars. Similar institutions for sisters of the common life were also founded. *Florentius* somewhat enlarged the original plan by building at *Windesheim*, near *Zwoll*, a monastery for *regular canons* (1386). More celebrated even than this cloister was that on *Mount St Agnes*, at *Zwoll*, of which *Thomas a Kempis* was an inmate. The labours of *Florentius* were seconded by *Gerhard of Zutphen*, who was wont to insist on the necessity of reading the Bible in the vernacular, and on its importance both in preaching and praying. Of course the mendicant orders were violent enemies of this pious association. At last a Dominican, *Matthew Grabow*, accused them before the Bishop of *Utrecht*, and also wrote a large volume against them. The Bishop refused his suit; and when *Grabow* appealed to the Pope, the prelate carried the matter to the Council of *Constance*. *Gerson* and *d'Ailly* took the part of the brethren; and *Martin V.* not only gave his sanction to their associations, but accorded their members the privilege of claiming ordination at any time. The brethren in many respects prepared the way for the Reformation; indeed, most of them afterwards became its cordial adherents. After that period they gradually declined, and ceased to exist in the seventeenth century. (Comp. *Gerardi Magni Epp. XIV.*, ed. *J. G. Acquoy*. Amst. 1857. *G. H. M. Delprat*, over d. Broederschap van G. Groote (2d ed. Arnh. 1856), 1st ed. transl. into German with add. by *Mohnike*. Leips. 1846. *K. Ullmann*, Reformers before the Reformat. (transl. by *Menzies* in *Clarks' For. Theol. Libr.*). Edinb. 2 Vols. *B. Bähring*, *Gerh. Groot u. Florentius*. Hamb. 1849.)

## II. THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE.

## § 143. PUBLIC WORSHIP AND THE FINE ARTS.

The Brethren of the Common Life, the Mystics, and a number of sectaries, especially the Waldenses, had insisted on, and by their example promoted, the practice of PREACHING in the vernacular. In opposition to those stiff and empty schoolmen whose sermons abounded with displays of spurious learning or with theological subtleties, a series of popular preachers arose who addressed themselves to the wants of their cotemporaries, and in plain, in satirical, sometimes even in ludicrous language, exposed the defects and abuses prevalent among all classes. Such teachers were found in almost all countries. Thus *Michael Menot*, a Franciscan (*ob.* 1519), preached in France; *Gabriel Barletta*, a Dominican, in Italy; and *John Gailer* of Kaisersberg (*ob.* 1510) in Strasburg. The Feast of the Immaculate Conception was generally introduced in France, Germany, and England during the fourteenth century. Other festivals were also instituted in honour of Mary. The Council of Constance had given its sanction and authority to the practice of "communio sub una." In consequence, the miracle of a bleeding host now frequently occurred, although the fraud was exposed in a number of instances. The excessive anxiety for and veneration of relics still continued and increased. In the fifteenth century originated the legend, that angels had carried through the air the house of Mary from Nazareth to the coast of Dalmatia (1291); thence, on the 10th December 1294, to Recanati, and lastly, after the lapse of eight months, to *Loretto*.

1. The following were the NEW FESTIVALS IN HONOUR OF THE VIRGIN: the *Feast of the Presentation of Mary*, on the 21st Nov. (according to Leviticus xii. 5–8), a solemnity introduced in the East at a much earlier period; and the *Festival of the Visitation of Mary*, on the 2d July, in allusion to Luke i. 39–56. During the fifteenth century, the *Feast of the Seven Dolors of Mary*, on the Friday or Saturday before Palm Sunday, was instituted. The worship of the Virgin was chiefly promoted by the Dominicans, who had special *Fraternities of the Rosary*. Dominic himself is said to have observed the *Festival of the Rosary* on the 1st of October (for the protection and intercession of the Virgin). It was, however, only observed by the Dominicans, till after the victory of Lepanto (1571), which was regarded as due to this species of devotion, when Gregory XIII. made it a general festival.

2. HYMNOLOGY.—A very marked contrast is noticeable between



the number and value of the LATIN HYMNS dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and those of the preceding period. Only the Mystics (as, for example, Thomas a Kempis) still produced such compositions. On the other hand, it may be said that German hymnology originated during this period. Strange though it may appear, the processions of Flagellants in the fourteenth cent. contributed not a little to the spread of religious poetry in the vernacular. The hymns or chants of the Flagellants were in the vernacular, and thus found ready access to the hearts of the people. But it was in the fifteenth cent., and during the Hussite movement, that really useful popular hymns were composed, and for the first time introduced into the services of the Church. Hus himself insisted on the necessity of the people taking part in the service of song, and composed a number of excellent hymns in the Bohemian. The various hymns used by the "Bohemian Brethren" (400 in number) were collected and published in 1504 by *Lucas*, a senior or bishop of the "Brethren." The introduction of German hymns was mainly due to *Petrus Dresdensis*, formerly assistant to Hus at Prague, and since 1420 rector at Zwickau. His efforts were not unsuccessful. In some churches German hymns were now sung at the great festivals, and at special ecclesiastical solemnities, while in isolated cases they were even used at the principal service and at mass. The religious poetry of that age was of a fourfold character:—1. *Mixed hymns*, half German and half Latin (such as "Puer natus in Bethlehem, Rejoice in it Jerusalem," etc.).—2. *Translations and adaptations of Latin hymns*. So early as the close of the fourteenth cent. an attempt at such translations was made by *Johannes*, "the monk of Salzburg," and at a somewhat later period by *Brother Dietric*. A collection of these versions appeared in 1494; but the majority of the hymns were so badly rendered, that the force and point of the original was completely lost.—3. *Original German hymns*, commonly by monks or secular poets. These, however, were too frequently destitute of all religious fervour or poetic value.—4. *Adaptations of secular or of Minne-songs*. Thus the popular ditty, originally intended for wandering apprentices, which commenced: "Inspruck I must leave thee, And go my lonely way, Far hence to foreign lands," etc., was transformed into: "O world I must leave thee, And go my lonely way, Unto my Father's home," etc. *Henry of Laufenberg*, a priest at Freiburg about 1450, seems to have been the first to attempt this kind of poetry. In all cases the melody of the original was retained. Although many of these adaptations were little better than a burlesque, they became the means of associating popular ideas and melodies with the hymns of the Church, thus preparing the way for the following period.

3. CHURCH MUSIC.—Great improvements were made at this period in the building of organs; the keys were made smaller, the pedal was added, etc. *Henry Cranz*, who flourished about 1500,

was reputed the most successful builder of organs at that period. Equally distinguished as an organist was *Antonio dagl' Organi* at Rome, who gathered around him pupils from all countries (ob. 1498). A great deal was also done for the improvement of the SERVICE OF SONG; the rules of counterpoint, and other musical rules, were enlarged or applied, and singing in parts came into vogue. At this time the Dutch bore the palm in music. *William Dufay*, the founder of the first Dutch school (ob. 1432), introduced his improvements even into the chapel at Rome, although a century had not elapsed since John XXII. pronounced an anathema against the practice of "discantare." *John Ockenheim*, the founder of the second Dutch school at the close of the fifteenth century, invented the canon and the fugue; but his system of counterpoint was very artificial, and he may be regarded as the first who corrupted the musical taste of the time. The greatest composer of this school was *Josquin de Préz* (Jodocus Pratensis), about 1500. His only rival in the art was *Adam of Fulda*, a German.

4. ARCHITECTURE AND THE PLASTIC ART.—The *Gothic style* was universally adopted in Germany, France, and England. Into Italy it penetrated no farther than Milan. The new Church of St Peter at Rome, the foundation of which was laid in 1506 by Pope Julius II., presents the most splendid specimen of the antique Romanesque style. The *plastic art* was carried to its highest perfection by such masters as *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (ob. 1455) and *Michael Angelo* (ob. 1564). The ART OF PAINTING also reached its highest stage in the fifteenth century. There were at this time four different schools of painters. The *Florentine School*, which chiefly devoted itself to the representation of scriptural events, was founded by *Giotto* (ob. 1336), and numbered among its members such masters as *Angelico of Fiesole*, who always joined prayer with painting, *Leonardo da Vinci* (the Last Supper), *Fra Bartolomeo* and *Michael Angelo*. The *Lombard School*, of which *Bellini* was the most distinguished representative, also gave itself at first to the study of sacred subjects, but soon afterwards abandoned this for the secular department. The *Umbrian School* seemed almost to breathe the spirit of St Francis. Its most celebrated masters were *Raphael of Urbino* (the Sixtine Madonna), *Correggio* (Night), and *Titian* (Ascension of the Virgin, Ecce Homo, etc.). The *German School* was represented by such men as the brothers *Hubert* and *John van Eyk*, *Albrecht Dürer*, and *Hans Holbein*.

#### § 144. POPULAR LIFE AND NATIONAL LITERATURE.

The fearful decay of the Papacy, as well as the deep degeneracy of the clergy and of the monastic orders, were not without their effects upon the people. At no previous period had the Church less influence on the moral and religious condition of the community.

In truth, the ancient reverence for the Church and its rites had been rudely shaken, though not entirely destroyed. But the religious enthusiasm and the deep poetry of popular life gradually disappeared. Such personages as a Catharine of Sienna, a maid of Orleans, or a Nicholas von der Flüe were only isolated phenomena in the history of that period. As the practice of indulgences increased, all moral earnestness ceased, and all religious fervour gave way. Yet, happily, not entirely; the existence of the *Beghards* and *Lollards*, nay, even the excesses of the Flagellants, proved that men still thought seriously on the most serious of subjects. The religious fervour still existing among the people, was nourished and cherished by the faithful teaching of the Mystics, and found vent in the wide-spread association known as the *Friends of God*. In an opposite direction, though, perhaps, ultimately traceable to the same source, we have the *Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit*. But along with such piety, superstition also greatly increased, all the more dangerous now that it was no longer associated with the poetry and naive irony of a former age. The men of this period, on the contrary, firmly believed in the black art, in witchcraft, in compacts with the devil, and similar absurdities. Towards the close of our period, however, a new era dawned. The former mode of conducting warfare ceased, on the invention of powder; while the municipal institutions of the various and flourishing towns of Germany called forth and afforded scope for civic virtues, for love of freedom, energy, and industry. Lastly, the invention of the art of printing initiated the great changes of which modern society is the result.

1. RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE.—Besides the Beghards and Beguins, another association was formed at Antwerp in 1300, on occasion of a pestilence. The LOLLARDS (from lull = sing) devoted themselves chiefly to attendance on the sick and the interment of the dead. They also were exposed to the persecutions of the Inquisition, till John XXII. in 1318 granted them toleration on certain conditions.—But the strangest sight presented at that period were those long TRAINS OF FLAGELLANTS, who, with faces covered, wandered from country to country, amidst weeping, lamentation, and the chant of penitential hymns, continually applying, as they marched, the scourge to their naked backs. These revolting processions had suddenly appeared in Italy even at a former period, during the horrors of the war between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. They again paraded the cities of Europe on different occasions during the fourteenth century, especially in 1348, during the ravages of the “black death.” The Flagellants made their appearance along the banks of the Rhine, whence, growing like an avalanche, they passed



through Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, and England. On the advice of Pope *Clement VI.*, whom they had summoned to join them, they were refused admission into France. The paroxysm lasted for three years. It was raised anew in 1399, when famine, pestilence, war with the Turks, and expectation of the approaching end of the world, excited the minds of men, and Flagellants again passed through Lombardy. This time they were arrayed in white garments, on which account they were called *Bianchi* or *Albati*. In 1417, *St Vincent Ferreri*, a celebrated Spanish preacher, led a long train of Flagellants through Italy, France, and Spain. Princes, popes, universities, and councils expostulated against this mad fanaticism, without, however, being able to suppress it. But after the Council of Constance had denounced this species of penance, *St Vincent* himself ceased to take part in it. Some of the Flagellants fell into sectarianism and heresy; they denounced the hierarchy as Antichrist, rejected the rites of Christianity, and declared that the baptism of blood, obtained by means of the scourge, was the only efficacious sacrament. Many of these fanatics were condemned to the stake by the Inquisition. (Comp. *E. G. Förstemann*, d. chr. Geisslerges.—the Chr. Flag.—Halle 1828; *G. Mohrike*, d. Geisslerges., in “*Illgen’s Journal*,” III. 2; *L. Schneegans*, le grand pilgrimage des Flag., transl. into Germ. by *Tischendorf*, Leips. 1840;—*L. Heller*, Vinc. Ferreri Leben u. Wirken. Berl. 1830; *Comes de Hohenthal-Stædteln*, de Vinc. Ferr. Lips. 1839.)

74 Another and kindred form of madness was that of the **JUMPERS** or *Dancers* (Chorisantes), who, by way of penance, commenced frantic and hysteric dances, which by some infection carried away even accidental and indifferent spectators. These fanatics appeared along the banks of the Rhine in 1347 and 1418. They were regarded as possessed, and the aid of St Vitus was invoked for their cure (hence the name of St Vitus’ dance). Comp. *Hecker*, die Tanzwuth e. Volkskrankh. d. M. A. (Dancing Madness an Epid. of the M. A.) Berl. 1832.

2. THE FRIENDS OF GOD. (Comp. *C. Schmidt*, d. Gottesfreunde im 14. Jahrh. Jen. 1854; *Röhrich*, in the “*Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*” 1840. I.)—During the fourteenth century a wide-spread and deep spirit of mysticism seemed to pervade all Western Germany, from the Low Countries to the borders of Italy. In truth a religious awakening had taken place among the people, though from peculiar causes it bore a mystic and contemplative character. All ranks and classes, inmates of monasteries and Beguins, knights in their castles, artisans in their workshops, and merchants in their warehouses, equally came under its influence. Ultimately it led to the formation of a great fraternity of so-called *Friends of God*, the various associations of which kept up personal or epistolary intercourse. This revival was chiefly felt at Cologne, Strasbourg, and Basle. Its preachers belonged mostly to the Dominican

Order, and the views which they expressed or propagated were drawn from the writings of the German Mystics (§ 147). They were entirely free from sectarianism, and cherished the ceremonies of the Church as symbols and vehicles of Divine grace. But from the year 1340 a mysterious personage evidently presides over this movement, and results wider than those formerly sought began to be aimed after. Most of "the Friends" themselves seem to have been ignorant of the name or residence of this man. They call him "the enlightened layman," and "the great friend of God from the Oberland." Twice only is the mystery partly cleared away, and we hear of the name of *Nicholas of Basle*. About 1340 he appeared at Strasburg, where he exercised a decisive influence upon *John Tauler* (§ 147, 1). Again in 1356, when Basle was visited by a fearful earthquake, he addressed a letter to universal Christendom calling to repentance. In 1367 he retired into the Swiss mountains with four of his most intimate associates (one of them a Jewish convert); and when *Gregory XI.* returned to Rome in 1377, Nicholas and one of his associates confronted him, and urged upon him the present situation, the dangers, and the requirements of the Church. The Pope at first received him with distrust, but dismissed him in a very different spirit. It is difficult exactly to ascertain what Nicholas really aimed after, and by what means he intended to accomplish his plans. This alone is certain, that he had conceived some great plan for the Church, the execution of which he deferred till the time, which God should indicate to him. In 1379 those friends which belonged to the inner circle held a meeting in a mountain solitude, and finally resolved to adjourn for another year. After that term they again assembled on the same spot, when it is said a letter from heaven fell among them, informing them that God had delayed His judgments for other three years. From that period we lose sight of them; but several years later Nicholas and two of his associates were burned by order of the Inquisition at Vienne, on the charge of being Beghards, and the same punishment was awarded at Cologne in 1393 to *Martin*, a Benedictine from Reichenau, one of the adherents of Nicholas. The writings of Nicholas which are still extant have been published by C. Schmidt, l. c., and in his *Life of Tauler*.

3. THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF THE FREE SPIRIT.—Originally they may have been an offshoot from the sect of the Holy Spirit (§ 138, 2), or else the result of a tendency similar to that which led to the formation of the Friends of God, only that in this case it led to the opposite extreme of pantheism and antinomianism. They seem to have existed in many parts of Germany at the beginning of the fourteenth century, especially along the Rhine, Cologne being their principal centre. They held essentially pantheistic views. Every pious person was a Christ, in whom God became incarnate. Whatever was done in love was right. The

perfect were free from the law, and could not sin. The Church, its sacraments and rites, were a deception or an imposture; purgatory, heaven, and hell, so many fables; marriage was against nature, and property, theft. Their secret services appropriately closed with orgies. The Inquisition proceeded against them by the sword and the stake.—Other parties of a kindred character were the *Adamites* in Austria (1312), the *Luciferians* in Angermunde (1326), and the *Turlupines* in the Isle of France (1372). At the commencement of the fifteenth century they reappeared at Brussels under the name of “*Homines intelligentiæ*,” and in 1421 Ziska exterminated the Bohemian *Adamites*, who, by way of imitating the paradisiacal state, lived naked on an island in the Danube, and had their wives in common.

4. NATIONAL LITERATURE.—At the close of the thirteenth and the commencement of the fourteenth century a new *literature* sprung up in ITALY, which in many respects affected the Church. To three Florentine writers does Europe owe it, that the spell was broken by which poetry and science had so long been bound to the Latin language. The importance of this can scarcely be overestimated. Not only have these writers left unperishing monuments of their own genius, they also became the fathers of the Italian language, and gave a great impulse to national literature generally. The general prevalence of the Latin was one of the means by which the Church of Rome retained its absolute hold on the minds of men, repressed all independent and national movements, and prevented the expression of those antipapal sentiments which were rapidly pervading the peoples of Europe. In all these respects it was important that former restraints should be removed. But the three writers to whom we allude were also enthusiastic admirers of classical literature; indeed, they prepared the way for the study of the classics, and became the precursors of the Humanists (§ 151). Withal they were opposed, though not to the same degree, to the subtleties of scholasticism, and boldly satirised the abuses in the Church, the arrogance of the hierarchy, the rapacity and dissoluteness of the Papacy, as also the moral and intellectual decay of the clergy and of the monastic orders. DANTE ALIGHIERI (born at Florence 1256, *ob.* in exile at Ravenna 1321) stood on the boundary line of two centuries and two epochs. His “*Divina Commedia*” may be regarded as embodying the views and tendencies of his own age, and forecasting the advent of another. He was an enthusiastic admirer of St Thomas and his theology; but his scholasticism was transformed and spiritualised by the finest æsthetic taste and the most fervid imagination. In deep anguish of spirit he mourned over the decay of the Church. Thus he relegated a Boniface VIII., but also a Frederic II., to hell. In sharpest language he exposed the degeneracy of the monks, while he at the same time extolled the bliss of St Francis and St Dominic. He could



admire the classic beauties of Virgil ; but more than all the rest, he dwelt with peculiar delight on the fulness of Christian truth. While reprobating the practice of indulgences, he continued to adhere to the dogmas of the Church. PETRARCH (born at Arezzo in 1304, *ob.* near Padua in 1374) went much beyond his predecessor. His opposition to scholasticism brought upon him the hatred and persecution of schoolmen and monks ; and although he still ranked the classics as far subordinate to the teaching of the Church, his admiration of antiquity occasionally led him beyond the bounds of proper moderation. BOCCACCIO (born in 1313, *ob.* 1375) was a most violent opponent of scholasticism, monasticism, and the hierarchy. He speaks of them not in language of indignation, but of irony and contempt. At the same time, however, he also deals too lightly with the great moral and religious requirements of Christianity. In later years he expressed, in his "*Decamerone*," deep regret about any such expressions occurring in his youthful writings.—GERMAN national literature decayed along with the dynasty of the Hohenstaufen. The only department deserving mention was that of *popular poetry*, secular and religious. The compositions of the *mastersingers* bear the character of proud self-consciousness on the part of those towns of Germany whence they sprung.

#### § 145. ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

In 1343 *Clement VI.* gave his sanction to the teaching of the schoolmen regarding indulgences (§ 137, 1). Nor was this measure in opposition to the view taken by the reformatory councils of the fifteenth century, which only disapproved of their abuse, for the purpose of raising money. In 1477 *Sixtus IV.* confirmed the tenet, that indulgences might be granted for those who were defunct, and that they delivered souls from purgatory. In reply to the somewhat impertinent question, why the Pope, who possessed such ample powers, did not at once deliver all souls from purgatory, it was said, that the Church followed in the wake of Divine justice, and dispensed its benefits only "*discrete et cum moderamine*." The *practice of indulgences* was still further carried out by the institution of *years of Jubilee*. On the testimony of a man 107 years of age, that 100 years before a jubilee had been proclaimed, Boniface VIII. promised, in 1300, an indulgence of 100 years to all Christians who should penitently visit for fifteen days the Church of the Holy Apostles at Rome. No fewer than 200,000 availed themselves of the privilege. His successors shortened the intervening period of jubilees to fifty, to thirty-three, and lastly to twenty-five years. Instead of making a personal pilgrimage to

Rome, it was declared sufficient to pay the travelling expenses. Nepotism and extravagance were emptying the coffers of the Pope, and the *traffic of indulgences* offered the readiest means of replenishing them. Wars with the Turks and the building of St Peter's Church served as a ready pretext for a fresh sale of these new spiritual wares. The venders of indulgences did all in their power to vaunt the excellency of their articles, and the necessity for penitence and amendment were no longer mentioned. Indulgence was even granted for sins contemplated. Such abuses rendered anything like ecclesiastical discipline impossible; and if any respect still existed for the confessional, it was speedily destroyed by the interference of the mendicant orders, who claimed the privilege of attending to penitents at any time and place. Already *excommunication* and the *interdict* had lost their terrors. On Corpus Christi Day, the bull "In cœna Domini" (issued by Martin V. at the close of the Council of Constance, and greatly enlarged by succeeding popes) was solemnly recited at Rome, and the anathema against all heretics, which it embodied, renewed. The *Inquisition* had still enough to do, persecuting and burning Beghards, Lollards, Flagellants, Fratricelli, Friends of God, and other sectaries. *Innocent VIII.* gave his formal sanction (1484) to the popular superstition about witches, and appointed two judges for such causes in Germany—perhaps in some measure as a compensation for the circumstance, that the Inquisition had never properly thriven in that country

1. THE INQUISITION attained greatest power in France and Italy. The *Spanish* Inquisition (*sanctum officium*) was instituted in 1481 by Ferdinand and Isabella, and organised in 1483 by the Inquisitor-General, *Thomas de Torquemada*. In some respects it was as much a political as an ecclesiastical institution, since the confiscation of property served to enrich the public treasury and to humble the proud aristocracy. Its persecutions of the hated Moriscoes and Jews made this dreadful tribunal popular among the Spaniards. The *Auto-da-fé's* (or acts of faith) were celebrated amidst revolting displays of pomp and state. According to the statement of *Llorente* (*Hist. crit. de l'Inquis. d'Espagne. Par. 1815*), no fewer than 32,000 individuals were burnt, 18,000 were similarly punished in effigy, while 300,000 received other sentences at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition, from its origin to the time when Napoleon swept it away in 1808. Comp. *C. J. Hejèle* (d. Cardinal Ximenez. 2d Ed. Tüb. 1851), who has corrected some of the statements of *Llorente*.

2. PROCEDURE AGAINST WITCHES. (Comp. *Hauber*, *Biblioth., acta et scripta magica*. Lemgo 1739-45. *W. G. Söldan*, *Gesch. d. Hexenproc.*—*Hist. of the Proceed. ag. Witch.*—*Stuttg.* 1843. *C.*

*G. v. Wüchter*, Beitr. zur Gesch. d. deutsch. Strafr. Tüb. 1845.)—In 1484 *Innocent VIII.* issued the bull “*Summis desiderantes affectibus*,” wherein he informed the Germans that their country was overrun by witches, for whose destruction he had appointed two inquisitors, *Henry Krämer* and *Jacob Sprenger*. The paternal care of the Pope found too ready a response among a superstitious people. From confessions extorted on the rack, a perfect dogmatic and historical system was framed, in which the various compacts made with the devil, or the improper alliances contracted with him, obtained their due place, while the use of broomsticks and pitchforks, the revelries of Walpurgis Night and the scenes on the Blocksberg, found appropriate explanation. On the basis of this new lore *Sprenger* elaborated a code of criminal procedure against witches, which bore the title of “*Malleus Maleficarum*.” The delusion spread like an epidemic, and thousands of innocent females expired amid tortures, not only in Germany, but in England, and even in Scotland. Unfortunately, the Reformation made little difference in this respect, and the sorrow with which we witness the persecutions of supposed witches in Scotland, even during the most flourishing periods of religious life, is only equalled by our indignation on finding that an eminent Protestant lawyer on the Continent, *Benedict Carpzov*, should, so late as the seventeenth cent., have entered the lists in defence of the practice. King James VI. showed his zeal by writing a treatise on “*Dæmonologie*.” *Christian Thomasius* was the first, in 1707, successfully to combat this superstition.

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### III. THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

#### § 146. SCHOLASTICISM AND ITS OPPONENTS.

A large number of *schools of learning* were founded during this period. They increasingly assumed the character of universities, in the proper sense of the term, although chief attention was still paid to theology. These seminaries were generally pledged to the defence of matters as then existing, with all the abuses and defects of the system—hierarchical strongholds not unfrequently planted in the heart of the enemy’s camp. Paris and Cologne were still the chief centres of scholasticism, which was there professed by the mendicant friars. For a considerable time realism had held undisputed sway, when *William Occam* again entered the lists in Germany in favour of nominalism. The controversy which now ensued was carried on with much bitterness; ultimately realism, which a number of the



Reformers (among others, Wycliffe and Hus) professed, was decried as the source of all heresy. Aristotle continued the great authority on all philosophical questions; he was extolled as the precursor of Christ, and his system formed the basis of theology. But what of power and energy there was in scholasticism, had long passed away; bitter polemics, empty formalism, and mere casuistry now constituted its sum and substance. That dangerous distinction made between philosophical and theological truth, by which one and the same proposition might be true in philosophy and false in theology, was almost universally adopted. In ethics, the schoolmen addressed themselves chiefly to intricate questions, while on some points their views were far from trustworthy (for example, in their defence of the murder of a tyrant, or their doctrine of probability). But already the reign of scholasticism was drawing to a close. Many complained of the abuse to which it had been turned; others endeavoured to improve and reform it, or, by the study of the Bible and of the Fathers, to infuse into it a new life. Generally, however, the opposition was one of principle, and that chiefly on the part of the Mystics (§ 147), the English and Bohemian Reformers (§ 149 and 150), and the Humanists (§ 151).

1. Among the *SCHOOLMEN*, *properly* so called, of that period, the most celebrated were FRANCIS MAYRON, a Scotist at Paris—Doctor illuminatus or acutus—*ob.* 1325, and HERVEUS NATALIS, a Thomist and general of the Dominicans, *ob.* 1323. But more extensive and important than theirs was the influence of two other schoolmen, who not only renounced strict adherence to scholastic tenets, but ventured to propound evangelical views. WILLIAM DURANDUS *de St Porciano* (near Clermont), also a Dominican—Doctor resolutissimus—and from 1326 Bishop of Meaux, had at first been a zealous advocate of Thomist views. Afterwards, however, he saw cause to change his opinions. In philosophy he became a nominalist, while, in opposition to the schoolmen, he taught that there were doctrines which could not be demonstrated, and which had to be received in simple faith as revealed truth. On the subject of the Eucharist he held that the doctrine of consubstantiation was at least probable; he also maintained that marriage was not a sacrament in the same sense as the other six. He wrote a commentary on Lombardus, and a “Tractatus de statu animarum sanctarum postquam resolutæ sunt a corpore.” This work was directed against the view of Pope *John XXII.*, that the souls of the blessed attained vision of God, only after the resurrection and the last judgment. In general, this erroneous tenet was so strenuously opposed throughout the Church, that the Pontiff himself was obliged to retract it. Of kindred spirit was

the Franciscan WILLIAM OCCAM, an Englishman—Doctor invincibilis—teacher at Paris, and provincial of his order. He was expelled by the Franciscans on account of his taking the part of the more rigorous in the order, and espoused the cause of Louis of Bavaria, whom he boldly defended against the interference of the hierarchy; *ob.* 1347. On many subjects he dissented from the views of Scotus, which were a kind of test of orthodoxy. In philosophy he was a Nominalist; he rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, and adopted that of impanation. Against John XXII. he wrote a “Compendium errorum Joannis XXII.,” in which he charged the Pontiff with a number of heresies; among others, with that above referred to. In his numerous writings he frequently defended the opinion, that the Emperor was superior to, and the judge of, the Pope, and that the decision of all questions connected with marriage belonged to the State. (Comp. *Rettberg*, Occam u. Luther, in the “theol. Stud. u. Krit.” for 1839. I.; also *Turner*, Hist. of England, Middle Ages. Vol. III.) Of course the papal ban was hurled against him; the University of Paris also condemned his views. Still a large number of students gathered around him (Occamists).—The last great representative of the schoolmen was GABRIEL BIEL of Spire, a teacher at Tübingen (*ob.* 1495), and an admirer of Occam. He delivered sermons on the Ethics of Aristotle; but in other respects avoided many of the errors of scholasticism, and at a later period joined the Brethren of the Common Life.

2. Besides the Brethren of the Common Life (§ 142, 5) and those who advocated the views propounded at the Councils of Constance and Basle (§ 148), the following were the principal OPPONENTS, or rather reformers of scholasticism:—1. NICHOLAS DE LYRA, a Franciscan, a Jewish convert from Normandy and teacher of theology at Paris (*ob.* 1340). His great merit consisted in applying his stores of rabbinical and philological learning to the interpretation of Scripture. Since Christian Druthmar (§ 140, 6), he was the first again 2 to prosecute grammatical and historical exegesis. In translating the Bible, Luther largely availed himself of the commentaries of Lyra. Accordingly the enemies of the Reformers were wont to say: Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.—2. THOMAS OF BRADWARDINE, Archbishop of Canterbury (*ob.* 1349), a man of deep piety, whose theology was thoroughly Augustinian in its cast, and who charged his cotemporaries with Pelagianism.—3. The learned and acute RAYMOND OF SABUNDE at Toulouse, the founder of the science of natural theology, designed to exhibit the agreement between the book of nature and that of revelation. (Comp. *F. Holberg*, de theol. naturali Raim. de Sabunde. Hal. 1843; *D. Matzke*, d. nat. Theol. d. Raim. v. Sab. Bresl. 1846; *C. Huttler*, d. Rel. Phil. d. R. v. S. Augsb. 1851.)

## § 147. GERMAN MYSTICISM.

It will be remembered that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries *mysticism* had formed an alliance with scholasticism. But as the latter gradually degenerated into unmeaning disputes and empty formalism, mysticism escaped from its thralldom and unfolded all the richness and depth of which, especially in that age, it showed itself capable. *Germany* was now its chief centre, and the national cast of this mysticism appeared even in the circumstance that its leading representatives wrote in the vernacular, and thereby contributed not a little to the development of the German language and literature. The mysticism to which we refer had a character of its own; in it, lofty speculation which occasionally verged on and passed beyond the boundaries of pantheism, was conjoined with deep contemplativeness. During the fifteenth century it lost much of its metaphysical character, but gained all the more in biblical truth and practical tendency (approximating in that respect the older French mysticism). Two sentiments meet us in all the Mystics of that age—genuine sorrow for the decay of the Church, and equally ardent longing for a *reformation*. But mysticism, however practical and popular in its form, however right and evangelical in its aspirations, has never been able to bring about a thorough and *lasting* renovation of religious life. It finds an echo only in those isolated, quiet spirits which cherish deep longing for the cultivation of the inner life. Hence at best it cannot lead to results greater than the formation of separatist churches, whose exclusive cultivation of a subjective piety contains within itself the germs of error and of destruction. It is characteristic of such mysticism that, in its contemplation of what the Saviour does IN US, it undervalues what He has done FOR US, and that it devotes more attention to communion with God and *sanctification* than to *justification* by faith, which is the condition and basis of all fellowship with God. In short, no genuine reformation can take place without mysticism, but it alone is insufficient to accomplish that object.

1. The series of German philosophical Mystics opens with MASTER ECCART (*ob.* about 1329), a provincial of the Dominicans. In boldness and vigour of speculation he was superior to all his successors, but at the same time he strayed into open pantheism. It is more than probable that he stood in some relation to the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, though he certainly did not share their antinomian views and practices. Archbishop *Henry* of Cologne



summoned him before his tribunal, and laid the case before Pope John XXII. The commission appointed to try Eccart extracted from his writings twenty-eight propositions, of which seventeen were declared directly heretical, the others at least suspicious and capable of heretical interpretation. The Pope issued a bull of condemnation, in which however he stated that Eccart had recanted shortly before his death,—which we suppose amounted to this, that he denied holding the same views as the Brethren of the Free Spirit. His numerous tractates, written in German, were suppressed, and only fragments of them have been preserved. (Comp. *H. Martensen*, Meister Eccart. Hamb. 1842; *C. Schmidt*, in the “*Stud. u. Krit.*” for 1839. III.; *Thomson*, in the same Review for 1845. III.; *Ch. Schmidt*, Les Mystiques du 14 Siècle. Strasb. 1836, 4; *F. Böhringer*, d. K. Christi u. ihre Zeugen. Vol. II. Sect. 3. Zur. 1855; *Deutsche Mystiker d. 14 Jahrh.* ed. by *F. Pfeiffer*. Leips. 1845–57. Vol. II.)

The writings and teaching of Eccart had produced a deep impression. He was followed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by other and likeminded Mystics. If the speculations of Eccart had been pantheistic in their tendency, they now endeavoured to give them a more scriptural character, and to turn them to practical account. Their writings and sermons in the vernacular contributed not a little to the revival of genuine piety among the people. Foremost among these Mystics we mention:—1. The Dominican JOHANNES TAULER at Strasburg (*ob.* 1361), one of the most powerful preachers of any age, whose labours seem to have been richly blessed. His own conversion and spiritual growth were in great measure due to intercourse with *Nicholas of Basle*, the “friend of God” (§ 144, 2). He was distinguished by deep humility, ardent love, and fervent piety. It was the main object of all his labours that Christians should daily die to the world and to self, that so Christ might be found in them, and that they should feel themselves poor in spirit, that so they might become rich in God. Withal he clearly understood and preached the great truth of justification by faith. Especially did he abound in labours during the terrible year 1348, when the black death ravaged Strasburg and the papal interdict rested on the doomed city. But no interdict could bind Tauler. The best known of his writings is that on the “Imitation of the Poor Life of Christ.” His style and diction entitle him to a place among the best German prose writers before Luther. (Comp. *C. Schmidt*, Joh. Taul. v. Strassb. Hamb. 1841. *B. Bähring*, J. Taul. u. d. Gottesfreunde. Hamb. 1853. *Rudelbach*, christl. Biographie, I. 3.)—2. HENRY SUSO, a Dominican at Ulm, also called *Amandus*, the son of a Count of Berg (*ob.* 1365). His writings, full of sorrow for sin and love to the Lord, which seem the very outpourings of his soul, go straight to the heart. (Comp. *Melch. Diepenbrock*, Suso’s Leben u. Schriften, with an

Introd. by *Görres*, 2d Ed. Regensb. 1837. *C. Schmidt*, der Myst. H. Suso, in the "Stud. u. Kritt." for 1843. IV. *F. Bricka*, Henri Suso. Stras. 1854.)—3. JOHN RUYSBROEK, an Augustine monk at Brussels (*ob.* 1381). He was called Doctor ecstaticus, from the circumstance that he laid such stress on the ecstatic state, in which man cast off the heavy and impeding bonds of outward sense, and opened his heart immediately and directly to the influences of the love of God and the communications of His Spirit. (Comp. *Engelhardt*, Rich. v. St Victor u. Joh. Ruysbr. Erlang. 1838.)—4. HERMANN OF FRITZLAR, a pious layman, who has left us a work on the *Life of the Saints*, which has lately been again edited (by *Fr. Pfeiffer*, in his "teutsche Myst. d. 14. Jahrh. Vol. I. Leips. 1845). In attractive language and with most affectionate simplicity, he endeavoured to show how the outward life of the saints reflected their inward purity. The book is entirely free from that miserable externalism which formed the staple of ordinary legends. Throughout it is interspersed with explanations and remarks which breathe a deep mysticism and sublime speculation.—5. The unknown author of the tractate entitled THEOLOGIA GERMANICA, "a noble treatise, which setteth forth what Adam and what Christ is, and how Adam is to die and Christ to rise in us." The work treats principally of the incarnation of God in Christ, and the elevation of man by the Saviour. It was held in very high esteem by Luther, who published a new edition of it. (Transl. into Engl. by *Miss Winkworth*, with a Pref. by *Kingsley*.)—6. JOHN STAUPITZ, Vicar-General of the Augustine Order in Germany, and the spiritual father of Luther. Himself a warm admirer of the German Mystics, he succeeded in awakening similar sentiments among the members of his order. But he felt unequal to the contest on which Luther entered, and accordingly retired into a Benedictine monastery at Salzburg, where he died in 1524.

Even in the case of Suso, speculative mysticism had assumed a more practical cast. This change was finally completed by the "Brethren of the Common Life" (§ 142, 5). Most distinguished among their writers was THOMAS A KEMPIS (*ob.* 1471). According to their views, the whole life, all thinking, knowledge, and action, were to spring from love to God, and to manifest themselves in the way of growing sanctification. Thomas a Kempis was the author of many tractates; the well-known book on the *Imitation of Christ* is generally ascribed to him. With the exception of the Bible, perhaps no other work has so frequently been reprinted, or translated into so many languages, nor has any other been perused by so many persons of all ranks and creeds. (Comp. *J. P. Silbert*, Gersen, Gersen u. Kempis, welcher ist d. Verf. etc.—who is the author, etc.—Vienna 1828. *Ullmann*, in the "Stud. u. Kritt." for 1843. 1. *G. Vert*, Etudes hist. sur l'Init. de J. C. Toul. 1857. *B. Bähring*, Th. v. Kempen. Berl. 1849.)

## IV. REFORMATORY MOVEMENTS.

## § 148. THE REFORMATION IN HEAD AND MEMBERS.

The desire for a reformation in head and members continued to exist throughout the whole of this period, down to the Reformation, and even beyond it. It had found utterance in the reformatory Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle; but the utter failure of all such attempts, however sincere and energetic, and however wide the sympathies they commanded, proves that they started from a wrong principle. While recognising that these councils kept themselves entirely free from all sectarian tendencies, and honestly endeavoured not to destroy but to reform the Church from within, we cannot shut our eyes to the manifest defects of those movements. Foremost among them we place the circumstance, that they aimed after a reformation only in *head* and *members*, not in *spirit*; an attempt which may be compared to the pruning of wild branches, while that which in times past caused, and would still promote their growth, is left untouched. In truth, it was never intended to abolish more than the most grievous oppressions, and certain gross outward scandals—such as the assumptions of the hierarchy, the exactions of the Papacy, and the dissoluteness of the clergy. But these councils entered not on questions of doctrine; despite their corruption, the Romish interpretation of dogmas was universally acknowledged. Nor was it understood that any genuine renovation could only proceed from the preaching of repentance and from a devout acknowledgment of the doctrine of justification by faith in Him who justifieth the ungodly. Hence it was that the reformers of Constance condemned to the stake a *Hus*, who had pointed out and endeavoured to apply this the only true lever of a genuine reformation; hence, also, the fathers of Basle hesitated not to proclaim “the Immaculate Conception” as an article of catholic faith. The miscarriage of all these attempts must, therefore, not be ascribed to outward obstacles, either at Pisa or Constance, such as, that before addressing themselves to the work of reformation the fathers proceeded to the choice of a new Pope, who afterwards prevented any genuine reformation. On the contrary, the circumstance that the members of these councils refused to address themselves to a reformation of the Church till they had given it a head, is rather an honourable testimony to their conscientiousness;



but even had it been otherwise, their defective principles would have led to the same result. On this ground also we can understand why the ablest men in the Council of Basle gradually retired from it in despair, and, like *Nicholas of Cusa*, again embraced the phantom of papal supremacy, which, under a Gregory and an Innocent, had proved so powerful an instrument of reform. However clearly they discerned that all such attempts as were made by councils had proved abortive, they failed to perceive the real cause of this, and hence once more clung to the Papacy as the sole anchor of hope.

1. FRENCH REFORMERS.—The desire for a reformation of the Church in head and members was chiefly fostered by the great representatives of the University of Paris. Among these divines we mention: 1. PETER D'AILLY, Chancellor of the University of Paris, from 1396 Bishop of Cambray, and from 1411 also a cardinal (*ob.* 1425). In many respects he still adhered to the scholastic method, and even wrote a commentary on Lombardus, while at the same time he endeavoured to give a biblical basis to his favourite science.—2. JOHN CHARLIER OF GERSON (a little village near Rheims), Doctor Christianissimus, the pupil and successor of d'Ailly at Paris (*ob.* 1429). He strenuously insisted that a General Council was superior to the Pope,—a principle which, in his opinion, was absolutely necessary for any genuine reformation. Nor was he merely alive to outward defects in the Church; on the contrary, he was wont to appeal to the Bible as the only source and rule of Christian knowledge, and contended against the abuse of the doctrine of indulgences, and the multiplication of saints and festivals. Still he would have withheld the Scriptures in the vernacular from the laity, and branded every one as an heretic who did not implicitly receive the interpretation which the Church gave of a passage. Gerson was deeply impressed with the desirableness of combining mysticism with scholasticism. His own mysticism, however, was rather practical than speculative. (Comp. *C. Schmidt*, *Essai sur J. Gerson*. Par. 1839; and the *Essays on his Mystic*. by *Liebner* in the “*Stud. u. Krit.*” for 1835. II., by *Hundeshausen* in *Illgen's Journal* IV., and by *Engelhardt*; *Thomassy*, *Jean Gerson*. Par. 1843; *Dr J. H. Schwab* (Rom. Cath.), *Joh. Gerson*, e. Monogr. Würzb. 1859.) The genuineness of one of Gerson's most important tractates (“*de modis uniendi—Ecclesiam*”), as also that of some tractates generally ascribed to d'Ailly, has lately been impugned by *Dr Schwab*. However the controversy may be decided, even the withdrawal of the tractates in question would not establish *Dr S.*'s ultramontane inferences, nor make any material difference in our estimate of Gerson either as a divine or a reformer.—3. NICHOLAS OF CLEMANGIS, Rector of the University of Paris, from which he retired into solitude (*ob.* about 1440). Of all divines in

the Church he perceived most clearly existing abuses, and most fully recognised the authority of the Scriptures as the rule of belief and of judgment. (Comp. *A. Müntz*, *Nic. de Clémanges, sa vie et ses écrits*. Strasb. 1846.)—4. LOUIS D'ALLEMAND, Cardinal and Archbishop of Arles, the ablest and most eloquent member of the antipapal party at Basle. He was excommunicated and deposed by Eugenius IV. But when the Council of Basle made subjection, Pope Nicholas V. restored him, and in 1527 CLEMENT VII. even allowed the faithful to *venerate him as a saint*.

2. THE FRIENDS OF REFORM IN GERMANY.—A considerable time before the appearance of the French reformers, a German, HENRY OF LANGENSTEIN, near Marburg (*Henricus de Hassia*), had insisted that princes and prelates should summon a General Council in order to put an end to the papal schism, and to initiate a reformation in the Church. His work, "*Consilium pacis de unione ac reformatione ecclesiæ in concilio universali*," appeared in 1381. It contained a humbling, but unfortunately too correct account of the desolate state of the Church. The monasteries he designated "*prostibula meretricum*," and the cathedral churches "*speluncæ raptorum et latronum*." He taught first at Paris, and from 1381 in Vienna, where he died as rector of the University.—2.

THEODORE OF NIEM (Neheim) was secretary to Gregory ~~IX.~~ X, with whom he went from France to Rome. Afterwards he became Bishop of Verdun, and died in 1417 as Bishop of Cambray during the sittings of the Council of Constance, of which he was a member. His writings, which have not yet received sufficient attention, are of the greatest importance for the history of the schism and of the Council. Throughout, his language is bold and unsparing, and he may be regarded the most advanced of the reformers at Constance.—3. GREGORY OF HEIMBURG. He attended the Council of Basle as secretary to Æneas Sylvius, who at the time was still attached to the reforming party. But his violent opposition to papal assumptions caused such excitement, that Æneas deemed it prudent to dismiss his secretary. He afterwards became Syndic of Nurnberg, and in 1459 attended the Council of Mantua as ambassador of the Emperor Sigismund. Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) excommunicated him, from which time he wandered about from place to place, the victim of papal persecutions. He died at Dresden in 1472. His writings were collected and published at Frankfort in 1608, under the title, "*Scripta nervosa justitiæque plena*." On the relation between Æneas and Gregory comp. also G. Pfizer, *d. Deutsche u. d. Welsche* (the German and the Ital.). Stuttg. 1844.—

4. NICHOLAS OF CUSA, near Treves (his real name was Chyryftz = crab). He attended the Council of Basle as Archdeacon of Lieges, spoke and wrote in defence of the principles of that Council (*de concordantia catholica* Ll. III.); but afterwards joined the papal party, was rewarded with the episcopal see of Brixen, where he died

a cardinal in 1464. Against the abuses of the scholastic method he wrote three books "*de docta ignorantia*." (Comp. *F. A. Scharpff*, d. kirchl. u. lit. Wirken d. Nic. v. Cusa—the Eccl. and Lit. Labours of N. of C.—Vol. I. May. 1843. *J. M. Düx*, d. deutsche Card. Nic. v. Cusa u. d. Kirche s. Zeit. Regensb. 1847. 2 Vols. *R. Zimmermann*, C. als Vorl. Leibn.—C. the precurs. of Leibn.—Weim. 1852.)

3. ITALY also contributed to the Council of Basle one who at least for a time appeared to be a reformer. *ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLLOMINI* was among the most determined opponents of Eugenius IV. He wrote a history of the Council of Basle couched in a violent, antipapal spirit, and became secretary of Felix, the Pontiff whom that Council elected. But in 1442 he entered the service of the Emperor Frederic III., became poet laureate and imperial counsellor. In this capacity he displayed considerable diplomatic skill in bringing about the *Concordat of Frankfort in 1446*, by which a reconciliation was effected between Pope Eugenius and the German princes. Ten years afterwards Calixtus IV. nominated him cardinal, and in 1458 he was elevated to the papal see as Pius II. His poetic effusions are full of most indecent passages, and his former lasciviousness continued even after his accession to the see of Peter.

#### § 149. ATTEMPTS AT EVANGELICAL REFORMATION.

While the divines of Paris attacked the glaring abuses of the Papacy, a more hopeful movement had commenced in *England* and *Bohemia*. Not merely the outward corruptions of the Church, but their hidden causes, were to be exposed and removed. Another distinctive feature of this Reformation was, that it addressed itself to the people rather than to the learned, and aimed at enlisting their sympathies and convictions. For the first time also was it understood and proclaimed, more or less distinctly, that a genuine reformation must be based on that great doctrine of justification by faith, which had at first been the corner stone of the Church. It is on *this* ground that Wycliffe and Hus, the representatives of this movement, have frequently been represented as the precursors of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. However correct in some respects the statement, there was a vast difference between these men and the reformers of Wittenberg or Geneva. Not to speak of the comparatively small success of their labours, which in part may have been due to the circumstance that the fulness of time for such comprehensive reforms had not yet come, they failed, partly by defect, and partly by excess. On the one hand, they perceived not with sufficient clearness the doctrine of objective



justification, as contradistinguished from sanctification or subjective righteousness; on the other hand, their views of the nature and constitution of the true Church went to and beyond the verge of a false spiritualism. Virtually acknowledging no other than the invisible Church, they failed in establishing a visible community; while in their aims after excessive purity and simplicity, they disconnected themselves not only from the past, but even from the present. Of the two reformers whom we have mentioned, Hus was more a man of the people than Wycliffe. If his views were less philosophical, and his system less developed, his aims were more practical and popular, and more fully directed towards inward and spiritual renovation, than those of his great English teacher.—These tendencies were not confined to England or Bohemia. A similar movement sprung up in other lands, especially in the Low Countries. In this case also submission to the Scriptures, and faith in the crucified Saviour as the ground of salvation, were regarded as the only principles capable of achieving a genuine reformation. Like *Hus and Wycliffe*, those divines adopted the theological system of St Augustine, but their activity was more quiet, confined to narrower circles, and rather *theological* than popular. Even in *Italy* a reformer appeared. Thoroughly imbued with evangelical sentiments, *Savonarola* exercised during his brief public career a most precious influence upon his countrymen.

1. REFORMERS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES. (Comp. *C. Ullmann*, *Reformers before the Reform*. Edinb. Clarks' For. Theol. Libr. *G. Muurling*, de Wess. Gansf. cum vita tum merit. in praep. sacr. emend. P. I. (vita). Traj. 1831.)—Most of these reformers had learned in the school of the "Brethren of the Common Life." The following were the most celebrated among them:—1. JOHN PUPPER OF GOCH, prior of a cloister of canonesses at Malines which himself had founded (*ob.* 1475). From his writings (*de libertate Christiana*, *de quatuor erroribus circa legem*) we gather that he was a man of deep piety. His theology is entirely that of Augustine; he insists at great length that love, which constitutes the liberty of the children of God, forms the great subject-matter of theology, while the exclusive authority of Scripture affords the sole testing point of Christian truth. It will not appear strange if we add, that Pupper also inveighed against legalism, work-righteousness, and all externalism in religion.—2. JOHN RUCHRATH OF WESEL, professor at Erfurt, then preacher at Mayence and Worms (*ob.* 1481). His theology was also cast in the mould of St Augustine. He denied the power of the Pope to issue anathemas or to grant indulgences, and preached the doctrine of salvation by faith alone. His

views on the Eucharist were certainly not Romish; those on the Church bordered on spiritualism. He wrote a tractate, "de jejuniis," against ecclesiastical fasts; another, "de indulgentiis," against indulgences; and a third, "de potestate ecclesiastica," against the hierarchy. The Dominicans in Mayence accused and condemned him as a heretic. Bent by age and disease, he was prevailed upon to recant and to commit his writings to the flames, while he himself was condemned to imprisonment for life. His writings and those of Pupper are partially reprinted in *Fr. Walch's Monumenta medii ævi*. Gottg. 1757.—3. JOHN WESSEL, from Gröningen, educated by the Brethren of the Common Life at Zwoll, where Thomas à Kempis had exercised considerable influence upon him. After having taught at Heidelberg for some years, he retired to the monastery on Mount St Agnes near Zwoll, where he died in 1489. His friends called him "Lux Mundi." In rare measure he combined accomplishments so diverse as scholastic dialectics, mystic speculation, and thorough classical training. Luther said of him: "If I had read Wessel before I began, my opponents would have imagined that Luther had derived everything from Wessel—so entirely do we two agree in spirit." In one point, however, they differed, since on the subject of the Eucharist Wessel adopted what afterwards were known as Calvinistic views. The patronage of influential friends proved his safeguard from the Inquisition. Unfortunately, some of his numerous writings have been entirely suppressed through the exertions of the mendicants. An edition of those still extant has been published by Petrus Pappus (Groning. 1614). The most important of them, which bears the title "Farrago," consists of a collection of small but very interesting essays.

2. AN ITALIAN REFORMER. (Comp. *A. G. Rudelbach*, Hier. Savonarola u. seine Zeit. Hamb. 1835. *F. C. Meier*, Girolamo Savon. Berl. 1836. *K. Hase*, neue Propheten. Leips. 1851. *F. T. Perrens*, Jérôme Sav. Par.—a book to which the French Acad. awarded the 1st prize—2d Ed. 1857; transl. into Germ. by *Dr Schröder*.)—The reformation which Savonarola inaugurated in Italy towards the close of the fifteenth century, was directed not only against ecclesiastical, but also against political abuses. It was this combination of different objects which proved fatal to himself and his work. JEROMO SAVONAROLA, a Dominican, had learned the truths of the Gospel from Scripture and from the writings of St Augustine. These truths he now proclaimed at Florence (since 1489). His brilliant oratory, his bold and almost fanatical denunciations of the corruptions prevalent among clergy and laity, princes and people, attracted crowds around him. With intimate knowledge of the way of salvation, he combined a strange apocalyptic and prophetic turn. Many an obstinate sinner was aroused by having discovered his most secret sins, while some of his political predictions were fulfilled in the most remarkable manner. Savon-

arola soon became the idol of the people; and measures were taken to carry into practice not only the moral and religious, but also the political reformation which he had proposed. Florence was to become the capital of a new democratic theocracy. What his enemies, especially Pope Alexander, could not effect by the offer of a cardinal's hat, was accomplished by the folly of a fickle populace. For a time political complications in Italy became more unfavourable, and seemed to run counter to some of his predictions, while a famine desolated the land. The nobility and the loose young men of Florence had always been his bitter enemies; popular opinion also now began to turn against him. The Pope had chosen the right moment to hurl his anathema against the reformer, and to lay the city which sheltered him under the interdict (1497). Too many were found willing to execute the papal sentence. An excited mob made him prisoner; his most determined opponents were his judges. No wonder then that he was condemned to the stake as an heretic and a seducer of the people. Savonarola submitted to his doom in child-like confidence on Him who had died on the cross (1498). Among the heresies laid to his charge, was that of having taught the doctrine of justification by faith. *Comp. G. Rapp, die erweckl. Schriften (the Popul. Relig. Treat.) d. Märtyr. H. Savon. Stuttg. 1839.*

## § 150. WYCLIFFE AND HUS.

*Comp. J. Lewis, Hist. of the Life and Sufferings of J. Wycliffe. Oxf. 1820; R. Vaughan, J. de Wycliffe, a Monograph. Lond. 1853; O. Jäger, J. Wyc. u. s. Bedeutung für d. Reform. Halle 1854; G. Weber, Gesch. d. akathol. Kirchen u. Seeten v. Grossbrit. Leips. 1845. Vol. I.; F. A. Lewald, d. theol. Doctrin. J. Wyc. in the "Zeitsch. für hist. Theol." for 1846. II.-IV.; and in the same Journal for 1853. III. 1854. II.; G. V. Lechler, Wyc. u. d. Lollarden; also, F. Böhringer, J. v. W. ("Die K. u. ihre Zeugen." Vol. II. Sect. 4. 1. Zür. 1856), and "Hist. of Engl. and France under the House of Lancaster." Lond. 1852.—(A number of W.'s treatises have of late been reprinted.)*

The movement which Wycliffe originated in England was altogether independent of the Albigenses, Waldenses, and other sects on the Continent; but it was not entirely unprepared. For some time Parliament had been resisting the growing assumptions of the papal Curia—now entirely a tool of the French court; while the University of Oxford had equally been engaged in a contest against the encroachments of the mendicant friars. These feelings of the nation found expression and vindication in *John Wycliffe*. Like other reformers, he began by censuring glaring abuses, and ended with attacking erroneous doctrine. Irrespective of his life-long



struggle with the hierarchy, and its standing army—the friars, his course was simple and uneventful. Born in 1324 in the village of Wycliffe, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, he entered Queen's College, Oxford, at the early age of sixteen. His diligence and attainments procured him rapid promotion. We find him successively Fellow of Merton College, Warden of Baliol (1360), and Rector of Fylingham, which he afterwards exchanged for the parish of Ludgershall, near Oxford. Even at this early period he entered upon the two great controversies which engaged the energies of his life, and procured for him so long time the sympathies of the people and of the University. In giving his able support to the opposition of the English Parliament against the impudent demands of the Papacy, he secured a powerful party in the State; while, in contending with the friars, he in reality represented the cause of learning against arrogance, hierarchism, hypocrisy, and abuses. The tractates entitled "Objections to the Friars," and "Two short treatises against the Orders of Begging Friars," dating from this period, contain a withering exposure of the monastic orders. If we may believe tradition, they were preceded by an earlier treatise, entitled "The Last Age of the Church," published so early as the year 1356. However, though generally ascribed to Wycliffe, its apocalyptic extravagances and other circumstances lead us to disbelieve its genuineness. But the reformer was soon to have an opportunity of observing more closely the Court of Rome. In 1374 he was appointed member of an embassy despatched to Bruges, to arrange with papal commissioners the disputes between the Pope and England. The result of the negotiations was a compromise, which failed to satisfy the anti-papal party in England. And no wonder—since the taxes paid the Pope for ecclesiastical dignities conferred, amounted to five times the proceeds of all the revenues of the Crown; while benefices were either sold or given to foreign prelates, who spent their large revenues abroad, when scarce enough was left to keep the churches at home in decent repair. Edward III. rewarded the services of Wycliffe by presenting him to the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury (Worcester), and to the rectory of Lutterworth, on which he resigned his parish of Ludgershall. But if King and Parliament hailed the powerful advocacy of Wycliffe, his proceedings had already drawn upon him the hatred of the hierarchy. His first encounter with the prelates was in 1377, when he appeared before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. Unfortunately, we are left in ignorance of the precise points of ac-

ensation ; but we can scarcely be mistaken in supposing that they referred to Wycliffe's views on the claims of the hierarchy, and the relation between Church and State. We are further confirmed in this opinion by the fact, that the Reformer appeared before his judges accompanied by no less personages than John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Earl-Marshal Percy. The temper of these noblemen soon broke out in an unseemly altercation with the prelates ; a tumult ensued ; the investigation was suspended ; and Wycliffe was ultimately dismissed, with an admonition to be more cautious in future. But the Reformer had enemies even more determined and influential than the hierarchy of Britain. His unsparing exposure of the vices, follies, and worthlessness of the monastic orders had endangered their very existence in the country. They possessed the means of moving the Curia, and, but for providential circumstances, would have succeeded in silencing their tormentor. In 1377 several papal bulls reached this country. One of them directed the University of Oxford to seize upon the heretic which it had too long sheltered, and to surrender him prisoner to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London. Another bull, addressed to these prelates, charged them with culpable negligence in the matter, and enjoined them to try the case. It added the seasonable advice, to bring every influence to bear in order to detach from Wycliffe his friends at court. Finally, a bull was directed to the King himself, requesting him, in flattering terms, to lend the prelates the aid of the secular arm. These bulls were accompanied by nineteen heretical propositions, extracted by the monks from the writings of Wycliffe. One series of these statements seemed to strike at the root of the secular power of the Pope, hinting that only the predestinate (members of the true Church) could properly lay claim to authority or possessions ; another series was aimed against the secular possessions of the clergy ; while the third controverted the indiscriminate use of that terrible weapon excommunication—so frequently employed for selfish purposes, and laid down the evangelical principle concerning genuine repentance. When these documents reached England, Edward III. was dead, the throne was occupied by **R**ichard ~~III.~~, a mere child, and the Parliament in no mood to yield to the Papacy. Wycliffe was still the defender of the State against the assumptions of the hierarchy. So long as he confined himself to that, his person was secure. It might have continued so—as himself declared, when on a sick-bed, to some mendicants who visited and admonished him to repent, in prospect of death, “ I shall not die,

but live, and declare the evil deeds of the friars." With powerful friends in the University, at court, and in Parliament, it was felt to be evidently impossible literally to carry out the papal injunction to make Wycliffe a prisoner; but he was cited to appear before his ecclesiastical judges. The reply which the Reformer made to the nineteen charges brought against him has been preserved. Unfortunately, this document bears little trace of the usual boldness and energy of Wycliffe; it consists rather of evasions and explanations than of a vindication of his faith, and breathes rather the language of politicians (by whom it may probably have been inspired) than that of the martyr. These modifications, the threatening attitude of a number of the London citizens, and the interposition of the Dowager Princess of Wales, once more saved Wycliffe. Quite different from the language held at Lambeth was that of the Reformer shortly afterwards, when, free from political influences and trammels, he combated in his own armour with one of the papal party, whom he designates "*Mixtus Theologus*." In 1378 an event occurred which shook the Papacy to its centre. Gregory XI. had died, and the papal schism commenced which formed so long the scandal of Christendom. Wycliffe hailed the event, in the hope that since Christ "hath clove the head of Antichrist, and made the two parts fight against each other," the end of the system was near. The year 1381 marks a new era in the history of the Reformer. If hitherto he had only inveighed against the arrogance, the assumptions, and the hypocrisy of the hierarchy and clergy, he now attacked the *doctrines* of the Church of Rome, especially that great bulwark of priestly power—the doctrine of transubstantiation. The twelve theses which he offered to defend on this subject at Oxford are remarkable. They bore that the consecrated host was only an efficacious sign of Christ; that no man could discern Christ in the Eucharist otherwise than by faith; that originally the views of Berengar had been those of the Church universal; that the doctrine of transubstantiation, of impanation, etc., were false; and that the sacrament of the Eucharist was figuratively the body and blood of Christ, into which the bread and the wine were transubstantiated, but in the sense that the essence (*aliquitas*) of the elements continued after consecration, although, in the view of believers, it was as if it did not exist. It is evident that the controversy between Wycliffe and the Church was now assuming proportions for which neither the University nor his friends at court were prepared. At the time of which we write, William Barton,



one of the principal opponents of Wycliffe, was chancellor of the University. No sooner had Barton seen the bold *theses*, than he summoned twelve doctors to his aid, of whom, very significantly, eight were begging friars. This assembly prohibited any one from teaching or defending propositions so heretical, and condemned all who hesitated to maintain that "there do *not* remain in that venerable sacrament the material bread and wine which were there before, each according to its own substance or nature, but only the species of the same, under which species the very body and blood of Christ are really contained, not merely figuratively or tropically, but essentially, substantially, and corporeally,—so that Christ is there verily in His own proper bodily presence." From the sentence of the Chancellor Wycliffe appealed to the King; but without effect. The court and Parliament were ready to protect the advocate of national independence, but not the schismatic in doctrine. Another circumstance also contributed to deprive the Reformer of the support of the nobility. The peasant war under Wat Tyler and John Balle, though entirely unconnected with the movement of Wycliffe, might easily be made by the papal party an argument for upholding more strenuously existing institutions. Banished from the University, the Reformer retired to his parish of Lutterworth, where, by his sermons and tractates, he continued to influence all classes of the community. Telling exposures of the priesthood alternated with earnest exhortations that each man should, in his own sphere, contribute that the law of God might again prevail. His activity was not, however, confined to his own parish, or to the tractates which he scattered over the country. By means of the so-called "poor priests," he sent the Gospel throughout the country. These "poor priests" resembled in many respects the Poor Men of Lyons, as the early Waldenses were designated. In coarse robes of russet hue, barefoot, with a staff in their hand, they travelled through villages and towns, preaching the Gospel and instructing the people. But this period of quiet usefulness was not to be of long duration. During the late tumults the Primate had been killed; he was succeeded by Courtenay, the bitter enemy of Wycliffe. The new Primate immediately summoned a synod to arrest the spread of heresy. On the 17th May 1382, eight bishops and twenty-five doctors and bachelors of theology (among them, fifteen friars) met, and unanimously declared ten of Wycliffe's propositions heretical, and other fourteen erroneous. To make this sentence more solemn, a procession moved barefoot through the streets of London to St Paul's,

where a Carmelite addressed the multitude on the subject. It is important to notice which of the views of the Reformer were declared heretical, and which only erroneous. Among the former, the Synod ranked his opinions on the Eucharist; his denial that the mass was Christ's institution; his assertion, that auricular confession was unnecessary in case of genuine heart-contrition; his views about the invalidity of ministerial acts, if performed by a priest in mortal sin; and his objections to the secular possessions of the clergy. It can scarcely be doubted that the views with which the Synod charged Wycliffe were somewhat exaggerated; in point of fact, however, he only disowned one—evidently a misconception of the bearing of his views on predestination—"that God must obey the devil." Among the statements adjudged erroneous by the Synod, were his well-known views on excommunication; his opinion, that deacons and presbyters required not the special license of their superiors for preaching, that temporalities might be withheld from neglectful priests, and a series of denunciations against monastic orders generally.—Archbishop Courtenay had carried the condemnation of Wycliffe's tenets; but it was a more difficult thing to derive from the sentence any practical results. As yet, there was no law in England making heresy a crime. Wycliffe had many supporters in Oxford, and the "poor priests" were rapidly multiplying his adherents among the people. The first step which the Primate took, was to intimate to all diocesans the sentence of the Synod, warning them at the same time to adopt all proper measures for the suppression of heresy; the next was to procure from the House of Lords a bill, enjoining sheriffs and other officials to imprison all "poor priests," their abettors and adherents, until they should clear themselves of suspicion, according to the law of the Church. The bill was accompanied by a letter from the King (dated 12th July 1382), in which the Primate was empowered to imprison all who publicly or privately maintained any of the condemned propositions. A persecution of the "poor priests" now commenced throughout the country. But it was not so easy to reach the adherents of Wycliffe in *Oxford*. Barton had been succeeded as chancellor by Rigge, a man favourable to the Reformers. Accordingly, Hereford, one of Wycliffe's friends, and his coadjutor in the translation of the Bible, was appointed University preacher—an opportunity which he employed for defending some of the propositions impugned; while the delegate of Courtenay ventured not to publish the sentence of the Synod. The refractory Chancellor was summoned before the Primate. As might have been anticipated,

the controversy ended in the submission of Rigge, and the suspension of the most prominent of Wycliffe's adherents in Oxford: Nicholas Hereford, Philip Reppington, John Aston, and Laurence Bedeman. The clergy went further. By direct command of the King, the sentence of the Synod was now published, and a general inquisition instituted, for the twofold purpose of ascertaining what members of the University favoured the heresy, and of seizing on any dangerous writings. The supporters of Wycliffe in Oxford were next summoned before the Primate. The only point on which apparently they were called to make formal retraction, was the tenet of the Reformer on the Eucharist. It is melancholy to relate that very few of those cited continued faithful to their convictions. Hillman, Bedeman, Reppington, and Aston subscribed confessions which, to say the least, cannot be reconciled with their former views, even admitting that the *language* used by Wycliffe, in many respects, resembled that of the Church. Hereford seems to have been more steadfast, though of him also we soon lose trace. It is strange—almost an unsolved mystery—that Wycliffe himself should not have been summoned at this time, or compeared at the convocation held at Oxford in 1382.<sup>1</sup> We are left in doubt whether his persecutors deemed themselves not yet sufficiently strong to attack him, whether he was reserved as the last victim, or whether it was intended ultimately to make a striking example of the arch-heretic. Certain it is that he remained undisturbed in Lutterworth, preaching and propounding his views by tractates. Only once again was he molested by a citation to Rome from Urban VI., which the Reformer, however, declined, in somewhat sarcastic language, on the ground of ill health. The Pope was too busy with his opponent at Avignon, to bestow further attention upon the priest of Lutterworth. The Reformer felt deeply the persecution to which his adherents were exposed, on the ground, as he asserted, of their saying that Antichrist should be ashamed of his manner of life, and that the bread in the Eucharist *was* bread, and at the same time the body of Christ. He adopted two bold measures,—the one was an appeal to King and Parliament, the other, the publication of a “confession” of his views on the Eucharist. The latter may be regarded as the most mature expression of his convictions on the subject. It is interesting to know them. The purport of the treatise may be summed up in one or two sentences. Wycliffe believes that the sacramental bread is, in

<sup>1</sup> Historical evidence seems to point to this conclusion, rather than that he appeared at Oxford and escaped unharmed.



truth and reality, the body of Christ which had been conceived by the Virgin, suffered on the cross, lain for three days in the tomb, risen on the third day, ascended into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father. But he guards himself against being misunderstood, as if he meant that the sacramental bread was essentially, substantially, or corporeally the body of Christ, so that the body of Christ, which occupied a definite space in heaven, was identical with the consecrated host. What he intended to convey by saying that the body of Christ was really and truly in the sacrament was, that it was there in an efficacious, spiritual, and sacramental manner, but not according to substance or corporeal nature.—The last years of the Reformer's life were the most active, so far as literary labours were concerned. Besides a number of tracts, he completed, between 1380 and 1384, the translation of the entire Bible into English. Wycliffe had long suffered from various infirmities; still he continued his labours till within a few days of his death, which took place on the 31st December 1384.—With the decease of the Reformer his work died not. The *Lollards*, as his adherents were now called, continued to cherish and spread his opinions, despite the cruel persecutions to which they were exposed. Nay, more,—the seed of these doctrines was carried to a distant country, where, under the care of Hus and his successors, it took root and bore abundant fruit.

1. THE THEOLOGY OF WYCLIFFE.—In forming our opinions of the theology of Wycliffe, we must bear in mind the scholastic training through which he had passed, and the circumstances under which he wrote. In opposition to the worship of man which he saw everywhere around, Wycliffe recognised God everywhere. From the Pelagianism of the Church of Rome he recoiled, almost to the opposite extreme. Yet, versed in the subtleties of the schools, his was the Augustinianism of Bradwardine rather than that of the Bishop of Hippo, or of Calvin. We add, that the most elaborate of the Reformer's theological treatises is the *Triologus*, written in the form of a discussion between *Alithia* (Truth), *Pseudis* (Lie), and *Phronesis* (Prudence).—The two fundamental principles which seem to underlie the theology of Wycliffe, are, the *absolute causality of God*, and the *exclusive authority of the Scriptures*. On the former of these points Wycliffe carries his speculations to considerable length. Nothing is but as thought by God, and nothing is thought by God but what is; and this holds true, not only in reference to outward objects, but also in the sphere of morality. If it be asked how human liberty can be reconciled with this doctrine of absolute causality, Wycliffe replies, that man was, in reality, like a child walking in leading-strings, which all the while deemed itself

walking alone. To explain this bold simile, the Reformer first distinguished between the inward and the outward action of God; to the former, no measure of time could apply, it was eternal,—not so the latter. This distinction would show that the doctrine of Divine causality really interfered not with human liberty. It was, indeed, true that the general course of every individual and his nature were fixed from all eternity in the Divine plan, but not his every special action, viewed separately and by itself, in which man freely determined for himself according to his nature and disposition, and not according to a special decree. Hence the eternal determination of God (His inward action) by no means excluded the self-determination of man. To walk in leading-strings, then, really meant, that each man was guided by his nature and disposition. More formidable even seemed the objection, that this doctrine of absolute causality would make God the author of sin. But, replied Wycliffe, properly speaking, evil has not any real existence—it is only a want or defect. In a secondary sense, and in so far as it issues in much good, existence may be ascribed to it; and in that secondary sense God might be said both to know and to will evil. It is scarcely necessary to remark that Wycliffe held the doctrine of eternal election, although he shrunk from tracing the final rejection of the non-predestinate in as explicit terms to Divine causality as he did the salvation of the Church. Wycliffe rather connected the condemnation of the reprobate with their actual sins. It is worthy of notice that, like Bradwardine, our Reformer based the doctrine of absolute predestination on the almighty will of God, and not on original sin, or the spiritual inability of man. Withal, he also maintained that nobody could in this life be assured of his predestination, and that every person should regard himself a member of the true Church.—In every system of theology, the question of the origin of evil has baffled the skill of the metaphysician. Wycliffe contributed his share towards a solution of the difficulty. He first laid down the principle, that originally the angels enjoyed a twofold knowledge of God—by direct vision in the Divine Word (what Augustine called “the morning vision”), and through a knowledge of things viewed individually and separately (which may be called the evening vision). He also put the matter in a different shape. Using a *simile*, he spoke of a threefold knowledge of God—as direct vision, vision by refraction, and vision by reflection as from a glass. Wycliffe next suggested that the fallen angels had gradually declined to the lowest of these three visions—the knowledge of things separately, and by themselves; and that, having dwelt upon them without referring them to God, they came to deem themselves equal to God, in the sense that they imagined that, just as the Highest had none whom to thank for gifts received, so they might also rest satisfied with their knowledge of things viewed by themselves, without ascribing to God the praise due to Him. In this consisted the fall of the angels.—It

was more easy to account for the introduction of sin into our world, which Wycliffe referred to the temptations of Satan finding entrance into the soul through the ignorance and inexperience of men. The thorny question of the exact mode in which original sin is transmitted, was not left untouched by the bold scholastic. In regard to the souls of infants, he held what is known as Creatianism, in opposition to Traducianism. The only solution which Wycliffe could therefore suggest was, that God created each soul neither pure nor impure (a *tabula rasa* ?), and that sin was introduced by the connection of the soul with the body.—Such were some of the theological speculations of our Reformer. But the moment we leave metaphysical and scholastic disquisitions, and turn to the great truths of the Gospel, all wears a different aspect. So far as light is granted, Wycliffe is always clear, evangelical, and consistent. With particular emphasis he dwells on the necessity of the incarnation of the Son of God, as requisite in order to render a *perfect divine* obedience in *our nature*. Equally does he insist on the necessity of the death of Christ as a substitute for us, and explains the twofold character of His work, to which modern divines have given the designation of the active and passive obedience of the Saviour. At the same time Wycliffe rejected the popish dogma of the *superfluous* merits of Jesus, of which the Church was the depository. Views so full and scriptural must have swept away every idea of work-righteousness, of indulgences, of the intercession of saints, and all other popish inventions. However, like all other divines of the Middle Ages, Wycliffe seems to have been ignorant of the doctrine of *justification*, or of judicial, forensic imputation of the righteousness of Christ. He only speaks of an *inward* communication of righteousness, infused into the soul by the grace of God. Faith he chiefly regarded in the light of an intellectual act, being a supernatural and habitual knowledge of what should be believed, a knowledge pervading and influencing the whole inner man. We have already alluded to Wycliffe's high regard for the exclusive authority of the Bible (to the rejection of the Apocrypha). Whatever it enjoined should be implicitly observed; whatever had no direct sanction in its pages, was man's invention and heresy. It was on these grounds that he felt so anxious to diffuse among the people the Scriptures in the vernacular, and that with the assistance of some friends (especially of Hereford) he addressed himself so zealously to its translation. The version of the Scriptures was made, not from the original tongues, but from the Vulgate. Of course it was very imperfect; still it proved an inestimable boon to the people.—We have seen that the great doctrinal controversy between Wycliffe and the Romish Church turned upon the import of the Eucharist. A sacrament he defined as a visible and effectual sign (instituted by Christ) of an invisible reality. Its efficacy depended not on itself, but on the power of God which rendered the sign efficacious. For this purpose, however, both the receiver and the dispenser of the sacra-



ment must be in a state of fitness and proper preparation. The above definition contained the germ of correct views on those sacraments which had a warrant in Scripture; it also implied the rejection of those instituted by man, and of the ceremonies with which the Church had encumbered them. Baptism, he held, was lawfully administered to infants, and, if rightly received, might prove the channel for the remission of sins. But on this subject Wycliffe is not very explicit. In reference to the Eucharist, he rejected, of course, the doctrine of transubstantiation, which the friars scholastically explained by stating that after consecration the substance of the bread and wine were annihilated, the accidents or properties (such as form, taste, etc.) alone remaining; on which account the Dominicans argued that the bread in the sacrament became nothing, *i.e.*, an aggregate of accidents without a substance. Against this monstrous sophism Wycliffe protested, labouring, in opposition, to establish two points,—*viz.*, that the bread and wine remained, really and substantially, bread and wine, and that at the same time the body and blood of Christ were really, though not corporeally, present in the sacrament. The sacrament of Confirmation the Reformer regarded as unfounded in Scripture. In respect of Ordination, he maintained that originally there had been only two clerical orders, presbyters and deacons. He rejected the idea that Marriage was a sacrament; indeed, on this question he went, perhaps, to an opposite extreme. He was opposed to the Romish restrictions in regard to affinity, and held strong views on the sanctity of the marriage contract. On the subject of Penance he declared that genuine heart-contrition was quite sufficient, without either auricular confession or the daring assumption of priestly absolution. In short, in doctrine, discipline, and worship, he would have swept away man's inventions, the worship of saints and of images, and all other superstitions, and returned to pristine Christian simplicity.—The true Church Wycliffe regarded as consisting of the angels and blessed in heaven (the Church triumphant), of the predestinate who were still in purgatory (the Church sleeping), and of the community of the predestinate on earth (the Church militant). The *visible* Church consisted of three classes—the commons, lords, and priests. But Wycliffe would only recognise that as a true Church which owned Christ as its Head, His law as its only directory, and the Holy Spirit as its soul and animating principle.—From this brief notice it will be easy to gather both the excellencies and the defects of Wycliffe's theology. The *German* Reformers of the sixteenth century awarded him a scanty measure of justice, though some of their accusations are, perhaps, not without foundation in truth. They charged him with Donatism, in refusing to acknowledge the validity of sacraments administered by unworthy priests, and with fanaticism, in maintaining that the clergy were not warranted in holding temporal possessions. *Luther*, of course, controverted his views on the Eu-

charist, and reproached him with having attacked the life rather than the doctrines of the Papacy. To this *Melanethon* added that Wycliffe had been ignorant of the doctrine of justification by faith, and that he had improperly mixed up the Gospel with politics. It is needless to examine these charges in detail : suffice it to add, that the theology of Wycliffe claimed much closer affinity to that of the Swiss than of the German Reformers.

2. THE LOLLARDS.—The adherents of Wycliffe were most numerous in the dioceses of London and Lincoln. In order to brand them as a known heretical sect, their enemies designated them “Lollards” (a name common since 1387). So inefficacious had the measures hitherto adopted against them proved, that on many occasions they ventured to bring their tenets prominently before the public. Thus they affixed to the doors of churches placards denouncing the priests ; and in 1395 they even addressed “twelve conclusions” to Parliament, in which they attacked in no measured language the doctrines of Rome. This and other disturbances induced King Richard to return from Ireland, in order to check the daring sectaries. So far as the hierarchy was concerned, zeal was not awanting. At a synod held in February 1396, Thomas of Arundel, the new Primate of England, procured a formal condemnation of eighteen propositions extracted from the writings of Wycliffe. Still Richard was not very hearty in lending secular aid to the hierarchy. At length the clergy found a monarch ready to obey their behests. Richard was dethroned by Henry IV., with whom the house of Lancaster came to the throne of England. The new King was all the more willing to aid the clergy, that, as usurper of the throne, he needed their support. It seems strange that under the son of that Duke of Lancaster who so long had proved Wycliffe’s steady friend, the Act “*de Hæretico comburendo*”—the first of the kind which disgraced the English statute book—should have been passed (1400). The statute gave power to bishops to hand over obstinate or relapsed heretics to sheriffs or magistrates, who were enjoined to have them publicly burnt. The ordinance was not allowed to remain a dead letter. In 1401, *William Sawtré*, a parish priest, was burnt at Smithfield as a relapsed heretic. Among many other victims, we select such names as *William Thorpe*, a most devoted priest (1407); *J. Badby*, who was burnt in a barrel ; and especially that generous friend of the Reformation, *Lord Cobham* (Sir John Oldcastle). Frequently had his castle afforded shelter to Lollard preachers, and devotedly did he adhere to these doctrines, since, as himself attested, his whole life had through them undergone a change. Henry V., the conqueror of Agincourt, had made vain efforts to induce him to change his opinions. However little that monarch cared for theological subjects, he deemed the submission of the layman to his priest as necessary as that of the soldier to his general. He now handed the heretic to the tribunal of his bitter enemy, Archbishop Arundel. Lord

Cobham refused to recant, and was condemned as a "pernicious and detestable heretic" (1413). But during the respite granted him he managed to escape into Wales, where he concealed himself till 1417, when he was captured and executed at St Giles' Fields amidst barbarous tortures. The same sufferings—the victim being hung, and then roasted over a slow fire—were endured by many others of all classes in society. The escape of Lord Cobham, and rumours of a Lollard insurrection the following year, were made the occasion for fresh measures of persecution. In 1414 it was ordered that all public officials should bind themselves by oath to aid in the extirpation of heresy, and that the lands and possessions of those convicted of heresy should be confiscated. In 1416 a regular inquisition was instituted in every parish of the diocese of Canterbury. Still stringent measures gradually led the nobility and clergy to withdraw from so dangerous a movement. Among the common people, however, these opinions continued to spread; secret conventicles were held; and though the persecution, which lasted till 1431, may have crushed the party, so late as 150 years after Wycliffe's death Leland testifies that the English tractates of the Reformer were still preserved, and eagerly read by the people.—It could scarcely be expected that, in the peculiar circumstances in which the Lollards were placed, they should have always continued within the bounds of evangelical moderation. In some respects, indeed, they went beyond their teacher, and their extravagant assertions sound not unlike those which we meet in later sectarians. Thus they were opposed to all priestly celibacy, even to that of the monastic orders; they denounced the doctrine of purgatory, ordained priests of their own, and allowed laymen to preach; regarded the Lord's Prayer as the only form which should be used; objected to the lawfulness of oaths, to wars, and to the punishment of death; and denounced art as an antichristian invention, and a means of sinful indulgence.—If such was the state of matters among the people, the position which the University of Oxford occupied in reference to the condemned opinions was for some time far from satisfactory to the hierarchy. Despite former ordinances, it published in 1406 a "Publike Testimonie, given out by the Universitie of Oxford"—supposing that document to be genuine—in which the character and attainments of Wycliffe were vindicated. Whatever may be thought of this remarkable document, the hierarchy at least deemed it requisite to keep a watchful eye on the University. Accordingly, in 1408 the Primate passed, in convocation at Oxford, the so-called "Constitutions of Arundel," directed against the tenets of the Reformer. Indications, however, are not wanting that the University still continued "to beget degenerate children" till 1412, when an entire change seems to have taken place. In that year the University appointed a commission to examine the writings of Wycliffe; and 260, or, according to another computation, 298, propositions extracted from them were branded



as heretical. A still heavier blow awaited the cause of the Reformation in England. In 1415—two months before the death of Hus—the Council of Constance solemnly denounced forty-five articles, taken from the works of Wycliffe, to which afterwards a catalogue of other sixty heresies was added. That assembly went even further. It ordered the bones of Wycliffe to be exhumed and burnt. The infamous sentence was only carried out in 1428—sad to tell, by Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, formerly a devoted adherent of the Reformer.—Attempts were not wanting to confute the tenets denounced by the Romish hierarchy. Thus *William of Woodford* endeavoured to refute those eighteen articles from the “*Trialogus*,” which Archbishop Arundel had solemnly condemned on his accession. Again, between 1417 and 1422, *Thomas Netter of Walden* composed a work in which he endeavoured to prove the falseness of Wycliffe’s theological views. But neither of these works was written in a manner likely to carry conviction. It was otherwise with the writings of *Reginald Peacock*, Bishop of Chichester in 1449. Unfortunately, the evangelical and candid spirit in which they were composed, proved fatal to their author. He was obliged to recant and do penance for his moderation, and was besides condemned to spend the remainder of his life in prison, deprived even of the consolation of books and writing materials.—From England Lollard tenets spread into *Scotland*. *John Resby*, an English priest who had fled northwards from persecution, soon attracted by his teaching the attention of *Wardlaw*, Bishop of St Andrews. He was tried before *Dr Lawrence Lindores*, afterwards Professor of Common Law at St Andrews; and, on his refusal to retract his views about the supremacy of the Pope, auricular confession, transubstantiation, etc., burnt at Perth (1405 or 1407). Still these opinions continued to extend, especially in the south and west of Scotland. The Regent, Robert, Duke of Albany, was known to be opposed to the Lollards; and though King James I. was by no means blind to prevailing abuses in the Church, an Act of Parliament was passed during his reign (in 1425), by which bishops were required to make inquisition in their dioceses for heretics, in order that they might undergo condign punishment. This Act was soon to be put in force. In 1433, *Paul Craw* or *Crawar*, a physician of Prague, had arrived—probably to escape persecution—in Scotland. As he made no secret of his Lollard or Hussite opinions, he was soon arraigned before Dr Lindores and condemned to the flames. From this time we hear little of the Lollards in Scotland, though their continuance is attested by the fact, that in 1494, Blackadder, first Archbishop of Glasgow, signalised his zeal for the Church by persecuting the numerous heretics in his diocese. Accordingly, thirty suspected persons were summoned before the King and council; but James IV., who was not inclined to be a persecutor, dismissed the prisoners, after an examination which contributed little to the credit of the new Archbishop.

3. THE BOHEMIAN REFORMERS BEFORE HUS. (Comp. *J. P. Jordan*, d. Vorläufer d. Hussitenth. in Böhmen—the Precursors of H. in Boh.—Leips. 1846. *A. Zitte*, Lebensbeschr. d. drei Vorl. d. Joh. Hus. Prague 1786. *F. Palacky*, Gesch. v. Böhmen. Vol. III., pp. 157, etc.)—It will be remembered that the *Bohemian Church* had been founded by missionaries from the East, and not from the West. The peculiar direction which it got at first was never wholly lost; and though, at a later period, the Romish order and liturgy had been introduced, they were not received without opposition or grudge. In Bohemia the founder of the Waldenses had spent the last years of his life; and there, at a later period, a number of his adherents had found an asylum when driven from the valleys of Piedmont. The great stronghold of the Papacy in Bohemia was the University of Prague (founded in 1348). Most of its chairs were occupied by the mendicants, who were, of course, zealous defenders of hierarchical principles; while the arrangement of the members of the University into four nations, of whom each had one vote (Bohemia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Poland), prevented anything like a national and independent movement on the part of the Bohemians. Nor was it unimportant, in reference to the religious history of the country, that the controversy between Realism and Nominalism raged more violently at Prague than elsewhere, and that there also Realism was regarded as suspicious, while Nominalism was considered the great bulwark of ecclesiastical orthodoxy. (Wycliffe also was a Realist, but the Paris Reformers were zealous Nominalists.) Even before the time of Hus three earnest preachers had prepared the way by their evangelical sermons, and by their pastoral labours among the people. These were *Conrad of Waldhausen* (ob. 1369), *John Milicz* (ob. 1384), and *Matthias of Janov* (ob. 1394). Milicz seems to have had the clearest insight into evangelical truth, while Janov was loudest in his denunciations of ecclesiastical abuses; all three gathered vast audiences around them. In 1367 MILICZ went to Rome to bear testimony against ecclesiastical corruptions in the capital of Christendom. He was soon silenced in a prison; but either Pope *Urban V.*, who had just returned from Avignon, or the good offices of some other friends, procured his liberation. Fresh persecutions awaited him on his return to Bohemia. His opponents accused him of heresy before Pope *Gregory XI.* Milicz successfully defended his orthodoxy at Avignon, whither he had gone to plead his cause in person. JANOV has left us two tractates, “*De sacerdotum et monachorum abhorrenda abominatione desolationis in ecclesia Christi*,” and “*De Antichristo*,” which contain a withering exposure of the degenerate hierarchy, clergy, and monks of his time. His hearers he warned against trusting in their own works, or attaching value to mere ceremonies. A peculiarity in these precursors of the Reformation was the value which they attached to frequent, nay, daily communion, as the great means of grace and holiness. It has been.

supposed by some that Janov cherished the conviction that, according to Christ's appointment, the laity should receive the cup as well as the bread in the Eucharist, but that, in obedience to his ecclesiastical superiors, he had yielded the point. The statement, however, wants historical confirmation.

4. HUS AND JEROME. (Comp. *A. Zitte*, *Lebensbeschr. d. Joh. Hus*. Prague 1799. 2 Vols. *A. Zürn*, *J. Hus auf d. Concil zu Kostnitz*. Leips. 1836. *L. Köhler*, *J. Hus u. seine Zeit*. Leips. 1846. 3 Vols. *J. A. Helfert*, *Hus u. Hieron*. Prague 1853. *L. Heller*, *Hieron. v. Prag*. Tüb. 1835. *F. Palacky*, *Gesch. v. Böhmen*. Vol. III. *Böhringer*, *K. Christi u. ihre Zeugen*. Vol. II. Sect. IV. 2. Zür. 1858.)—JOHN HUS, of Husinecz, was born in 1369. From 1398 he occupied the chair of philosophy in the University of Prague. Even before his public appearance he had passed through deep personal experiences, realising his own sinfulness, and ultimately finding peace and comfort in the Word of God and in a cordial reception of the crucified Saviour. These truths became a source of new life to him, and then he proclaimed when called in 1402 to officiate as preacher in the *Bethlehem Chapel* at Prague, which was founded for the special purpose of giving the people an opportunity of hearing the Gospel in the vernacular. Hitherto Hus had been only superficially acquainted with the writings of Wycliffe, whose views on the Eucharist he rejected. But when JEROME OF PRAGUE, a Bohemian knight, returned from Oxford an enthusiastic adherent of Wycliffe, he persuaded his friend to examine more fully the writings and opinions of the British Reformer. Jerome was a man of brilliant talents, ardently attached to what he believed the truth, and burning with a zeal which bordered on enthusiasm, but deficient in that moderation and prudence for which Hus was so distinguished. The charge of sharing Wycliffe's views was first brought against Hus in 1404, when two young English divines, pupils of Wycliffe, being persecuted in Prague for their advocacy of their teacher's tenets, exhibited a number of pictures by way of showing the striking contrast between the poverty of Christ and His apostles, and the pomp and luxury of the Pope and his cardinals. Hus disapproved of the conduct of the young men, although he admitted the truth of the contrast presented. The Bohemian members of the University took the same view of the question, the Germans and Poles the opposite. As the foreigners commanded three votes in the University against the one of the Bohemians, a resolution was published in 1408, by which forty-five propositions of Wycliffe were formally condemned. But this state of matters was not to continue. In 1409 the national party prevailed on *Wenceslaus*, the King, to issue an order to the effect that in future the Bohemian nation should have three votes, and the other nations combined—only *one*. This resolution has generally been attributed to the influence of Hus; but although he un-



doubtedly took that side of the question, there is abundant evidence that Wenceslaus acted independently, and on different, chiefly political grounds. The foreigners (teachers and students numbering, according to the lowest estimate, 5000) immediately left Prague, and founded the University of Leipsig. The party of Hus became dominant in Bohemia, but all the more unpopular in foreign countries, and the charge of Wycliffism was generally preferred against its leader. About the same time Hus became also more earnest and energetic in his denunciations of ecclesiastical and clerical abuses. *Sbynko*, Archbishop of Prague, now laid an accusation against him in Rome, and prohibited his preaching in the Bethlehem Chapel. But the populace openly insulted the Archbishop in the streets, while Hus appealed from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better-informed. The Bohemian Reformer was wont to declare that he received not implicitly all the statements of Wycliffe, but distinguished in them between truth and error, and that he was prepared to retract the moment he should be convinced from Scripture of his error. The Pope cited him to Rome; but, on the intercession of the King and the University, a temporary truce was concluded between Hus and the Archbishop of Prague. Other occasions of dissension soon arose. In 1412 John XXIII. proclaimed a crusade against Naples, which was also preached in Bohemia. Against this daring presumption Hus protested by pen and voice; while Jerome, in his indignation, even ventured to burn the Pope's bull at the public pillory. The Pope now excommunicated Hus, and laid Prague under the interdict so long as it sheltered the Reformer (1413). Hus appealed to the tribunal of Jesus Christ, and retired from Prague to the country. Meantime the Council of Constance had been summoned. There the cause of Hus was to be finally settled. At the request of the Emperor *Sigismund*, and furnished by him with a safe-conduct, the Reformer went to Constance, fully persuaded of the justice of his cause, and prepared, if necessary, to suffer martyrdom, of which, indeed, he seems before his departure to have had anticipation. Such apprehensions were realised otherwise and more speedily than could have been expected. On his first examination Hus was immediately committed to prison. The Bohemian nobles who had accompanied him to Constance appealed to the Emperor, who was on his way to that city. The imperial order to restore Hus to liberty was not obeyed; and a deputation from the Council persuaded the weak monarch, that since Hus was at the bar of the Council on the charge of heresy, he was beyond imperial protection. For seven months the Reformer was tortured by private examinations. Confined to loathsome prisons, his health had gradually given way. At length a public audience was granted him (in June 1415). But he was not allowed to proceed to the discussion of controverted points; the Council insisted on simple and unqualified retraction. The

humility, meekness, and gentleness of the Reformer, his enthusiasm and confidence, gained him friends even in the Council. From all sides, and by every kind of motive, he was pressed to yield. These well-meant persuasions proved as ineffectual as the threats of his enemies. On the 6th July, his forty-sixth birthday, a solemn oration was delivered in the cathedral on Romans vi. 6, after which Hus was stripped of his priestly robes, handed over to the secular power, and led to the stake. Amid prayer and praise he expired, joyously and confidently, one of the numerous company of martyrs who with their blood have sealed a good confession. His ashes were cast into the Rhine.—*Jerome* of Prague, the friend of Hus, had also appeared at Constance, though unsummoned. Perceiving that a longer stay could be of no use to his friend and only exposed himself to a similar fate, he left the town, but was captured by the way and brought back in chains (April 1415). Half a year spent in a loathsome prison, and the continuous solicitations of his judges, induced him in an hour of weakness to recant, and to acknowledge the sentence pronounced against Hus. But notwithstanding his recantation, he was still distrusted and kept in durance. *Jerome* soon recovered himself. He requested a public audience before the whole Council, which was granted him in May 1416. He now publicly and formally retracted his former recantation, and confounded the Council by his eloquence and moral earnestness. On the 30th May 1416, he died at the stake full of courage and joy.

THE DOCTRINAL VIEWS OF HUS are most clearly expressed in his tractate “*de ecclesia*.” They present the Gospel almost exclusively in its moral and spiritual aspect. In this lies their excellency, and perhaps also the cause of their defects. Hus was thoroughly imbued with the theology of Augustine. He regarded the Church as the totality of the predestinate, but, confounding the visible with the invisible Church, argued that only the predestinate could properly *dispense* as well as receive the sacraments. It will readily be perceived how serious in its consequences a principle like this, which, as will be remembered, Hus shared with Wycliffe, must have proved. A reformation based on such fundamental principles would be apt to degenerate into sectarianism or fanaticism. But what we chiefly admire in Hus is, that, notwithstanding manifold errors, such as belief in transubstantiation, purgatory, etc., he so clearly perceived the spiritual character of Christianity, so strenuously opposed not only the abuses of the Papacy, but all mere ordinances and rule of man in the Church, so firmly clung to the crucified Saviour, and so earnestly strove by His grace and Spirit to lead others to conformity with him. These were the principles of genuine reformation which Hus proclaimed, and which afterwards were taken up and developed by the “*Bohemian Brethren*.” Their sympathy with the Calvinistic branch of the Church proves that the principles of Hus, though by no means distinctly or fully

formed, had essentially the same tendency as those afterwards so clearly enunciated at Geneva.—We are scarcely surprised that the Council of Constance, though led by a Gerson, should have pronounced sentence of death on such a man. The reformation which they sought, the views which they entertained, and the objects which they aimed after, were totally different from those of Hus. Other reasons also led to this result. The Fathers of Constance were chiefly Nominalists, and to them the Realism of Hus appeared the source of all his heresy; besides, the controversy in the University of Prague and the decision of the king, which were chiefly attributed to him, had raised a prejudice in the minds of the Germans. Perhaps, also, his mistakes on the subject of the Church might appear to the Council more dangerous than they really were, while all the other points on which he advocated evangelical views could not be appreciated by such an assembly as that of Constance. Lastly, Hus drew upon himself the enmity of both parties in the Council; the hierarchical party wished to deter its opponents by showing that the Church still possessed the power of burning heretics, while the liberal party withdrew its protection, from apprehension that any suspicion of sharing the heretical views of Hus might endanger the success of their reformatory attempts.—The story, frequently related, that in his last moments Hus uttered the prediction, “To-day you roast a goose (in Boh. = Hus), but from mine ashes will arise a swan (the armorial device of Luther), whom you will not be able to destroy,” is entirely apocryphal. It probably originated during the time of the Reformation, from the circumstance that the two martyrs had appealed to the judgment of God and of history. Hus predicted that, instead of the weak goose, strong eagles and falcons would soon come; while *Jerome* summoned his unjust judges to answer within a hundred years before the highest tribunal.

5. THE HUSSITES. (Comp. Z. *Theobald*, Hussitenkrieg. 3d Ed. Bresl. 1750. 4. *Lenfant*, Hist. de la guerre des Huss. 2 T. 4. Supplém. par *Beausobre*. Laus. 1745. F. *Palacky*, u. s.)—During the imprisonment of Hus, *Jacobus of Misa* (*Jacobellus*) had acted as leader of the Hussites. By advice of a Waldensian (*Peter of Dresden*), and with the approbation of Hus, he dispensed to the laity the cup in the Eucharist. In consequence of this, a violent controversy broke out between the divines of Prague and those of Constance, about the lawfulness of withholding the cup. On the proposal of Gerson, the Council resolved, that any one who refused to submit in this matter to the Church, should be treated as a heretic. This and the execution of Hus raised popular feeling in Bohemia to the highest pitch. In the midst of the excitement which ensued, King Wenceslaus died in 1419, and the estates refused to acknowledge his brother, the “perjured” Emperor Sigismund. For sixteen years a civil war raged which, in bitterness and cruelty on both sides, has rarely been equalled. The Hussites, who had built



the fortified town of *Tabor* on the top of a steep mountain, were commanded by *Ziska*. The armies of crusaders successively summoned against the Bohemians were defeated and annihilated. But the spirit of Hus had left the great majority of his adherents, who were divided among themselves. Two parties among them were opposed to each other. The (aristocratic) CALIXTINES (from calix = cup) or *Utraquists* (sub *utraque*, i.e., under both forms), which were headed by *Rokycana*, the Bishop-elect of Prague, would have been satisfied if the Catholic Church had conceded their four articles (1. The Eucharist under both forms; 2. The free preaching of the Gospel in the vernacular; 3. Strict discipline among the clergy; 4. That the clergy should not possess secular property). But the (democratic) TABORITES refused to come to any terms with the Catholic Church. They laid down the principle, that whatever in government, doctrine, and worship could not be proved from Scripture, should be implicitly rejected. They went even further, and virtually condemned all "literature, education, offices, and law, as then existing." After the death of *Ziska* (of pestilence in 1424), the majority of the Taborites chose *Procopius* the Great his successor. A smaller and still more fanatical party, which deemed no man worthy to succeed their departed leader, separated from *Procopius*, and took the name of "Orphans." Meantime the Council of Basle had assembled; and, after much fruitless negotiation, succeeded in 1433 in inducing the Hussites to send 300 deputies to Basle. The discussion on the four Calixtine articles lasted for fifty days, after which the Council conceded them, although with modifications which really destroyed such small value as they originally had possessed. On the ground of these *Basle Compactates*, as they were called, the Calixtines returned, at least nominally, to the allegiance of the Church. The Taborites, who, as we have seen, were also divided, regarded this as a base compromise. Part of them once more tried the fate of arms, but were defeated and scattered at *Böhmischbrod*, near Prague, in 1434. The Emperor Sigismund confirmed the Compactates, and was acknowledged king. As might have been expected, small as were these concessions, they were continually ignored, and violated both by Church and State. Accordingly, an internal conflict ensued, which, with varying success, lasted till the time of the Reformation. Sigismund died in 1437, and was succeeded by *Ladislaus*, a posthumous child of Albrecht, the government being administered by *George Podiebrad*, a zealous and able Calixtine. After the death of *Ladislaus* in 1457, *George Podiebrad* became king. The Calixtine monarch proved a father of his people. He was acknowledged by *Pius II.*, in the hope of his joining the projected war against the Turks. When this hope failed, the Pontiff in 1462 went so far as even to disown the Compactates. *Paul II.* excommunicated the king, and had a crusade preached against him. But the crusade did not succeed, and *George* maintained

himself till his death in 1471. His successor, *Uladislaus*, a Polish prince, though a Roman Catholic, favoured the Calixtines. But that party had already lost all its former vigour. Divided into reactionaries who tended towards Rome, and liberals who were preparing for Protestantism, they were fast breaking up. When the House of Hapsburg obtained possession of Bohemia in 1526, the Protestant or genuine reformatory part of the Calixtines shared the persecutions which befell the "Brethren" in that country. Utraquism still continued, till at last it also merged in the great Bohemian Church, which embraced the great majority of the people, and consisted of all the protesting parties who in 1575 had agreed to tolerate their mutual differences, and to sign a common confession of faith. But the history of that movement and of its suppression belongs to a later period.

6. THE BOHEMIAN BRETHERN. (Comp. *Joach. Camerarii*, hist. narratio de fratr. orthod. ecclesiis in Bohem., Moravia et Polonia. Heidelb. 1605. *J. Amos Comenius*, hist. fratrum Bohemorum, c. præf. Fr. Buddei. Hall. 1702. 4. *G. W. K. Lochner*, Entsteh. u. erste Schicks. d. Brüdergem. in Böhm. u. Mähr.—Orig. and Early Hist. of the "Brethren."—Nürnb. 1832. *A. Köppen*, Kirchenordn. u. Disciplin. d. hussit. Brüderk. in Böhm. u. Mähr. Leips. 1845. *A. Gindely*, Böhmen u. Mähren im Zeitalter d. Reformation. 2 Vols. Prague 1857–58. *A. Edersheim*, Bohemian Reformers and German Politicians, in the "Free Ch. Essays." Edinb. 1858.)—It has frequently been supposed that the BOHEMIAN BRETHERN owed their origin to scattered remnants of Taborites or Waldensians. Of this there is, to say the least, no historical proof; while the opinions which they professed can be distinctly traced to the writings and teaching of *Peter of Chelcic*, whom we must, therefore, regard as the founder of this party. It originated in a deep conviction that Utraquism was insufficient to meet the spiritual wants of earnest men, and that if in name, it represented not in reality, the Reformation inaugurated by Hus. As might be conceived, the first principles of the Brethren were marked by an ultraism from which the new Church got free when joined by men of learning and moderation. If formerly complete separation from a corrupt world was enjoined, so that "a Brother" might hold no office, must renounce all learning and honour, surrender all his rights, it was afterwards ruled that a more spiritual and less external separation from the world should be adopted. Of course they rejected all Romish superstitions, though they still believed *for a time* in the seven sacraments, in purgatory, and clerical celibacy. On the subject of justification their views were evangelical, though not quite so clear as those of later Reformers; they believed in the real but spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist, to those who received it in faith and love; to infant baptism they seem to have attached little value. The mode of church government which they adopted was a kind of

modified Presbyterianism. In order to procure for their clergy episcopal ordination, they despatched one of their preachers—*Michael*, a converted Romish priest—to a Waldensian bishop in Austria, by whom he was consecrated. During the reign of *George Podiebrad*, they were exposed to incessant and harassing persecutions on the part of the Calixtines. A temporary alleviation took place when *Uladislaus*, a Polish prince only sixteen years of age, succeeded to the throne. During that time “the Union of Brethren” rapidly spread, and extended into Moravia, and even Poland. The successors of *Uladislaus* continued the persecutions against the Brethren, at the instigation of Utraquists and Papists. The dawn of the Reformation in Germany was hailed by these Bohemian Protestants; and, although Luther disapproved of their views on some points—which they afterwards modified—he gave public testimony to their earnestness and evangelical sentiments. But as the Brethren became better acquainted with Lutheranism, and contrasted its utter want of discipline and its subjection to the State with their own moral rigour, which rebuked any transgression of the law of Christ, in the lord as in the peasant, they felt repelled from a system which seemed to ignore the fruits of true piety. In doctrine also they leant much more towards the views of the Swiss Reformers; and henceforth the intercourse between Bohemia and the Calvinistic branch of the Church became increasingly intimate. When in 1526 *Ferdinand I.* of Austria obtained possession of Bohemia, the persecution of Protestants, especially of the Brethren, greatly increased. These measures were only modified by the successes of Protestants in the empire. *Maximilian II.*, a prince inclined towards Protestantism, extended toleration to all parties. Under *Rodolph II.* the various sections of Protestants in Bohemia agreed to a common confession (1575), and extracted from the reluctant monarch a charter of liberty (the “Letter of Majesty,” 12th July 1609), which secured to the Bohemian Church its liberties. An idea may be formed of the influence of the Brethren in the country from the fact, that, despite persecutions and their own rigorous discipline, the “Union” numbered, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, between three and four hundred congregations, with a membership of about 100,000; that its adherents soon increased to about *one-fourth*, and before a century had elapsed, according to the statement of one of its opponents (though, no doubt, in exaggeration), to *three-fourths* of the population.

#### § 151. THE SO-CALLED REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

COMP. *Heeren*, Gesch. d. class. Literat. im M. A. *Meiners*, Lebensbeschr. berühmter Männer aus d. Zeit d. Wiederherst. d. Wiss. (Biogr. of Celebr. Men at the Time of the Reviv. of Learn.) Zur. 1795. 3 Vols. *H. A. Erhard*, Gesch. d. Wiederaufbl. d. wiss. Bild.



(Hist. of the Reviv. of Learn.) Magd. 1827–32. 3 Vols. *F. Kraneri*, Nar. de humanit. stud. XV. et XVI. S. Mis. 1843. *Hallam*, State of Eur. during the Middle Ages. 11th Ed. Lond. 1855. 3 Vols. *G. Voigt*, Wiederbel. d. class. Alterth. Berl. 1859.

—The classical literature of ancient Greece and Rome was not so entirely neglected during the Middle Ages as is supposed. On the contrary, frequent and successful attempts had been made throughout that period to introduce such studies. Such monarchs as *Charlemagne*, *Charles the Bald*, *Alfred the Great*, and the *Otho's* of Germany, encouraged learned pursuits, and men like *Erigena*, *Gerbert*, *Roger Bacon*, and others, possessed a comparatively extensive knowledge of the classics. Nor must it be forgotten that the circle of classical literature was enlarged during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the labours of the Moors in Spain, and by frequent intercourse with Byzantine students. The founders of the national literature of Italy in the fourteenth century — *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccaccio* — were also the most zealous promoters of classical studies. Such pursuits received during the fifteenth cent. a very great impulse. If, during the meeting of the Greeks and Italians at the Council of Florence in 1439 (§ 97, 6), a fresh interest had been awakened in the study of the classics, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 afforded the opportunity of greatly increasing, and at the same time of fully gratifying it. A large number of learned men from Byzantium sought refuge in Italy; they found an enthusiastic reception in Rome, and also especially by the generous princes of the House of Medici. The art of printing, discovered in 1440, had already rendered the treasures of classical antiquity generally accessible. But this immigration gave a *new direction* as well as a fresh impulse to classical studies. If during the Middle Ages they had almost exclusively been employed for ecclesiastical and theological purposes, they were now prosecuted for their own sakes, and as the basis of that general culture expected in educated men (hence the name HUMANISMUS, and the term “Humanity,” still used in our colleges). Humanism renounced the service of the Church; gradually it assumed a posture of indifference and of proud disdain towards Christianity. Many of its votaries even strayed into the worship of heathen antiquity. With superstition, faith was also derided; sacred history and Greek mythology were placed on the same level. From all parts the youth of Europe crowded to Italy, to draw in its academies from the newly opened springs. On their return they brought with them and spread

around an ardent zeal for classical lore. Happily the infidelity with which it was too frequently conjoined in Italy, made not so rapid way in other countries. In Germany these studies were chiefly cultivated by the "Brethren of the Common Life," who succeeded in adapting the new weapons to the service of theology and of the Church. This school gave birth to many of the coadjutors of Luther.—It will be understood, that to a certain extent the sympathies of the Humanists must have gone with those who sought to reform the Church. They joined them in their opposition to the absurdities of scholasticism, to superstition, monasticism, and other abuses. But while agreed in their aversion to the prevailing state of things, both the grounds on which, and the manner in which, they carried on the contest, were widely different. The Reformers opposed abuses because they were contrary to Scripture, and led away from the great object of faith; the Humanists, because such views agreed not with those of heathen antiquity. The Reformers contended with weapons drawn from the Word of God, and for the highest of all objects—the salvation of souls; the Humanists, with shafts of wit and satire, content if they secured earthly well-being. In truth, the despised schoolmen and the derided monks were not always in the wrong in their opposition to the Humanists. A reformation of the Church accomplished by them alone, would speedily have landed in heathenism. But under the direction of men of genuine piety, the revival of classical learning opened a rich and till then unknown source of philological, philosophical, and general knowledge, without which the faithful translation and interpretation of the Scriptures, and consequently that revision of dogmatics which marked the Reformation of the sixteenth century, could not have been accomplished so rapidly, so comprehensively, or so safely.

1. THE ITALIAN HUMANISTS. Comp. (*Dittmar*) *Die Humanisten u. das Evangelium*, in the *Erlang. "Zeitschr. für Protestsm. u. K."* July and Oct. 1855; also especially *Voigt u. s.*—Italy was the great nursery of Humanism. The first Greek who taught in that country was *Emanuel Chrysoloras* (1396). After the Council of Florence *Bessarion* and *Gemistius Pletho* settled in Italy, and being warm admirers of the Platonic philosophy, brought it into vogue in the land of their adoption. After 1453 a large number of literary men from the East sought an asylum in Rome and Florence. From their seminaries classical learning and heathen ideas spread over Italy. They found access even among the highest members of the hierarchy. Even though the well-known saying ascribed to Leo X., "Of what advantage this fable about Christ has been to us

and ours is sufficiently known to all centuries," be not authentic, it affords an insight into the character and spirit animating the papal court. Cardinal *Bembus*, the private secretary of Leo, translated the realities of the Gospel into mythological equivalents, couched in classical Latin. Christ he called "*Minervam e Jovis capite ortam*," the Holy Ghost, "*auram Zephyri cælestis*," while he paraphrased forgiveness of sin as "*Deos superosque manesque placare*." So early as the meeting of the Council of Florence, *Pletho* had ventured to express an opinion, that Christianity would soon give place to a universal religion which would not greatly differ from heathenism. When *Pletho* died, *Bessarion* addressed a letter of consolation to his sons, telling them that their father had risen to purer and heavenly spheres, where he had joined the Olympic gods in their mystic, Bacchantic dances. The new *Platonic school*, which assembled in the gardens of the Medici, assigned to the philosophy of Plato a place much higher than to Christianity. A new *Peripatetic school* was also founded. Its great representative, *Petro Pomponazzo* (ob. 1526), openly declared, that from a philosophic point of view the immortality of the soul was more than doubtful. Another member of that school, the celebrated historian *Machiavelli*, introduced a system of politics entirely alien to the spirit of Christianity. Moral frivolity went hand in hand with religious laxity. The most obscene poetry and the most lascivious pictures circulated among the Humanists, and their practice was certainly no better than their theory.—In their public *declarations* the Italian Humanists were careful at least to ignore the Church and its doctrines, from fear of bringing down vengeance. LAURENTIUS VALLA, however, ventured, in his "*Annotaciones in Novum Testam.*" (afterwards edited by Erasmus), to point out a number of errors in the Vulgate. He even went further. Having proved on irrefragable historical evidence that the pretended donation of Constantine to the see of Rome was spurious (§ 112, 1), he inveighed against the ambition of the Papacy. Valla was summoned before the Inquisition, but got off with a retractation. Nicholas V. suppressed the inquiry, and by kindness attached him to the papal see. Valla was not, however, one of those Humanists who had lost all reverence for Christianity. He died in 1465 as papal secretary.—But the phoenix of that age was JOHANNES PICUS, *Prince of MIRANDOLA*, who combined in himself all the nobler aspirations of the period. He was a courtier and poet, a scholastic, a mystic, a cabbalist and a humanist, a historian, a mathematician, and an astronomer—and equally versed in classical and Oriental lore. During the last ten years of his brief career (he died at thirty years of age) he renounced the world and its pomp, and wholly devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures. He had intended to travel through Europe to preach Christ crucified, when death called him from the field of labour. Characteristic is his saying: *Philosophia veritatem quærit, theologia invenit, religio possidet.*



2. THE GERMAN HUMANISTS. (Comp. *C. A. Cornelius*, d. münster. Human. u. ihr Verh. zur Reform.—The Munster Hum. and their rel. to the Reform.—Münst. 1851. *K. Hagen*, Deutschlands liter. u. relig. Zustände im Zeitalter d. Reform. Erl. 1841. 3 Vols. *E. Th. Mayerhoff*, Joh. Reuchlin u. s. Zeit. Berl. 1830. *J. Lamey*, Joh. Reuchlin. Pforzh. 1855.)—RUDOLPH AGRICOLA of Heidelberg, a friend and associate of Wessel and Kempis (*ob.* 1482), may be designated the father of German Humanism. Most of his numerous pupils (*Alexander Hegius* at Deventer, *Rudolph Lange* at Münster, *Hermann Busch* at Wesel, and others) mostly joined the Reformation. The example set by *Maximilian I.* induced the princes and knights of the empire to take an interest in scientific and literary pursuits. After the death of Agricola, JOHN REUCHLIN (Capnio), a celebrated jurist, became the leader of the German Humanists (*ob.* 1522). He gave himself more especially to the study of the language of the Old Testament, which he prosecuted with the greatest zeal and with unsurpassed success. Well might he in 1506 conclude his “*Rudimenta linguæ Hebraicæ*” with the words of Ovid, “*Exegi monumentum, etc.*” The work has become the basis of all later studies in Hebrew philology. He also wrote a tractate on the difficult subject of the Hebrew accents (*De acc. et orthogr. hebr. Ll. III.*). His work, “*de arte cabbalistica*,” treats of the secret philosophy of the Jews. Such was his interest in the Jews, with whom he had continual and intimate intercourse, that in 1505 he published “an Open Letter to a Nobleman, why the Jews have so long been suffering” (“*Tütsch Missiv an einen Junkhern, warumb die Jüden so lang im Ellend sind*”). In this tractate he offered to instruct any Jew in the Christian religion, and at the same time to provide for his temporal support. His predilection for Rabbinical studies involved him in a controversy, by which, however, his fame only spread over Germany and Europe. In 1509 one PFEFFERKORN, a baptized Jew at Cologne, called upon the Emperor Maximilian to order all Rabbinical writings to be burnt, on account of the blasphemies against Christ which they contained. When Reuchlin protested against this summary measure, Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans of Cologne fell upon the Humanist, who defended himself with stinging satire. *Jacob of Hogstraten*, the Inquisitor of Cologne, cited him before his tribunal. Reuchlin appealed to Leo X. The commission of inquiry appointed by the Pope condemned the Dominicans to pay the expenses of the process (1514); the forcible collection of these 111 gold florins was a real labour of love and pleasure on the part of Knight *Francis of Sickingen* (1519). Meantime a number of able pens had been set in motion on behalf of Reuchlin. In 1516 the *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum* appeared, professedly a correspondence between *Ortuinus Gratius* of Deventer, a teacher at Cologne, and some friends. That this man, a pupil of the Brethren of the Common Life, and from all we know

of him, an honourable, pious, and not a bigoted man, should have been selected as the butt for such sarcasm, can only be explained on the ground of personal motives (comp. *Mohnike* in the "Zeitschr. für hist. Theol." 1843. III. IV.). In the most exquisite monkish Latin, the stupid, and in part obscene love affairs of the mendicants, are related with such apparent sincerity and frankness, with a continual running reference to their controversy with Reuchlin, that at first some of the Dominicans themselves regarded these letters as genuine, and excused their somewhat curious expressions as due to the "vis sententiarum." All the greater was the merriment and scorn which the Dominicans called down from the learned of Europe. At the request of the mendicants, Leo X. indeed issued a severe bull against all readers of the blasphemous tractate, but this measure only increased their number. These letters were in all probability composed by such men as *Crotus Rubianus*, *Hermann Busch*, *Wilbald Pirkheimer*, and by the publisher of the work, *Wolfgang Angst*, at Hagenau. *Hutten* had no part in them. This termination of the controversy with Reuchlin had given the reformatory movement in Germany a false and even dangerous turn. A contest carried on with such unholy and carnal weapons could only have ended in complete subversion of both Church and State. To the circle of writers from which the "Epist. obsc. vir." came, belonged also *Ulric von Hutten*, a knight of noble Franconian family. It was, however, in the cause of liberty, rather than in that of the Gospel, that he fought all his life long against pedantry of every kind, against the monastic orders, and indeed against all constraint in matters of conscience. In 1504 he escaped from the monastery of Fulda, where he was to be trained for the clerical profession. He next studied in Erfurt, and fought in the army of Maximilian, as he afterwards contended with his pen on behalf of Reuchlin. When deprived of the aid of Sickingen, he wandered about homeless, and at last died in wretchedness in 1523. Comp. *L. Schubart*, *Ulr. v. H.* Leips. 1791; *Herder's* Denkmal (Memorial); *G. C. F. Mohnike*, *U. v. H.'s* Jugendl. Greifsw. 1816; *G. J. W. Wagenseil*, *U. v. H.* Nürnberg. 1823; *G. W. Panzer*, *U. v. H.* in lit. Bezieh. Nürnberg. 1798; *E. v. Brunnnow*, *U. v. H.* Leips. 1842. The most full and reliable life of *U. v. H.* is that by the notorious *D. F. Strauss* (*U. v. H.* Leips. 1858. 2 Vols.). A new and complete ed. of the works of *Hutten* is at present in course of publication.

3. DESIDERIUS ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM. (Comp. *Burigny*, *Vie d'Er.*, transl. into Germ. by *Reich*, with add. by *Henke*. Halle 1782. 2 Vols. *Sal. Hess*, *Er. v. R.* Zür. 1790. 2 Vols. *Ad. Müller*, *Leben d. Er. v. R.* Hamb. 1828.)—The most distinguished among all the Humanists, either before or at the time of the Reformation, was Erasmus (Gerhard Gerhardson). The history of his parentage is one of sorrow, of shame, and of monastic bigotry. Young Erasmus was educated at Deventer and at the Hague by

“the Brethren of the Common Life.” Forced by relatives to enter a monastery in 1486, he was ultimately set free through the interposition of an ecclesiastical dignitary from his conventual prison, and thus enabled wholly to devote himself to the pursuit of science (1496). He next attended the University of Paris. Having finished his studies, he travelled through Europe, when he made personal acquaintanceship with almost all the eminent men of his time. For several years he occupied the Chair of Greek in Oxford, and ultimately settled in Basle with his learned publisher *Frobenius* (1521). In this retreat he refused every office, and even the dignity of cardinal, although not liberal pensions; and amidst learned labours of varied kinds, and a most extensive epistolary intercourse, lived as a kind of scientific monarch. His chief merit consisted in his promotion of classical learning, and in its application to theological purposes. In many other ways also he promoted the Reformation. Thus he pointed out the defects in the theological study of the time, especially the absurdities of the prevailing scholastic method. He also exposed the abuses in the Church, castigated the moral corruption of all ranks, and unsparingly denounced the ignorance, idleness, and dissoluteness of the monastic orders. On the other hand, he also disapproved of the paganising spirit of many of the Humanists, and of the revolutionary ideas of such men as *Ulric von Hutten*. His own views were essentially Pelagian; he was, accordingly, quite unable to understand the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. While anxious for a reformation of the Church, he neither was nor felt himself called to be a Reformer. With him the whole was merely a question of rationality; religious depth, strength of faith, self-denying love, conviction, and courage, such as martyrs require, were utterly wanting in him. He loved his quiet and comfortable life too well to jeopard it; and his knowledge of the real causes of prevailing abuses, and of the kind of reformation requisite, was entirely insufficient. Erasmus would have accomplished the work by human science, and not by the agency of a pure Gospel. When, in 1529, the Reformation prevailed at Basle, Erasmus left it, and settled at Freiburg in Breisgau, but died at *Basle* (whither he had gone to have a personal interview with *Frobenius*), “sine lux, sine crux, sine Deus” (1536). The best edition of his writings is that by *J. Clericus* (Lugd. 1702. 10 Voll. fol.). Among his writings, the most important for theology, are his critical and exegetical notes on the N. T. (note 5). He also edited a number of the Fathers (*Jer., Hilar., Ambros., Iren., Athan., Chrys., etc.*). His controversy with Luther, belongs properly to a later period. The “*Ecclesiastes s. concionator evangelicus*” was intended as a kind of homiletics. The *ἐγκώμιον μωρίας* s. laus stultitiæ, dedicated to his friend *Thomas More*, contains a most cutting satire on the monks and the clergy generally. Even in his “*Colloquia*,” by which he hoped to make boys “*latiniore et meliores*,” he allowed not an opportunity to



pass of deriding the monks, the clergy, and those rites which he regarded as superstitions (such as monastic vows, fasts, pilgrimages, indulgences, auricular confession, the worship of saints, etc.).

4. HUMANISM IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND SPAIN.—In England also, the new study excited considerable interest. Among its representatives and patrons we mention two intimate friends of Erasmus,—Bishop *John Colet*, one of the most remarkable men of his age, the founder of St Paul's school, and, according to Erasmus, the *beau ideal* of a Humanist; and *Thomas More*, Lord High Chancellor of Henry VIII. More was on intimate terms with Erasmus, and shared his objections to prevalent abuses in the Church. But it appears from his well-known treatise, "*De optimo reipublicæ statu deque nova insula Utopia*," that he rather inclined towards Deism than desired an evangelical reformation. In the treatise to which we have referred, he expressed at some length the expectation, that a more rational and natural arrangement of social relations would lead to universal happiness. The contemplated religion of Utopia is undisguised Deism, with the well-known cant phrases about providence, virtue, immortality, and retribution, while everything distinctively Christian is carefully ignored. In his capacity of Chancellor, More suppressed the Reformation in England, and took the side of the King in his controversy with Luther. But when Henry VIII. quarrelled with the Pontiff, and laid claim to reform the Church in his own fashion, More resigned his offices, refused to acknowledge the King as head of the English Church, and was beheaded in 1535, after a long and close imprisonment. (Comp. *G. Th. Rudhart*, *Leben d. Th. Mor. Nürnberg. 1829*). Among the precursors of Humanism in England, we must not omit the name of *Roger Bacon*, whose genius and attainments placed him far in advance of his age. The cutting satire of a popular poet like *Chaucer*, contributed not a little to bring the monks and their habits into disrepute with the masses. In the pursuit of science, SCOTLAND had not been behind the sister-kingdom. Such men as *Michael Scot of Balwirie* (characterised even by Dante as a magician), or the celebrated mathematician *John Holybush* (better known as *Joannes Sacrobosco*), professor at Paris, or *Thomas Learmont* (the *Rhymer*), author of "*Sir Tristram*"—not to speak of *John Duns Scotus*—sustained the fame of Scottish learning at home and abroad. So early as the fifteenth cent. Scotland possessed no fewer than three universities. The first Principal of the youngest of these seminaries (the King's College, Aberdeen) was *Hector Boethius*, the friend and correspondent of Erasmus, a man highly famed for his classical attainments, and one of the earliest historians of Scotland. Among the most important means for preparing the mind of the people for the Reformation, we also reckon such poetry as that of *Dunbar* (though himself a priest), and especially of *Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount*.

In *Spain* Humanism found a patron in no less a personage than FRANCIS XIMENES, Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, Grand Inquisitor and minister of Ferdinand and Isabella (*ob.* 1517). Comp. *C. J. Hefele*, d. Card. Xim. 2d Ed. Tüb. 1851. Among those who prosecuted the new study in Spain, the ablest was ANTHONY OF LERIO, professor at Salamanca. In 1508 Ximenes assigned him a chair in the new University of *Alcala* (Complutum). The Cardinal availed himself of his assistance in his edition of the Complutensian Polyglott, and protected him from the Inquisition, before which he was summoned to answer for his criticisms on the Vulgate. He died in 1522.

Strange to say, Humanism scarcely made any way in *France*. For this we can only account by the great influence which the University of Paris brought to bear against it. However, *one* man at least prosecuted the new learning, and was led to devote himself to the critical investigation of the Bible. JOHN FABER STAPULENSIS, a doctor of the Sorbonne (*ob.* 1537), who reached the patriarchal age of 100, gave himself to the study of the Scriptures in the original, and pointed out and corrected the corruptions in the text of the Vulgate. He also insisted that the Bible should be read in the vernacular, and translated the Scriptures into the French. For these offences he was expelled the Sorbonne, and deprived of his doctorate. The French Parliament likewise took measures against his heresy; happily, he enjoyed the protection of *Francis I.*, who entrusted him with the education of the royal princesses. The Council of Trent placed his works in the "Index Prohibitorum," though with the remark, "donec corrigantur." (Comp. *K. H. Graf*, *J. Fab. Stap.* Ein Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Reform. in Frankr., in the "hist. theol. Zeitschr." for 1852. I.)

5. THE STUDY OF THE SCRIPTURES.—The greatest advantage which the Church and theology derived from the so-called restoration of the sciences was this, that the Scriptures were taken from under the bushel which had concealed them, and again placed on the candlestick. The Vulgate was now compared with the text of the original, and the allegorical mode of interpretation gave place to grammatical and historical exegesis. This was mainly accomplished by providing the necessary means for carrying on philological studies, while the printing press spread the original text throughout Europe. Since the invention of printing, the Jews diffused the Old Testament in the original. In 1502 *Ximenes* employed a number of learned men to edit that splendid work known as the *Complutensian Polyglott*. The Old Testament, which was edited by learned Jewish proselytes, was completed in 1517. The work contained the Hebrew and Greek text of the Old and New Testaments, the Targumim, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and a Latin translation of the Septuagint and of the Targumim, together with a somewhat meagre grammatical and philological apparatus—the whole in 6 vols. (4 for

the Old Testament). About the same time, *Daniel Bomberg*, a learned bookseller in Antwerp, was engaged at Venice in bringing out various editions of the Old Testament, partly with and partly without Rabbinical commentaries. Bomberg had made himself thoroughly familiar with the Hebrew; he was also aided by *Felix Pratensis*, a converted Jew, and by *Jacob Ben Chajim*, a Rabbi from Tunis. The first two editions appeared in 1518, and were soon followed by other three.—But the great expense of the Complutensian Polyglott placed it within the reach of very few. To *Erasmus* belongs the great merit of publishing a pocket edition of the Greek New Testament (with a Latin translation of his own). The first edition of this work appeared in 1516. Nor was the study of exegesis neglected. The first who distinguished himself in this branch of study was *Laurentius Valla*, whose “*Annotationes in N. T.*” were published by Erasmus. *Erasmus* himself composed paraphrases on the whole New Testament (excepting the Book of Revelations); *Faber Stapulensis* wrote commentaries on the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul, while *Lerija* published critical remarks on the Vulgate.

The want of translations of the Bible into the *vernacular* was also increasingly felt. Thus *Faber* composed an excellent translation of the Scriptures in French, which has formed the basis of all later versions (it was completed in 1530). Wycliffe had translated the Bible into English; and before the time of Luther there were no fewer than fourteen translations of the Scriptures into High German and six in Low German, though it must be admitted that, even considering the time of their composition, they were wretched failures. (Comp. *J. Kehrein*, zur Gesch. d. deutschen Bibelübers. vor Luther.—Contrib. to the Hist. of the German Bible before L.—Stuttg. 1851.)





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